

A Companion to Greek Art

**Tyler Jo Smith
Dimitris Plantzos**

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VOLUME I



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Volume I

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Dimitris Plantzos



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Preface

While there is certainly no shortage of introductory handbooks devoted to ancient Greek art, the aims of the current two-volume set are rather new and somewhat different. Some readers may be surprised to learn that the idea for this *Companion* originated not as one of a series of such books covering the various aspects of the Greco-Roman world, its history, religion, literature, and such, but instead as a result of the publication of Blackwell's *A Companion to Contemporary Art Since 1945* (ed. A. Jones, 2006), to which an Art History colleague had contributed a chapter. At the time, the 'companion' phenomenon had not yet found its way to the visual and material cultures of the ancient Mediterranean. Thus, we were delighted with Blackwell's enthusiasm for the idea, and their plans subsequently to publish similarly in the Roman, Egyptian, and Near Eastern areas. Our aim has been first and foremost to lend multiple voices to Greek art in its many manifestations: from the 'nuts and bolts' (sculpture, vases, architecture, etc.), to engagement with the world beyond via colonization and trade, to the themes and interpretations of images, to the history of research and reception. We have encouraged our authors to approach their topics as they have best seen fit and tried as little as possible to insert our own opinions or examples. Some chapters are more purely archaeological, others more art-historical, and most (expectedly) make use of the rich store of textual sources familiar to and at the disposal of all classical archaeologists. The result, we hope, is a pleasing melange suitable for student, scholar, and enthusiast alike.

A few preliminary comments might prove helpful. The abbreviations, unless otherwise noted, follow those listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition. Owing to a great deal of overlap, especially with regard to major publications cited by a number of our authors, a collated bibliography follows on from the book's final chapter. Each chapter concludes with a brief 'Further Reading' section intended to direct the reader to more detailed or specialized aspects of the various topics, as well as those that are most accessible. As in the main text, the full citations are listed in the comprehensive bibliography. The illustrations, which appear throughout the main text, have been chosen to represent a good range of types, materials, and quality. That being said, it has been impossible to include every major work of Greek art or architecture,

and our intention has been to include as well some of the less well-known or more 'minor' examples. Where an illustration is lacking, we have attempted to indicate a handy reference to a decent published photograph or drawing. Greek spellings, italics, and the like are always a tricky business, and no particular system has been followed here. Italics have been used sparingly for Greek terms, and avoided for more technical ones (e.g. vase shapes, parts of a temple, etc.). For the sake of clarity, capital letters have been used generally to denote chronological time periods. When quoting from other texts, we have of course retained the original types.

In addition to our many patient contributors, the editors gratefully acknowledge the people and institutions who have aided in the successful completion of this publication: the British School at Athens; the Australian Institute of Athens; the Fiske Kimball Fine Arts Library, University of Virginia; the Visual Resources Collection, University of Virginia; graduate students at the University of Virginia – Katelyn Crawford, Dylan Rogers, Carrie Sulosky, and Anne Williams – who have read drafts of chapters and saved us all from many errors; Dan Weiss (Virginia), who prepared the drawings and assisted in numerous ways with all visual aspects; and Amanda Sharp (Virginia/Oxford), who prepared the bibliography. At Blackwell we thank Al Bertrand, who oversaw the project until it crossed the Atlantic (from Oxford to Boston), where Haze Humbert and Galen Young so brilliantly took over. To each of the museums and collections who have so kindly permitted the publication of material in their holdings we extend our sincere thanks. Funding has been generously provided by: the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Virginia; the McIntire Department of Art (Lindner Endowment), University of Virginia; and an anonymous donor.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

The Greeks and their Art

Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos

We start from the purpose of the Greek artist to produce a statue, or to paint a scene of Greek mythology. Whence this purpose came, we cannot always see. It may have come [...] from a commercial demand, or from a desire to exercise talent, or from a wish to honour the gods (Gardner 1914: 2).

1.1 Greek Art and Classical Archaeology

When Percy Gardner was appointed the first Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford in 1887, the discipline was still largely in its infancy. His book entitled *The Principles of Greek Art*, written almost 100 years ago, demonstrates that classical archaeology of the day was as much about beautiful objects and matters of style as it was about excavation and data recording. Now, as then, the terms ‘Greek art’, ‘classical art’, and indeed ‘classical archaeology’ are somewhat interchangeable (Walter 2006: 4–7). To many ears the term ‘classical’ simply equals Greek – especially the visual and material cultures of 5th and 4th c. BC Athens. Yet it should go without saying, in this day and age, that Greek art is no longer as rigidly categorized or as superficially understood as it was in the 18th, 19th, and much of the 20th c. By Gardner’s own day, the picture was already starting to change. Classical archaeology, with Greek art at the helm, was coming into its own. The reverence with which all things ‘classical’ were once held – be they art or architecture, poetry or philosophy – would eventually cease to exist with the same intensity in the modern 21st c. imagination. At the same time, there would

always be ample space for some old-fashioned formal analysis, and the occasional foray into connoisseurship.

Greek art has been defined in various ways, by various people, at various times. Traditionally, it has been divided into broad time periods (Orientalizing, Archaic, Classical, etc.) dependent on style and somewhat on historical circumstances or perceived cultural shifts. As with most areas of the discipline, this rather basic framework has seen a number of versions and has encouraged further (sometimes mind-numbingly minute) sub-categorization. In fact, no chronology of the subject has been universally accepted or considered to be exact. Some (though by no means all) speak in terms of the Late Archaic, High Classical, or Hellenistic Baroque; others prefer the Early Iron Age or the 8th c. BC (Whitley 2001: ch. 4). Regardless of terminology, within these large chronological divisions the subject has routinely been taught, discussed, and researched according to a triumvirate much loved by the history of art: sculpture, architecture, and painting (normally including vases); and leaving much of the rest relegated to the ill-defined catch-all phrase of ‘minor arts’ (*Kleinkunst*): terracottas, bronze figurines, gems and jewelry, and so on.

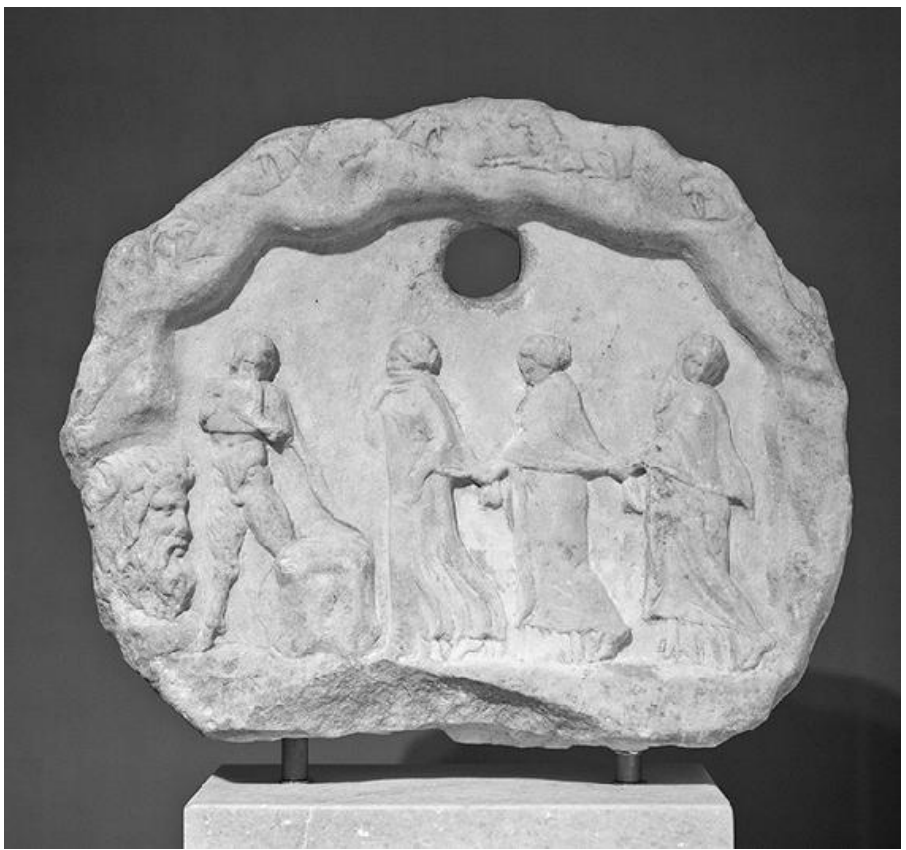
But major versus minor is not the whole story. Some areas of Greek art have proved more difficult to assemble than others. For example, should mosaics be placed under architecture, viewed in relation to wall-painting, or, for lack of a better option, classified as ‘minor’ art despite their sometimes vast scale? Other objects, such as coins, have not always been considered ‘art’ per se, in spite of their stylistic and iconographic similarities with other artifacts, and their sometimes critical role in the dating of archaeological contexts. Alas, it is a hierarchy that we have all come to live with for better or worse. It encourages questions of quality, taste, and value, and these days even plays a role in debates over cultural property and the repatriation of antiquities. Did all objects of ancient Greek art have ‘equal’ value? How might such value be measured? Should we even try? Is it valid to speak of earrings and *fibulae* in the same breath as Skopas and Mnesikles? Is a Boeotian ‘bell-idol’ as much a ‘work of art’ as a life-size sculpture, or a mold-made Megarian bowl (Figure 1.1) as worthy of our attention as an Athenian red-figure vase? Where, if at all, shall we draw the line? Do altars, votive reliefs (Figure 1.2), and *perirrhanteria* make the A-list? What about roof tiles and gutters; or, indeed, the ‘lost’ arts of weaving and basketry? Is it simply the inclusion of figure decoration, both mythological and everyday, on such ritual or utilitarian objects that allows them to join the corpus? Surely, the answer must lie somewhere between design and function, material and process. It is reassuring to think that any of the above might constitute ‘Greek art’, from the stately, good, and beautiful to

the mundane, lewd, and grotesque.

Figure 1.1 Megarian bowl from Thebes. Scenes of the Underworld. c. 200 BC (London, British Museum 1897.0317.3. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 1.2 Attic marble votive relief from Eleusis. Cave of Pan . 4th c. BC (Athens, National Museum 1445. Photo: Studio Kontos/ Photostock).



The function and context of ancient objects and monuments are crucial elements in the story of Greek art, and they place our subject on firm archaeological footing. The Greeks made little if any ‘art for art’s sake’. Even their most profound and aesthetically pleasing examples served a utilitarian purpose. Sanctuaries have produced abundant material remains, in some instances resulting from years of excavation. It is also worth noting that at many locations around the Greek world, evidence of the ancient built environment has been (more or less) visible, above ground, since antiquity. Panhellenic sites on the Greek mainland, such as Delphi and Olympia, fall firmly into this category. They have yielded everything from monumental architectural structures to large-scale stone sculptures, to bronze figurines, tripods, armor, and other objects suitable for votive dedication to the divine. Less well-known sanctuaries, such as the Boeotian Ptoon, have contributed a large number of Archaic kouroi. At Lokroi in southern Italy, a unique cache of terracotta votive plaques has been uncovered at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Heraion on Samos and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta have preserved rare examples of carving on ivory and bone, and in the case of the latter, thousands of tiny lead figurines in the form of gods,

goddesses, warriors (Figure 1.3), dancers, musicians, and animals. Cemeteries and tombs located all around the Greek world have been equally important in preserving visual and material culture. In addition to informing us about burial customs, demography, and prestige goods, the *necropoleis* of the Kerameikos in Athens have been the single most important source for Geometric pottery (e.g. Figure 3.2), and the painted tombs at Vergina (Figure 8.4; Plate 8) the best surviving evidence for wall-painting of any period. Arguably, most of our current knowledge about Boeotian black-figure vases (e.g. Figure 4.3) stems from the excavations of the graves at Rhitsona conducted by P.N. and A.D. Ure early in the 20th c. The ongoing exploration of many sites confirms their importance as producers or consumers (or both) of ancient Greek art and architecture, and through this lens continues to advance our knowledge of society, religion, the economy, and so on. For example, Miletos in Ionia has been confirmed as an important center for the production of East Greek Fikellura vases (Cook and Dupont 1998: 77–89; Figure 4.9); Morgantina in central Sicily gives us the earliest known tessellated mosaic (Bell 2011); and Berezan (ancient Borysthene), a small island on the north coast of the Black Sea, offers an excellent case study of Greek interaction with the nearby (Scythian) population through a combination of domestic dwellings, pottery styles, and burial methods (Solovyov 1999).

Figure 1.3 Lakonian lead figurine of a warrior, from Sparta. 6th–5th c. BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of A.J.B. Wace, 1924 (24.195.64). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).



In recent year there has been a surge of publications designed to address the ‘state of the discipline’ and, in some cases, to challenge the ‘classical’ status quo (cf. Dyson 1993; Osborne 2004; Oakley 2009). Others, including articles, books, and conference volumes, have attempted whole-heartedly to thrust Greek art and classical archaeology into the 21st c., bringing in methods and ideas more at home in the (frankly, more progressive) disciplines of anthropology or art history (e.g. Donohue 2005; Stansbury-O’Donnell 2006; Schmidt and Oakley 2009), on the one hand, and cultural history or reception studies on the other (e.g. Beard 2003; Kurtz 2004; Prettejohn 2006). Their authors have represented various ‘schools’ or approaches, among them Cambridge, Oxford, continental Europe, and the United States (Meyer and Lendon 2005). Such daring, which is commonplace in most scholarly fields, might be met with suspicion amongst a classics establishment still grappling with issues such as the relationship between art, literature, and history, or the question of ‘lost originals’ that might unlock the mysteries of the great artistic

masters once and for all. It is satisfying to think that we are still quite a long way from having heard the last word about ancient Greek art.

There are two further issues that should be addressed by way of introduction. Though seemingly quite different, they are each related to the study of Greek art and, in turn, to one another: (*classical*) text and (*archaeological*) theory. As a sub-field of classics, classical archaeology and thus the study of Greek art has been forever dependent on a good knowledge of Greek and Latin languages and literature (Morris 1994). Alongside this has come the expectation of using that knowledge to inform the objects and monument themselves, and to read the archaeological record. Thus, we would rarely, if ever, speak of the Athena Parthenos, a gold and ivory cult statue designed by the sculptor Pheidias, without referencing Pliny or Pausanias, or of the Athenian red-figure hydria in Munich portraying the Sack of Troy (*Ilioupersis*) without mentioning Homer or Vergil (Boardman 2001a: fig. 121). Since the time of Heinrich Schliemann and Sir Arthur Evans, such authoritative ancient texts have confirmed the existence and location of ancient places, and inspired the discovery of new ones. But these days the classical texts no longer uphold the unchallenged authority they once did (Stray 1998; Gill 2011), and classical archaeologists are increasingly following the lead of others, albeit slowly, in applying more scientific rigor and theoretical questioning to the process of exploration, recording, and the presentation of information. Theory, the stuff of ‘other’ disciplines, has not readily been accepted or welcomed, however, by Greek art’s ‘armchair’ archaeologists, who for generations have relied more heavily on their training in classics, and in fact viewed it as both a backdrop and a necessity. Such disconnect between the various parties involved culminated a few years back in a healthy debate between two scholars (both of whom appear in this *Companion*!) regarding the contribution of Sir John Beazley (1885–1970), the renowned expert on Greek vase-painting, initiated by an article entitled, ironically, ‘Beazley as Theorist’ (Whitley 1997; Oakley 1998). But as the current volume makes perfectly clear, Greek art cannot and should not be tackled in a uniform manner, and there remains ample room for a number of approaches, both old and new. There is legitimate space for multiple views. Indeed, a *Companion* such as this one combines the state of our knowledge with the state of our interests.

1.2 Greek Art after the Greeks

What then is ‘Greek’ about Greek art? And how much of it is ‘art’? For

the Greeks, ‘art’ (*techne*) was craft and artists (*demiourgoi*) were by and large thought of as artisans: good with their hands and not much else (though famous ones, like Pheidias, came to be respected for their political power and the money that it made them). As many of the contributors to this publication explain (chiefly in Chapters 31–35 and 37), much of what we appreciate as ‘Greek art’ today, or have done so in the past, has been elaborated, embellished, and reinvented. In short, it has been *translated* by the crucial intervention of Rome and the Middle Ages, not to mention the systematic efforts of Western European elites in early modernity.

Not that this makes Greek art less ‘authentic’ or less ‘significant’ than it ought to be. As a cultural phenomenon, the arts of ancient Greece deserve our attention today perhaps more than ever, since we now know that an Archaic kouros or a scrap of the Parthenon marbles can carry much more than the sensibilities of their own era. As the Renaissance was gradually discovering the thrills of classical antiquity (Trigger 1989: 27–72; Shanks 1996), and as German intellectuals and Victorian aesthetes were struggling to decipher ‘the glory that was Greece’ (Jenkyns 1980; Eisner 1993; Marchand 1996), new cultural strategies regarding the conquest of the past were beginning to unfold. Familiarizing oneself with Greek and Roman art meant appropriating classical culture at large and, for the Western privileged class, this proved a commodity they could not resist. Bringing the Parthenon marbles ‘home’ to England in the early 19th c., for example, was much more than a case of treasure hunting (though Lord Elgin may have hoped for a good return on his investment when he sold the marbles to the British Museum in 1817). Turning the ‘Parthenon’ marbles into the world-renowned ‘Elgin’ marbles brought Western artists and intellectuals face to face with what original Greek art really looked like, an honor some of classical archaeology’s eminent forefathers had not lived long enough to know. The idea that, in a matter of years, a copy of the Parthenon frieze would adorn Hyde Park Gate in London (Figure 1.4), complete with a true-to-form Ionic colonnade, suggested that the ‘Greek revival’ was more than a feeble whim of the upper classes, wishing to embellish their country estates with quasi-Grecian charm. It was a strong intellectual movement. In effect, Greek art was becoming the *modern* signature of the West.

Figure 1.4 London, Hyde Park Gate, designed by Decimus Burton with a free version of the Parthenon frieze designed by John Henning, 1825 (photo: D. Plantzos).



Meanwhile, back in Greece, a tempestuous War of Independence (beginning in 1821), fueled by the ideological and material support of Romantic Philhellenism (as Decimus Burton was putting the final touches to Hyde Park Gate, Lord Byron lay dying in Missolonghi), gave birth to a fledgling nation-state, modeled on an imagined ancient Greek paradigm. The Bavarian aristocracy which was called in to supply the new state's elite brought Neoclassicism in its luggage, albeit a rather academic, sterile version of a once vibrant movement. Public buildings were designed *à la grecque* as a matter of course and soon enough local versions of this 'traditional' architecture would follow, to such an extent that today Neoclassicism is thought of as 'typically Athenian' (Figure 1.5). As the Greek economy became increasingly tourist-based during the 20th c., a heritage industry, catering primarily for the country's dollar-bearing visitors, created colloquial versions of 'Greek art'. The world was being reminded of an old debt – one that multiculturalism and globalization threatened to erase as we reached the beginning of the 21st c. (Figure 1.6). Classical archaeology, then, has been a product of modernity's systematic attempt to colonize 'its' Greco-Roman past, as well as one of this effort's most able agents (Dyson 2006; Damaskos and Plantzos 2008). Greek art comes to us burdened by its own afterlife. Its 'decolonization' cannot mean a utopian return to an idealized 'authentic' state, sadly comprehensible only to the Greeks themselves.

This *Companion*, thus, is an attempt to outline the ways Greek art may be assessed, through its traditional categories imposed by the Enlightenment's analytical vigor, as well as through presenting more recent attempts to understand both its content and its significance in the present.

Figure 1.5 Athens, the building of the Academy designed by Theophile Hansen, with free-standing statues of Athena and Apollo by Leonidas Drosis, 1859–1887 (photo: D. Plantzos).



Figure 1.6 Athens, 'Greek art' replicas on sale in one of the city's souvenir shops, 2011 (photo: D. Plantzos).



1.3 A Companion to Greek Art

The current publication, a collaborative effort joining scholars of various nationalities, career stages, and specializations, is designed with a variety of aims in mind. Its division into several parts is intended to guide readers through a narrative that is, on the one hand, factually oriented and technically detailed, and, on the other, thematic, contextual, and historiographical. The authors have been selected to represent not only their various areas of expertise, but also for their different perspectives and approaches. The main agenda is neither to replace the accepted handbooks of Greek art and archaeology (on which so many have been lovingly reared), nor to present a unified voice or visual vocabulary of the classical past. Rather, the aim is to provide an updated account of a subject which

has, in many respects, become too large for a single author to tackle. The combination of ongoing archaeological discoveries in the Greek world – the Riace bronzes from the sea off the coast of southern Italy (Plate 4); the heroon at Lefkandi on the island of Euboea (Figure 6.1); the Polyxene sarcophagus found near Troy (Pedley 2007: fig. 6.70), each readily spring to mind – and of the plethora of updated methods applied to both field and library research necessitates a team of master-builders. The popular view of Greek art, and of the ‘classical world’ in general, continues to be influenced by the media (both print and visual) through coverage of everything from the Athens Olympics in 2004 to the opening of the New Acropolis Museum in 2009. In this vein comes a seemingly unbridled enthusiasm for stories concerned with the ‘return’ of antiquities, from the more serious legal aspects to mere common-room gossip. At the same time, the massive discovery of archaeological material (including vases, votives, sculpture, etc.) beneath the modern city of Athens during the extension of the city’s underground metro, starting in the early 1990s, necessitated large-scale ‘rescue’ excavations and confirmed that there is more than enough yet to be unearthed from Greek soil itself (Parlama and Stampolidis 2001). Advances in archaeological science and experimental archaeology, relevant to dating, material, and technology, also find their place in modern discourses about Greek art. An important breakthrough occurred a little over a decade ago, when the expertise of palaeontology was applied to the visual and material remains of ancient Greece, causing us all to rethink the origins of Greek myth and the creation of fantastical creatures in the visual arts (Mayor 2000).

In **Part II: ‘Forms, Times, and Places’**, readers are provided, first and fore-most, with an overview of art types, including the materials and techniques used in their manufacture. The periods of focus span from the Geometric through to Hellenistic times. Inevitably, some authors make mention of earlier artistic developments of Greek prehistory and the Bronze Age (c. 3000–1100 BC), as well as the later ones of the Romans. Here, as throughout, the book covers the expansive geographical scope of ancient Greece, its mainland and islands, and its areas of trade and settlement beyond: from Magna Graecia in the west, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Syria in the east (and much farther beyond by Hellenistic times), the Black Sea in the north, to Egypt and Africa in the south. In the opening chapter (2) by Waugh, the chronology of Greek art, including how it has changed and developed over time, as well as the topographical realities of the region, including its climate, are presented in an effort to set the stage for what follows. The subsequent cluster of chapters (3–12) takes, in turn, the larger categories of Greek art, from decorated pottery

(Mannack, Paspalas), through sculpture (Damaskos), architecture (Yeroulanou) and its sculpture (Palagia), painting (Plantzos) and mosaics (Westgate), luxury arts (Boardman/Wagner), and terracottas (Burn), to coins (Callataÿ). Although most authors provide us with an updated introduction, an overview more formal than thematic, and mostly chronological, there is no particular ‘corpus’ being presented or addressed here. It should become immediately clear that style and description retain a place in the history of Greek art, and that mastering the basics remains a critical step. This section concludes with two chapters intended to demonstrate that the objects and monuments of ancient Greece did not exist in a vacuum; they were made by people, used by people, and sometimes even discussed by them. Thus, Hasaki (Chapter 13) summarizes some of the better-understood details of the working conditions of the artisans and the tools at their disposal. Such a vital element both shapes and supports our current familiarity with the discipline, and informs our future discoveries. Lapatin (Chapter 14) concludes this part of the book with an exploration of the ancient authors, and how their opinions and observations continue to be relevant to our studies today.

Having introduced the main types, styles, and materials of Greek art, the authors of **Part III: ‘Contacts and Colonies’** establish the complex links between the Greeks and their neighbors. The chapters (15–19) span the world outside Greece proper, and are thus divided into geographical units: Egypt and North Africa (Weber), Cyprus and the Near East (Hodos), Asia Minor (Köse), the Black Sea (Bouzek), and Sicily and South Italy (Marconi). Each contributor deals with the material and visual evidence for Greek art produced or discovered in their respective region from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods. Other issues, such as important centers of trade and contact, colonization and settlement, and non-Greek influences on Greek objects and images, are also discussed. Inevitably, these chapters have a stronger archaeological perspective than some others, and several authors use an overtly material culture approach. It is not surprising that the topics of hybridity and ethnicity factor in here, as does a more obvious historical framework than in other sections of the *Companion* (i.e. who colonized where, when, and why). Also strongly felt throughout this part is the importance of context (religious, domestic, funerary) over style or quality. There is more than one mention by these authors of unfinished imports, raw materials, and itinerant craftsmen.

Part IV: ‘Images and Meanings’ dwells on classical archaeology’s time-honored tradition of dealing with Greek art as if it were a *language*, a codified system of signs available to our reading skills. The sub-disciplines of ‘iconography’ and ‘iconology’ – the study of the

ways images are conceived in order to communicate with their audience and the content of that communication – have long been employed in order to help modern viewers understand crucial aspects of Greek life through their supposed reflection on to art: religion and politics (Lissarrague; Manakidou), war and peace (Shapiro), work and play (Lynch; T.J Smith), sex and gender (McNiven), age and death (Neils; Oakley), sameness and otherness (A. Smith; Cohen). Using the wide variety of available evidence, Chapters 20–29 explore such fields based on the traditional linguistic approach. The large amount of emphasis placed by several of these authors on Athenian black- and red-figure vases should be justified from the outset as a product of the diversity of the images, on the one hand, and the vast quantity of surviving examples (the result of both ancient demand and modern state of preservation) on the other. As is apparent throughout, ancient textual sources are especially appealing to iconographers as well. Chapter 30 (Whitley) adds a cautionary note, reminding us that the Greeks may not have seen their ‘art’ as a language in the first place. Readers, then, are given the tools they may need in order to work their way through Greek culture’s visual and material remains in order to make sense of them.

The final section of this *Companion*, **Part V: ‘Greek Art: Ancient to Antique’**, explores the histories and mechanisms of classical reception, and the way Greek art was reshaped through the agency of later cultures, from Rome and Byzantium (Squire; Kaldellis) to the Renaissance, Enlightenment, and beyond (Deupi; Blundell). Museum exhibitions in the 20th c. (Tzortaki) and the microcosm of universities (Dyson) are each explored regarding their endorsement of Greek art as a global cultural paradigm. The cultural property debate is also allotted space in this section (Lekakis), being one of the most pertinent concerns facing the discipline at present. A final chapter (Stylianopoulos) awakens us to exactly how far Greek art research has come in an age of data portals and ‘webliographies’, without yet surrendering printed excavation reports, travel accounts, or archival resources. At the end of this journey, it is hoped that every student of Greek art may be encouraged to describe and to draw (two of archaeology’s most fundamental skills), to read and translate both ancient and modern languages (without the aid of Google Translate or the like), to become familiar with scientific methods and theoretical models, to engage with social and cultural history, and indeed to navigate with an equal share of ease and pleasure the archaeological site, the museum, the library, and the *apothēke*.

PART II

FORMS, TIMES, AND PLACES

CHAPTER 2

Chronology and Topography

Nicki Waugh

2.1 Chronology

Ancient Greek art changed over time, and as technologies advanced and human concerns altered. Any study of the art of ancient Greece therefore needs to have an understanding of these contexts. Chronology is the ordering of things, be they events, people or material culture, according to their date. This chapter will thus review the ways in which people have sought to arrange Greek art: from the ancients to Enlightenment theories, to modern dating methodologies and the ongoing difficulties associated with building a chronology for ancient art.

The ancient Greeks themselves used numerous methods for creating chronological records. Some, such as Herodotos, who used a generation-based system, are perhaps a little too open to varying interpretations to be of practical use, while others, such as civic or religious calendars or the foundation dates for colonies, were localized in use. In the 5th c. BC, Hellanikos of Lesbos compiled a chronological table based on the lists of priestesses of Hera at Argos, while Athens and Sparta used the civic roles of eponymous (‘name-bearing’) *archon* and *ephor* respectively to create annual chronologies for their cities. Thucydides used all three of these lists in identifying the date for the start of the Peloponnesian War (2.2.1), as well as noting the time of year (at the beginning of spring) to bring a greater precision to his historical dating (he even rationalizes his dating methodology: 5.20).

Recurring events, such as the Olympic Games, which took place every four years, could provide a more universal basis for chronological calculation. A list of Olympic victors was compiled in the 4th c. BC by Hippias of Elis – although the veracity of his list was

questioned as early as the 2nd c. AD by Plutarch (*Numa Populius* 1.4). Timaios of Tauromenion (c. 356–260 BC) synchronized the Olympic victors with lists of Athenian *archons*, Spartan kings and *ephors*, and Argive priestesses. In the Hellenistic period, Eratosthenes standardized dating by Olympiad and provided a synchronized chronology for ancient events. The Parian Marble, an inscription of a chronological list dating historical events from the year of writing (299/8 BC), provides a record that is independent of the Olympiads (Austin 1981: 8 [1]).

Greek art is traditionally divided into three periods – Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic. All three are modern constructs and all three have differing meanings and associations depending on their context. A traditional chronology has been established in modern times using a combination of methods, and while still generally followed, it is not without its difficulties or controversies.

Johann Joachim Winckelmann supplied us with the terms ‘Archaic’ and ‘Classical’ in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, published in 1764 (with revisions in 1776), where they formed part of his stylistic and evolutionary model for ancient Greek sculpture. Archaic sculpture was ‘straight and hard’, while the acme was achieved in the Early Classical phase, associated with the works of Pheidias, being ‘grand and square’. Late Classical sculpture, being the works of Lysippos and Praxiteles, was not quite so wonderful but was still ‘beautiful and flowing’. Later works were merely ‘imitative and decadent’ (Potts 1994: 67–112; Shanks 1996: 56–58; Whitley 2001: 20).

Winckelmann was not the first to propose a chronology for ancient Greek art. Pliny (AD 23/4–79), in his *Natural History*, provides a chronological development which was influential on later writers of Greek art history, especially with regards to the privileging of works which could be tied to ‘master’ artists. Pliny’s work outlined a stylistic progression of Greek art from crude beginnings to the achievement of naturalism and after this simply reflected the characteristic styles of the artists themselves (Potts 1994: 72; Isager 2003: 54–57).

Prior to Winckelmann, French antiquarians, most notably the Comte de Caylus, had moved away from Pliny’s ‘life of artists’ model and utilized style to propose a chronological development of ancient art: from Egyptian to Etruscan, then Greek, and finally Roman art. However, Roman art, according to Caylus, was not really worthy of mention as it was undertaken by slaves and therefore could never reach appropriate levels of artistic genius, for which political freedom was required (Potts 1994: 76–81). Winckelmann was likewise influenced by this Enlightenment belief that great art could only develop in times of political freedom. For this reason he ranked Early Classical work, when the Persians had been comprehensively repulsed

from Greek shores, over the Late Classical period, when Greece was threatened by a Macedonian despotism (Potts 1994: 81; Whitley 2001: 21; Tanner 2006: 5).

This moralistic aspect was not the only element of Winckelmann's chronology which could be fairly questioned. His stylistic analysis was more theoretical than empirical. For example, his analysis of the sculpture for the Archaic period was based on coin evidence, for, as Whitley notes, 'no actual examples of Archaic sculpture had yet been found' (Whitley 2001: 22; see also Tanner 2006: 3–7). Furthermore, the pieces he spent the most time discussing, such as the Apollo Belvedere (Boardman 1995: fig. 64) and the Laokoon (Smith 1991: fig. 143), were not Greek sculptures at all but rather Roman copies or independent creations.

While scholars of ancient Greek art and archaeology may no longer support all of Winckelmann's assertions or all aspects of his model, the terms 'Archaic' and 'Classical' are still in use as chronological descriptions. These traditional periods have been provided with absolute dates based on historical events. Thus the Archaic period begins with the founding of the Olympic Games in 776 BC and ends with the Persian Wars in 480/79 BC. The Classical period then runs until the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. The Hellenistic period covers the period after Alexander's death until the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.

While the majority of classical scholars continue to use BC (Before Christ) and AD (*Anno Domini*) to indicate the years, BCE (Before Common/Current/Christian Era) and CE (Common/Current/Christian Era) may also be used. Dating from the birth of Christ was standardized by Dionysius Exiguus in AD 525, and revised by Bede in AD 725, before a final reformation in 1582 with the introduction of the Gregorian calendar (Bickerman 1980: 81).

Modern attempts to provide a chronology of ancient material culture have utilized scientific methods such as radiocarbon dating, dendrochronology, and thermoluminescence to provide absolute dates (Aiken 1990; Gowlett 2004: 197–199), but these have serious limitations for classical archaeology.

Radiocarbon dating measures the rate of decay of the isotope carbon-14. All living matter absorbs this isotope from the atmosphere, which breaks down (decays) over time, emitting a weak level of radiation. While a plant or animal is living, the rate of decay is matched by the level taken in from the atmosphere. Upon death, the level of carbon-14 will drop and, as the rate of decay follows a regular pattern, it is possible to use this to calculate the date of the organic material (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 138–139). While the use of

accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) has decreased the amount of sample required, calibration with dendrochronology has highlighted that levels of carbon-14 in the atmosphere are not always constant, which affects the accuracy of any calculations. This difficulty is particularly true for samples before 1000 BC. Even with calibration of the timescale, the curve of decay can be so limited that it is not possible to distinguish between 400 calendar years, as is the case for the period from 800 to 400 BC (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 142).

Thermoluminescence is also a radioactive decay methodology, but rather than the level of emission of radiation, it measures the level of radiation absorbed by the object, which provides a measurable date (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 150). The method can be used to date pottery (from the date it was last fired). However, the precision is less than that of radiocarbon dating; while it is useful to authenticate whether pottery is ancient or not, its use in providing an accurate absolute date is severely limited for Greek pottery (Biers 1992: 76; Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 151).

Dendrochronology provides a chronology based on the annual growth of tree rings. This can either be used as an independent means of absolute dating or as a calibration for other dating methods such as radiocarbon dating. Again there are limitations: first, that a well-preserved section of wood which is long enough to provide a unique match (and which includes the outer edge to date the felling) is required for analysis, and second, that the Aegean is yet to gain an absolute tree-ring chronology to match samples for dating purposes (Biers 1992: 75; Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 137).

Ancient chronological methodologies can assist with absolute dating by providing fixed historical points, such as ancient observations of celestial phenomena. Thucydides's reference (2.28.1) to a solar eclipse which took place at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War has been dated to 3 August 431 BC (Bickermann 1980: 87), for example. However, as Biers notes, these sorts of dates provide historical fixed points rather than dating for material culture (1992: 63).

Excavation of sites with fixed historical points, such as the destruction of Olynthos by Philip II of Macedon in 349 BC, or the burial mound at Marathon in 490 BC, can provide the missing link between ancient chronologies and modern absolute dating for the material record (Biers 1992: 85; Whitley 2001: 70). Relative dating methodologies, such as stratigraphy and stylistic analysis, provide discrete chronological sequences that may be cross-referenced with each other and with other means of dating (for example, the fixed historical dates) to provide an overall chronology for ancient Greek art and material culture.

Stratigraphy is based on the layering of deposits in a site, where the earliest material is at the bottom of the site and later material accumulates in layers above. These layers can then be identified through excavation and the materials found in each placed in a chronological sequence. However, interpretation may be complicated by disturbance of the strata. This could be due to intrusions by animals (burrows, etc.), humans (burials, post holes, dumps), natural forces such as flooding, or simply heavier objects sinking into the ground. Finally, the element of human decision needs to be taken into account: the date of the strata, while indicating the date the item was deposited, may not be a direct reflection of the age of the piece itself.

Sealed deposits (that is, layers without intrusions) and closed deposits (for example, by a clearly defined destruction layer or building foundations) can provide useful *terminus post quem* (date after which) or *terminus ante quem* (date before which) information. The historical destruction of Olynthos therefore provides the site with a clear *terminus ante quem* for the material excavated there. However, as Biers notes, ‘historical dates have a seductive way of acting like magnets, attracting objects and remains to them’ (1992: 62) and sites that may seem to be sealed by historical events such as the Persian destruction of the Athenian Acropolis are generally more complicated than they appear (Whitley 2001: 69; Stewart 2008a).

Some forms of archaeological material can independently provide dating information, such as coins that have the head of a ruler who can be dated historically, or amphorae with stamps of annually appointed civic officials (Biers 1992: 69–70). Inscriptions can include dates as part of their content (although this is more common with Roman inscriptions than Greek), or can be dated by the style of their letters. Similarly sculpture, pottery or other ‘artistic’ materials such as jewelry or terracotta figurines can be dated through the use of relative stylistic chronologies.

Sculpture formed the basis for Winckelmann’s stylistic analysis and his evolutionary model, influenced by both Pliny and the Renaissance artist and biographer Vasari. He identified stylistic developments through an increasing realism, particularly in representations of the human form. This remains the general basis for stylistic dating of sculpture – more or less explicitly depending on the scholar. Richter explicitly used this as the basis for her important studies on Archaic sculptures of female (korai) and male (kouroi) figures in the Archaic period (Richter 1968b; 1970); for example, on the contents page of her book *Kouroi*, she notes the ‘development of naturalism’ (Richter 1970: i).

It is the stylistic analysis of pottery remains, however, that have proved most useful in establishing relative chronologies for Greek art

and archaeology. Sherds from pots survive well in the archaeological record and are generally the most common type of remains to be excavated. It has therefore been possible to build up a 'database' of Greek pottery with which to study stylistic changes and also compare material from various sites. Initial stylistic sequencing is possible using the stratification of the site. For example, [Figure 2.1](#) shows the development of Lakonian pottery related to the stratigraphy identified at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia excavated by the British School at Athens in 1906–1910 (Dawkins 1929: plate XIX; Boardman 1963). But the chronology for Lakonian pottery has itself been reviewed several times (e.g. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984; Boardman 1998: 186, 271; Gill and Vickers 2001). Such sequencing allows an understanding of the changes in style for discrete pottery collections. Where there is sufficient data, the sequencing can be further stylistically refined through attribution to either potters or painters (more rarely to both) and a relative chronological dating created based on estimates of a potter/painter's working life. Such chronologies have been established for Attic black-figure and red-figure vases by Beazley (1956, 1963, 1971), for Corinthian decorated pottery by Payne (1926) and for South Italian pottery by Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978, 1982, 1983, 1989, 1991, 1992). When differing styles of pottery are found in the same layer, links can be identified between the discrete pottery chronologies based on either general stylistic similarities or stratigraphy.

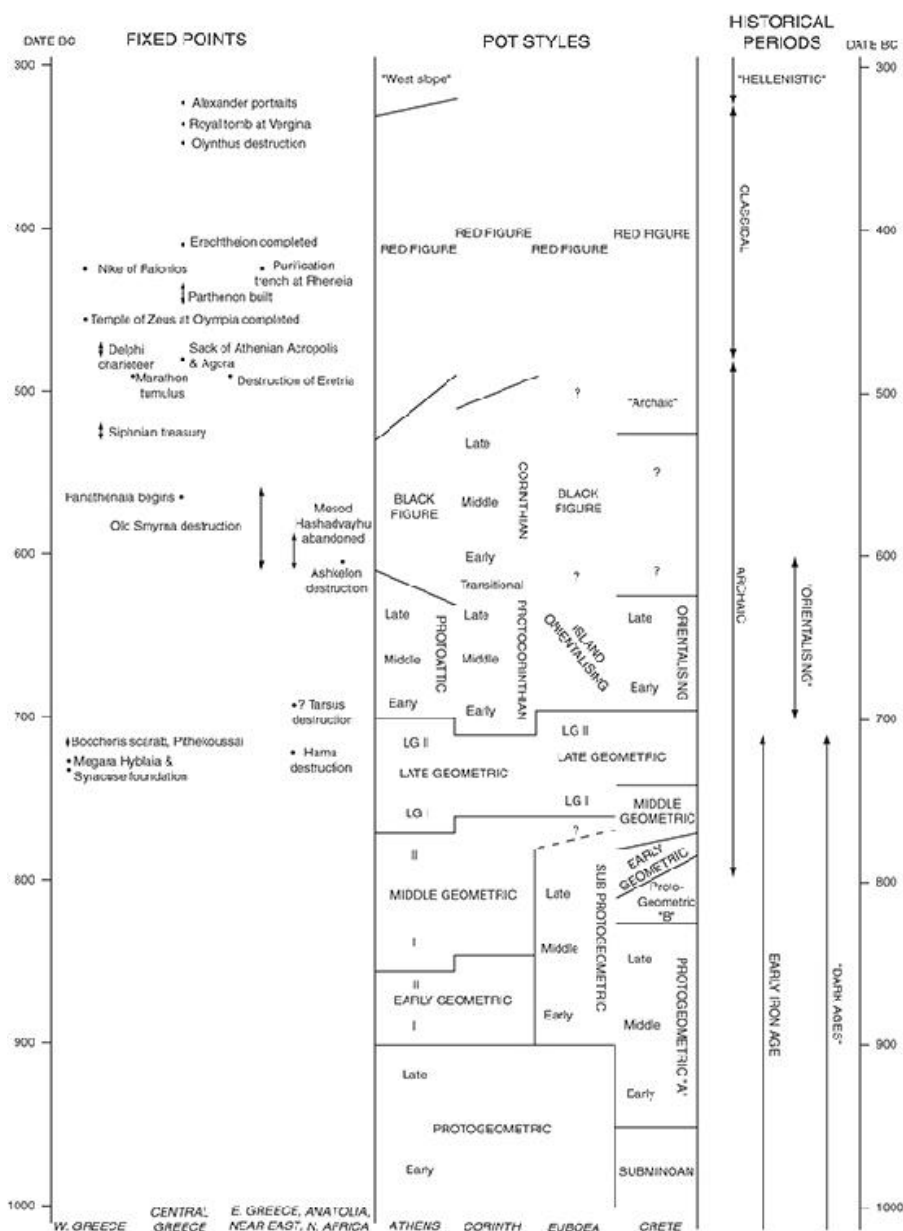
Figure 2.1 Development of Lakonian Pottery (after Dawkins 1929: pl. 19).

Development of Lakonian Pottery.

Period	Fabric					Shapes						
	Slip	Black	Purple	White	Incision	Shallow bowl	Bowl	Lakonia	Plate	Cup	Kupis	Oinochoe
												
I 700-625	Slip, thick and smooth	Quality good	Period I-II Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.1	Fig. 2.1.2	Fig. 2.1.3	Fig. 2.1.4	Fig. 2.1.5	Fig. 2.1.6	Fig. 2.1.7
II 625-600	Slip, thick and smooth	Quality good	Period I-II Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.8	Fig. 2.1.9	Fig. 2.1.10	Fig. 2.1.11	Fig. 2.1.12	Fig. 2.1.13	Fig. 2.1.14
III 600-550	Occasional, purple slip, black slip, white slip, red slip, yellow slip, green slip		Period III Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.15	Fig. 2.1.16	Fig. 2.1.17	Fig. 2.1.18	Fig. 2.1.19	Fig. 2.1.20	Fig. 2.1.21
IV 550-500	Thin, pale, black slip, red slip, white slip, yellow slip, green slip	Slip, thin and smooth	Period IV Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.22	Fig. 2.1.23	Fig. 2.1.24	Fig. 2.1.25	Fig. 2.1.26	Fig. 2.1.27	Fig. 2.1.28
V 500-450	Thin, pale, black slip, red slip, white slip, yellow slip, green slip	Slip, thin and smooth	Period V Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.29	Fig. 2.1.30	Fig. 2.1.31	Fig. 2.1.32	Fig. 2.1.33	Fig. 2.1.34	Fig. 2.1.35
VI 450-350	Thin, pale, black slip, red slip, white slip, yellow slip, green slip	Slip, thin and smooth	Period VI Purple, red, white, black, purple line in black, white, red			Fig. 2.1.36	Fig. 2.1.37	Fig. 2.1.38	Fig. 2.1.39	Fig. 2.1.40	Fig. 2.1.41	Fig. 2.1.42

The stylistic chronologies can be tied to absolute dating using fixed points within the chronological sequence (cf. [Figure 2.2](#)). As noted above, these can be historical dates providing a *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem* for the archaeological material. Examples of this sort of dating include the destruction of Olynthos and the battle mound for the Athenian dead at the Battle of Marathon already noted. However, death and destruction are not the only examples; the structuring of cultural events can also mark a fixed point for material evidence, such as the start of the Panathenaic Games in 566 BC as the *terminus post quem* for Panathenaic amphorae, or the foundation of a colony. The foundation dates of the colonies at Syracuse (732 BC) and Megara Hyblaia (728 BC), as provided by Thucydides (6.3–5), have been used as fixed points for early Corinthian pottery excavated at the sites (Biers 1992: 64–65; Whitley 2001: 66).

Figure 2.2 Chronological table of overlapping terminologies, historical, cultural, and artistic events (after Whitley 2001: 62, fig. 4.1).



Literary sources can also assist with absolute dating by recording inscriptions. The inscriptions can provide a *terminus ante quem*, such as Pausanias's note (5.10.4) of an inscription on a shield commemorating a Battle of the Athenians at Tanagra in 547 BC, which was dedicated in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Whitley 2001: 69). Where the inscriptions survive, they can also act as a fixed point. The Delphi Charioteer (Boardman 1985: fig. 34) was excavated near the Temple of Apollo along with two inscriptions – one of which records the dedication of the statue as by Polykalos, who has been identified as

the son of Deinomenes, the tyrant of Gela. By cross-referencing the date of Deinomenes's rule (Diod. Sic. 11.48.3–6; 8) with the four-yearly cycle of Pythian Games held at Delphi, for which the bronze figure is the sole remnant of a chariot group victory dedication, the statue (and therefore also its style) has been provided with a possible absolute date range of 478–470 BC (Whitley 2001: 7–9).

These fixed dates are not always uncontroversial or universally accepted. The fixed point of the Delphi Charioteer has recently been questioned, as it would appear that the base with the inscription and the statue itself do not belong together and that the sculpture in fact dates to c. 470–450 BC (Adornato 2008; Stewart 2008b: 206 n. 116). Francis and Vickers have proposed several challenges to the traditional chronology, including a general down-dating of the chronology of the Late Archaic period by 60 years (for a summary of their arguments, see Whitley 2001: 72–74; Biers 1992: 82–85). More recently, Stewart has suggested a down-dating of the Early Classical 'Severe Style' of sculpture to after the Persian Wars (Stewart 2008a, 2008b). Radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology have also highlighted difficulties with the traditional dating for the Early Iron Age/Geometric periods (Tsatskheladze 2006: xxxiv–iii; Newton et al. 2005). While the traditional chronology is still the generally accepted model, these challenges highlight definite weaknesses and students (and scholars!) should not accept the chronologies as set in stone.

Stylistic chronologies are such a strong tool for classical archaeology that their terminology is often used to provide alternative titles for periods and so can cause some confusion for the uninitiated or unwary. For example, the period from 1100 to 700 BC can be referred to as the Dark Ages (reflecting a period of illiteracy, etc.) or the Early Iron Age (reflecting the use of iron and following the patterns of the preceding Stone and Bronze Ages). Alternatively, within this period, c. 900–700 BC may be called Geometric, based on the style of pottery, and the 7th c. may also be referred to as the Orientalizing period, reflecting the use of imagery and motifs in Greek art which were previously visible in Near Eastern work. Sculpture also has its own chronological terminology, with the term 'Dedalic' being used to describe a style of sculpture in the Early Archaic period and 'baroque' being used anachronistically to describe a style of Hellenistic sculpture. Scholars of Greek art deal with these variations in different manners; some, such as Robertson (1975), combine stylistic terminology with absolute dating, while others, such as Richter (1959), avoid any confusion by discussing art by the media with reference only to absolute dating. Many introductory accounts provide a chronological table to assist with the overlapping terminologies; these can focus on historical events (Pedley 2007: 388) or a

combination of historical, cultural, and artistic events (Boardman 1996: 296–297; Beard and Henderson 2001: 260; Whitley 2001: 62, [fig. 4.1](#); cf. [Figure 2.2](#)).

2.2 Topography

Greece's physical landscape has developed as a consequence of the country's active geological history, climate, and, to a lesser extent, the effects of human activity. Geologically, the Greek mainland, Aegean islands and Ionian coast are the result of the movement of three plates: the sedimentary Aegean plate is being forced north into the Eurasian plate by the subduction of the African plate. The dipping under the Aegean of the African plate has caused not just the distortion of the geological strata of Greece, but also the high level of volcanic activity and earthquakes (Sauerwein 1998: 3). It is also responsible for the mountainous nature of the Greek mainland, and the numerous islands.

The Aegean plate formed from chalky deposits, which have become sedimentary rock, primarily limestone. Chemical reactions between water and the limestone have created a *karst* landscape, typified by limited surface water, but lots of subterranean caves, depressions, and underground lakes, which can bubble to the surface as springs. Heavy rainfall can strip soil from the highest levels and lead to floods, but also leaves rich alluvial plains, which at times can become marshy, or act to silt up previously useful harbors such as at Pella (Sauerwein 1998: 11).

This physical geography of mountains surrounding patches of fertile land, along with the numerous islands, meant that it was generally easier to travel by sea than to negotiate the mountain passes. On account of the climate, travel was only really possible in summer, when the seas were calm enough and the mountain passes clear of snow. These factors encouraged a fragmentation into small, easily defended communities ([Map 1](#); Stewart 1990: 1; Sauerwein 1998: 7).

Map 1 Greece and the Aegean (source: Erskine, *Companion to Ancient History*, map 1; adapted by D. Weiss).



The landscape we see today is thought to be a fair approximation of what the ancient Greeks would have experienced (Osborne 1996: 57). Equally, it is generally agreed that the climate of Greece has not materially changed since ancient times (current global warming notwithstanding) (Salmon 1984: 7 n. 19; Foxhall et al. 2007: 89–90; Descoeudres 2008: 301–302). It is characterized by intense heat in the summer, interrupted by brief squalls and stormy winters with heavy rain. There are general regional variations: the west-facing regions are usually wetter than those facing east, and the northern areas (Macedonia, Thracae, etc.) are more like the continent in climate, with less snow in winter but much lower temperatures (Hammond 1972: 5; Sauerwein 1998: 13). The terrain of mountains enclosing fertile basins, or alluvial plains, also lends itself to the creation of localized microclimates.

The unpredictability of rain and the summer heat contributes to diverse but generally drought-resistant vegetation, ranging from evergreens at the highest levels (pine, fir, etc.) to deciduous trees such as oak, beech, maple, and cypress, and at lower levels a maquis landscape which can include box-tree, broom, hazel, juniper, laurel, myrtle, oleander, and wild olive (Descoeudres 2008: 302–304). Outside of the northern regions, rivers can seldom be relied upon to last throughout the year, but the extra water can support trees such as willow, poplar, linden, wild cherry, and elder (Descoeudres 2008:

Human activity has modified this vegetative landscape, through deforestation, pastoral agriculture (e.g. with grazing stimulating a *phrygana* landscape of shrubs and herbs), arboreal agriculture (e.g. with the olive tree and vines), and possibly agricultural techniques such as terracing (Osborne 1996: 57; Foxhall et al. 2007: 95).

Ancient sources such as Pausanias (2nd c. AD traveler-writer) and Theophrastos (4th c. BC botanist and philosopher) have left us with indications of the use of wood in ancient art. Theophrastos provided a list of woods considered suitable for sculpting (*Caus. pl.* 5.3.9), but based on the examples provided by Pausanias, Theophrastos's list would not appear to be exhaustive. Wood could be used for figural and decorative sculptures such as the Chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5.17.5), cult images such as the Athena Polias held in the Erechtheion (Paus. 1.26.6) or as the core for gilded statues or acroliths, which had for example marble hands, feet, and faces (such as the statues in the Temple of Demeter at Onkion in Arcadia) (Paus. 8.25.6). Not all statues were made from local timber, with wood such as ebony and possibly cedar being imported (Meiggs 1982: 309).

Vegetation also had an impact on the decoration of Greek art, for example with leaf motifs such as ivy and palm leaves. A ubiquitous decorative motif on Athenian pottery, what is generally described as a lotus flower, may actually have been inspired by the large bindweed (Baumann 1993: 179). The ancients recognized the importance of their borrowings from the plant world; the Roman architect Vitruvius noted that the sculptural patterning on the Corinthian capital was based on the acanthus (*De. arch.* 4.1.9). The volute of the Ionic capital may also owe its origins to the plant world, such as the furled fronds of bracken, while the Doric column fluting may reflect the stem of the wild angelica (Baumann 1993: 183, 186).

Within the soil, the mineral resources of the clay affected the colors available to potters/painters, primarily through the level of iron content, which can yield colors ranging from umber to red to black through judicious firing (Maish et al. 2006: 9). The deep orange-red of Attic vases is due to the high iron-oxide content of the clay, most commonly in the form of the mineral hematite (Newman 2008: 105). By contrast, Corinthian clay has a higher content of calcium, which produces pots of a paler, yellow color (Clark et al. 2002: 77). Chemical analysis has identified that the glossy black glaze on Attic pots and cups comes from different clay to that used for the body and had to have specific qualities (an illitic clay with a high iron content, consistently low level of calcium oxide, no mica and a low organic content) in order to achieve the high sheen gloss (Aloupi-Siotis 2008: 113–128).

Below the surface of the soil, Greece's geography contains numerous natural resources. When the sedimentary limestone which makes up the Aegean plate is exposed to extreme heat and pressure, it can develop into the metamorphic rock marble. This stone was generally preferred in ancient times for building and sculpting to limestone, with famous quarries on the islands of Naxos and Paros, and with Attic marble from Mounts Pentelikon and Hymettos. Other quarries include the grey marble from Sparta's Mount Taygetos, only used in the 7th c. BC, the Doliana marble found in Arcadia, used in the 4th c. to build the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and marble from Thasos, which was only used locally (Palagia 2006a: xiii).

Descœudres has recently highlighted that Greece was also well endowed with mineral resources, only lacking the tin required to be worked with copper to make bronze (2008: 339). Tin had to be imported, with sources identified in Spain, central France, Brittany, and Cornwall (Stewart 1990: 2). Copper could be brought in from Cyprus, or from mineral-rich areas such as the islands of Thasos, Seriphos, and Siphnos, or the Laurion mines in Attica. Laurion is perhaps most famous for its silver mines, which were used by Athens in the 5th c. (Hdt. 4.144), and possibly earlier if Gill and Vickers's suggestion that the lead used for Archaic Spartan votive figurines came from the Laurion mines is correct (2001: 229–236). Lead was usually worked for its silver content, rather than for itself (Descœudres 2008: 306). Thasos and Siphnos also had silver and gold mines – Siphnos famously losing hers due to flooding (Hdt. 3.57). Sources of iron were and still are widespread across Greece, with Boeotia and Euboea particularly rich. It has been suggested that its availability was one factor in the move from bronze to iron technology (Descœudres 2008: 304–305). Macedonia is especially mineral-rich, with gold, silver, lead, copper, and iron resources (Hammond 1972: 12–13). Thrace also yielded much gold for the Macedonians in the 4th c. BC (Descœudres 2008: 307).

These natural resources also meant that materials for wall-painting were available at a local level (Kakoulli 2009: 75, 85). A lime-rich plaster was colored with mineral pigments such as lead white, red ochre and malachite, along with organic colorants such as charcoal and bone white.

Colonization by the Greeks, from the 8th c. into the Hellenistic period, provided access to further resources. The colder and wetter climate of the Black Sea region ([Maps 2](#) and [5](#)) meant that colonies here could support the more water-dependent bread wheat, which was subsequently imported into Greece (Osborne 1996: 62). Other colonies, such as Cyrene in North Africa, Sybaris, Kroton in Southern Italy, and Sicilian Syracuse (see [Map 6](#), Chapter 19) were all

established on fertile lands (Tsatskhladze 2006: lxii). However, this is unlikely to have been the determining factor behind the Archaic move to colonize, for as Descoeudres has recently argued, Greece at the time was more likely to have been producing and trading agricultural surpluses than seeking them (2008: 317). Areas which had once been focuses for trade, such as Spain, Egypt, and the East, could be accessed by colonies bringing in mineral, agricultural, and (not least) human resources.

Map 2 Greece and the East (source: Erskine, *Companion to Ancient History*, map 2; adapted by D. Weiss).



Topography is not simply the physical landscape but also includes human definitions of their surroundings: what is public, private, central or beyond boundaries and so on. These definitions and the extent of formalization of this topography changed over time.

Evidence for the Early Iron Age represents a Greece of few settlements, leading archaeologists to interpret a low level of population and predominance of pastoral agriculture (Alcock 2007: 130; Whitley 2001: 89–90). Settlements appear to have been small (in comparison to later sites) and to fall into two basic types. The first was made up of a scattering of detached apsidal houses without a discernable center of the community, as was visible at Nichoria in the southwest of the Peloponnese, Lefkandi on Euboea, and Emporio on Chios (Whitley 2001: 84–90; Lang 2007: 183). The second type, of agglomerated rectangular buildings on irregular streets following the contours of the land, was found at Zagora on Andros and at Vrokastro on Crete (Lang 2007: 138).

Human activity from the 8th c. BC going into the Archaic period

becomes vastly more visible in the archaeological record, through burial, cult sites, and an increase in the number and size of settlements (Osborne 1996: 70–104; Whitley 2001: 98–101; Alcock 2007: 130–131). While Hansen and Nielsen consider that the creation of the *polis* can be dated to this time (2004: 10), the general consensus seems to be that the *polis* in the sense of ‘city-state’ did not exist before the Classical period (see Whitley 2001: 165–174 for the orthodox view).

Larger settlements formed either from the merging of several closely sited villages or from small settlements based on raised land expanding down the hill (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 139). Within these settlements there was a gradual formalization of human spaces and the landscape in which they existed: many (Hansen and Nielsen would argue most) settlements gained walls, separate burial grounds, and defined sacred and public spaces (2004: 135–137; Hölscher 2007: 166). The apsidal form of house was generally abandoned or remodeled (although it could be retained to form temples, such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea) in favor of the rectilinear layout of still haphazardly shaped houses on crooked streets (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 139; Lang 2007: 190). Colonization appears to have played a role in helping to define urban space, as it is here that the first grid layouts of streets and equal parceling of land can be identified, for example at Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, founded c. 728 BC (Hölscher 2007: 167).

It is in the Archaic period that we begin to see sacred space aggrandized by the monumentalization of temples, both within and outside of the settlement. The use of sacred space, in the form of sanctuaries, tombs, and hero cults, provided markers in the landscape. These could act as statements of territorial ownership (de Polignac 1995) or as symbols of the territorial division of space between humanity and the divine (Malkin 1996). Other functions include route markers, to highlight where resources exist (as with the sanctuary at Mavriki near Tegea in Arcadia, which is close to the Doliana marble quarries) or even where settlements had once existed (Forsén 2008). The sanctuaries themselves could also act over time as indications of where borders should be (Malkin 1996: 81; Forsén 2008: 256).

Hansen and Nielsen have identified what they believe to be two basic regional types of settlement dating from the Archaic into the Classical period (2004: 78). The first is typified by a fairly small number of larger *poleis* accompanied by a large number of ‘second-order’ settlements (i.e. *komai* or villages) and occurs on the eastern mainland, where the *polis* appeared early, such as Euboea, Boeotia, Attica, the Isthmus, and the Argolid, and also in western areas where the *polis* developed later in the Classical period, such as Epeiros,

Akarnania, and Aitolia. The second type included a high number of small *poleis* with very few villages, or had none at all, and it was this type that was the norm for most of Greece and the Aegean islands. Hansen and Nielsen note that it was rare for the rural population to outnumber the urban and that Athens, where most of our information comes from, is actually an exception to the general picture (2004: 78).

There was a basic division of conceptual space which seems to have developed in the Classical period between the urban city (the *polis* or *astu*), the rural cultivated land countryside (the *khora*), and the wilderness beyond (the *eschatia*) (Orrieux and Patel 1999: 3–4). The wilderness may not be as visibly valued in artistic representation or as a Greek literary *topos*, but it had a place in the human landscape as somewhere to hunt (Lane Fox 1996), to yield resources (timber, herbs, honey, etc.) (Shipley 1996), and to have adventures or encounters with the divine (e.g. as in Euripides's *Bacchae* or Callimachos's *Hymn to Artemis*).

An overview such as this can sometimes favor the general consensus rather than specific characteristics. Two of the most powerful Greek cities of the Classical period, Athens and Sparta, were in themselves atypical. Sparta did not have city walls until the Hellenistic period. Sparta's little villages never really completely combined, as Amyklai was always outside the boundaries of the city's urban center. Athens, as noted above, was unique in having a rural population which outnumbered its urban one. It is therefore important to realize that these generalizations are simply that – generalizations; and an understanding of the specific contexts for the human topography for each city is necessary to any interpretation.

The Classical period also saw further definitions of public space. These could be subtle, as with the interior spatial divisions within private homes, or quite literally marked out. Boundary stones (*horoi*) could be used as spatial markers around the agora, or to indicate the edges where the city ended and the *khora* began (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 138, 140; Lang 2007: 190; Osborne 2007a: 198; see also Knigge 1991: figs. 1, 2 for boundary stones marking out the Kerameikos). In Athens the boundary stones could take the semi-figural form of the Herm (a block topped with the bearded head of the god Hermes, with rudimentary 'arms' and an erect phallus – see [Figure 2.3](#)). From the 6th c. BC these were set up at the entrances of private homes and temples and used as halfway markers on the roads between Athens and her demes (Thuc. 6.27.1; Ar. *Plut.* 1153; for dating, see Siebert 1990: 374–378; Parker 1996: 80–83). Herms became popular in the Athenian Agora, particularly the northwest corner. It has been suggested that this area, referred to as *Hermai*, could have been the main entrance to the city prior to the establishment of the

Themistoklean walls in the early 5th c. BC (Furley 1996: 13–18).

Figure 2.3 Athenian red-figure pelike fragment. Hermaic stelai. c. 480–470 BC (Paris, Louvre C 10793 © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski).



The physical landscape, along with human choice, made for variations in a general pattern of city planning. The sacred center of the city could be on the high ground, such as Athens's Acropolis, with the Agora at the foot acting as a focus for roads into (and of course, out of) the city. Or an agora could be near the city's harbor at a distance from the main urban sanctuary, as was the case at Miletos and Thasos (Hölscher 2007: 169). Where physical topography did not suggest a layout, human choice had greater scope. The agora could be situated in the urban center with the sanctuaries on the edges of the city; for example, overlooking the city wall toward a coastal plain at Akragas in southern Sicily. Or the sanctuaries and agora could be placed next to each other, either in the center of the city as on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse and Poseidonia, or by the city entrance

as at Himera (Hölscher 2007: 170–171).

Public amenities were provided; as water was a perennial concern, it is perhaps not surprising that public fountains were one of the features which appeared as early as the Archaic period, for example in the Athenian Agora. The agora was a multifunctional space which again varied from city to city. Hansen and Nielsen have suggested that in the Archaic period it was a focus for political activity, with meetings of the assembly and the like, but that in the Classical period it took on more of the role of a market place (2004: 140; Camp 2001: 257). But this does not appear to have been the case in Athens, where it has been argued that the Archaic political center was at the *prytaneion* to the northeast of the Acropolis, and that following the democratic reforms of the 5th c. BC, the Agora became something of a ‘show-home’ for classical democracy, with new political buildings (the new *bouleuterion*, additions to the Royal Stoa, buildings for court meetings) as well as the placement of inscriptions and statues and dedications honoring the democracy (Osborne 2007a; Shear 2007). Such embellishments also reflected the change in patronage from work commissioned by aristocratic tyrants during the Archaic period (such as the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the fountain house by the Athenian Peisistratids) to the Periklean building program, which included the central sacred space of the Acropolis.

The public buildings in and around the agora demonstrate the multiple functions for which the space could be used, as well as the city’s emphasis on the central community. Stoas (covered porticoes), which appear as early as the 7th c. BC (e.g. at Megara Hyblaia and Samos) on the edges of the agora, epitomize this multifunctionality. They could be used as meeting places for magistrates, as displays of the city’s military prowess (as with the Painted Stoa on the northern edge of the Athenian Agora, dating to c. 475–450 BC, which was decorated with panels of heroic battles including the Battle at Marathon; Paus. 1.15), as shops, and also as lovely shady spots for the discussion of philosophy. The Archaic agora could include wooden stands to be used as assembly places, as at Metapontum, or for theatrical performances, as for example in Athens (Gebhard 1973: xiii; Hölscher 2007: 174). The Classical period saw the monumentalization of such theaters outside of the agora; to the side of the agora at Metapontum, and to the southern slope of the Acropolis in Athens.

Private space in the Classical period also underwent topographical changes. Grid patterns for streets were adopted, which assisted in a greater uniformity in house design. Rather than a series of rooms that were passed through sequentially, entrances were now into a central courtyard that was partially or fully colonnaded. This central courtyard can be interpreted as a ‘distributive space’, directing

communication between various rooms in the house which opened out into it (Nevett 2005: 4), or as a transitional or neutral space in which newcomers into the house could interact with the family (Lang 2007: 188). While the majority of rooms continued to be multifunctional, it is possible to identify specific functions within some, such as the *andron* with mosaic floor decoration and an off-center door to accommodate couches for reclining at *symposia*, or kitchen areas with adjacent bathrooms identifiable by their waterproof plastering (Nevett 2005: 4).

There were further changes to public and private topography in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. On a broad scale, rural survey has identified the Late Classical period as reaching a peak in rural activity, which dropped away sharply in the Hellenistic period (Shipley 2002; Alcock 2007: 135–136). There is considerable regional variation within this trend and the reasons are not entirely clear; it may, however, indicate a move in ownership of land into fewer, more prosperous hands.

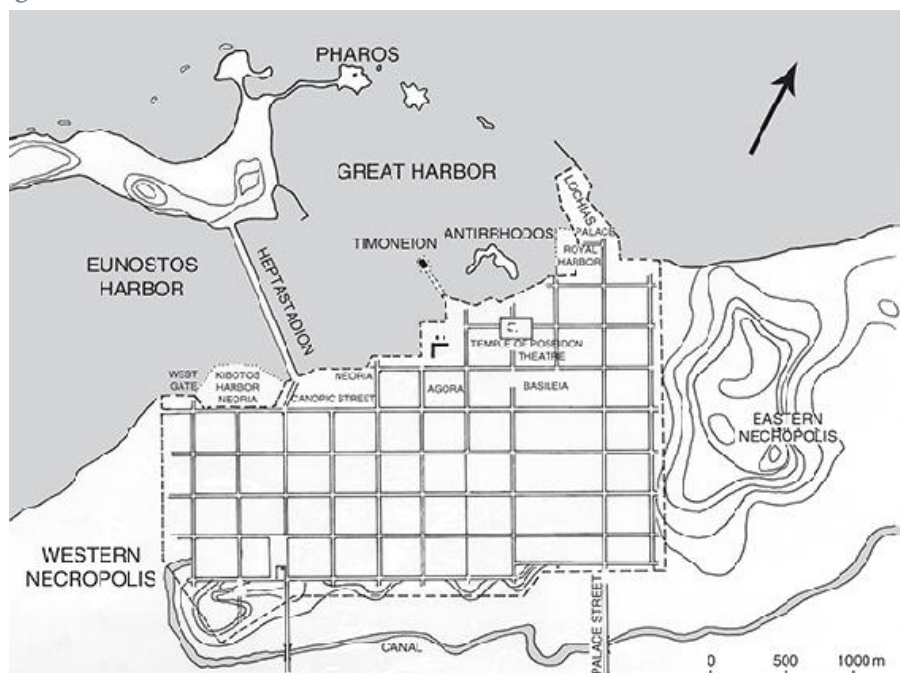
It is in this period that we also see a greater elaboration in house design and decoration (for those able to afford it). Double-courtyard houses, such as the House of the Mosaics on Eretria and the House of Dionysos in Pella in Macedonia, develop over the course of the 4th c. These houses have numerous rooms with mosaic decoration, which indicates a greater level of investment in entertaining within the home, while at the same time enabling a segregation between more public and private areas (Nevett 2001: 107–116, 162–166).

Also at this time, human control over urban topography is visible with the extension of the concept of grids for street planning to rigidly orthogonal layouts, such as at Olynthos, Kassope on the gulf of Arta, and Goritsa in Thessaly, and as taken to extremes at Priene, where some of the streets were actually flights of stairs (Shipley 2000: 90–91, figs. 3.6, 3.7).

Urban planning also altered to reflect the changing political structures of the Hellenistic period: where once the city itself had been the patron of building programs, this role now fell to Hellenistic kings or external benefactors, as is visible with the stoas in Athens bestowed by the Pergamene Attalid dynasty. City plans now incorporated palaces or grand mansions for these new patrons. Pella, as the 3rd c. capital for Macedonian rulers, balanced the new palace on a hill above the city, with the residential district (orthogonally laid, of course) on the other side of the central agora (Hölscher 2007: 178). Egypt's new capital at Alexandria was also laid out based on the orthogonal grid pattern, dominated by a central main road from which two perpendicular roads led off: one to the harbor and lighthouse, and one to the palace quarter. The center of the city was still the agora, which

lay in between the two perpendicular roads, but also had the added Hellenistic element of a public park, which included an artificial hill with a sanctuary to the god Pan (see [Figure 2.4](#)). The palace quarter included public elements with a monumental peristyle reception area and the famous Mouseion (Hölscher 2007: 180; see Austin 1981: 388–392 for a translation of Strabo’s description of the city).

Figure 2.4 Plan of Alexandria (after Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: fig. 225).



The urban topography was also prettified with the use of uniform facades and a uniformity of design for specific building types, such as the theater, *gymnasion*, sanctuaries, and even the city gates (Stewart 2006: 162–163; Hölscher 2007: 178). Perhaps the best example of the changes to urban space are viewed through the Athenian Agora: an open, malleable space in the Archaic period, a display of the power of democracy in the Classical period, and a decorative memory to the city’s (past) glory in the Hellenistic period ([Figure 2.5](#)).

Figure 2.5 Athens, the Agora. Planning development from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (after Camp 1986: figs. 21, 66 and 139).



2.3 Conclusion

This general overview provides a starting point for contextualizing ancient Greek art. The material culture of ancient Greece found its meaning in the physical (natural and human) landscapes, which influenced the materials and at times provided inspiration. The social and political landscape also affected the artistic choices, through, for example, the subject matter, location, and the meaning(s) ascribed to the pieces. Understanding the development of Greek art requires that we place it in some kind of order. However, it should be kept in mind that this order can be a construct in itself, and it is wise to remain aware of the traditions, assumptions, and potential pitfalls associated with providing material or visual culture with a temporal context.

FURTHER READING

Chronology

Biers (1992) is a small but perfect summary of ancient chronology, covering clearly and concisely how ancient materials may be used, along with modern scientific methods and associated complications. Bickermann (1980) is an updated version first published in 1968 but is still useful. For more detail on archaeological techniques of dating, Renfrew and Bahn (2000) is an invaluable textbook. For more detail on ancient methods of dating, Hannah (2009) is extremely readable while being scholarly rigorous. With regards to the problems of early Greek chronology, Shaw (2003) discusses the issues with using the Olympiads as a source for modern chronologies (basically not everyone started from the same point to number them); this has recently been reexamined by Christesen (2007). Whitley (2001) provides a clear summary of the current issues with the traditional

fixed points used for artistic chronology; both he and Biers provide excellent summaries and critiques of the challenges to the chronology brought by Frances and Vickers.

Topography

The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Talbot 2000) is excellent but not easily portable and unlikely to be allowed out of any library. The *Atlas of the Greek World* (Levi 1980) is rather easier to handle and contains numerous maps on varying themes. On the Internet there is Google Earth (home page: <http://earth.google.com>). For a detailed description of the geological history of Greece, see Higgins and Higgins (1996). A broad view of the impact of geography on Greek history is provided in Horden and Purcell (2000), a fascinating book. If your interest is more in general studies of Greek landscape, both natural and human, then the edited volumes referred to in the text, especially Salmon and Shipley (1996) and Alcock and Osborne (2007), will be of use.

CHAPTER 3

Greek Decorated Pottery I: Athenian Vase-painting

Thomas Mannack

3.1 Introduction

The decorated pottery of ancient Athens, also referred to as ‘Attic’, is among the most substantial and well-preserved art forms of the Greek world. Often termed ‘vases’ by scholars, as will largely be the case here, these beautifully and sometimes elaborately decorated vessels have captured the imagination of excavators, collectors, and historians for well over two centuries. This chapter presents a chronological summary, from the Mycenaean phase of the Late Bronze Age, through the Geometric styles, and finally to the black-figure and red-figure potters and painters, whose names and artistic personalities are the best known. Although mention is made throughout of techniques, artists, shapes, and decorative subjects, some of these areas will be treated in more detail towards the end, along with trade and distribution, and chronology.

3.2 Late Bronze Age and Sub-Mycenaean

Between c. 1650 and 1100 BC the Greek mainland was dominated by the Bronze Age Mycenaean culture. Mycenaean artisans constructed monumental buildings, produced sculpture, exquisite jewelry and large-scale paintings on walls, and decorated pottery. Potter-painters of this time period, referred to as Late Helladic, decorated vases such

as the stemmed cup (kylix), 'stirrup' jars, and mixing bowls (kraters) with intricate animal and human figure-scenes. Among these are pictures of bulls, goats, chariots, and the marching warriors on the so-called 'Warrior Vase' from Mycenae, representing the Pictorial Style (Mannack 2002: fig. 23). With the collapse of Mycenaean culture around 1100 BC, the population shrank drastically, and most of the arts were lost. However, pottery production continued, albeit on a much smaller scale. Sub-Mycenaean potters made the same shapes as those of the later Bronze Age, but the quality of the fabric was inferior, and decoration consisted of simple wavy lines on the widest or most prominent part of the body of the vessel.

3.3 Protogeometric

The Protogeometric style of painting (c. 1050–900 BC) evolved seamlessly from Sub-Mycenaean around 950 BC and is best represented in the graves of the Athenian cemetery in the Kerameikos district. Protogeometric vases were turned on the wheel and fired at higher temperatures than their Sub-Mycenaean predecessors. Early Protogeometric vases continued to be decorated with wavy bands. Other typical ornaments are sets of oblique strokes; concentric circles and semicircles, which have double-axe or hourglass patterns in the center on Late Protogeometric vases; checkerboard, hatched and cross-hatched triangles; and cross-hatched panels on the most prominent parts of the vase. There are no human figures, but a few painters at least placed horses in unobtrusive places (Boardman 1998: fig. 13). Two main groups of pots can be distinguished: light ground, with ornaments painted using black-glaze paint on the orange-red clay, and dark-ground vases coated with black clay-paint save for a reserved band that received the ornament. Favorite shapes of this period included neck- and belly-handled amphorae, hydriai (water jars), oinochoai (lit. wine jug), lekythoi, and skyphoi (stemless cups) (see [Figure 3.1](#) for shapes).

Figure 3.1 Chart of main Greek pottery shapes (after Pedley 2007: fig. 6.72).



Amphora



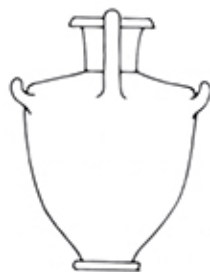
Neck-amphora



Panathenaic amphora



Pelike



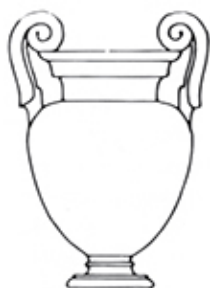
Hydria



Hydria (Calpis)



Oinochoe



Volute-krater



Bell-krater



Calyx-krater



Dinos



Kylix



Skyphos



Kantharos



Phiale



Lekythos



Aryballos



Alabastron



Pyxis



Loutrophoros

3.4 Geometric

The Geometric style evolved from the Protogeometric, but painters of

the Geometric period stressed the constituting parts; therefore the neck and the body received separate bands of ornaments. The style is characterized by linear, rectilinear, and circular ornaments such as key patterns, battlements, meanders, and concentric circles placed in panels or encircling friezes. The Geometric period, based on pottery shapes and styles, is subdivided into Early (900–850 BC), Middle (850–750 BC), and Late (750–700 BC) (Boardman 1998: 23–24; Coldstream 1977: 385, fig. 116). The style was widespread outside of Athens and Attica, with prolific workshops recognized in Euboea, Boeotia, the region of Argos, the Cyclades, and East Greece (see Chapter 4).

Early Geometric vase forms evolved from their Protogeometric predecessors. Early Geometric painters continued to decorate shoulder- and neck-handled amphorae; the lekythoi of the period were largely replaced with a hybrid version with trefoil mouth, the lekythos-oinochoe; hydriai disappeared altogether; and deep skyphoi became rare. In the second half of the period, potters introduced the flat-bottomed oinochoe and shallow skyphoi with offset lips. Artists favored austere black vases with narrow bands of ornament. With time, these bands widened, and painters added further encircling bands on the body, lightening the vases. There are no human or animal figures among the extant examples.

Middle Geometric potters introduced flat pyxides (lidded boxes) and pedestal kraters, and the elegant high-handled kantharos later in the period. Vase-painters achieved a perfect balance of light and dark areas, introduced new ornaments such as the double-axe, lozenge-chain, leaf-cross, and false spiral, and added small panels with stars or short zigzags on the shoulders of closed shapes. Early in the period, an artist painted a mourning woman and a horse on a large krater, which served as the marker of a rich grave (Coldstream 2008: 21). Thereafter, painters appear to have stopped drawing humans until the end of the period, but pictures of horses, frequently placed in metope-like panels, became increasingly popular. The clay-paint of the period is less glossy than that of the Proto- and Early Geometric phases, a detail discernable with the naked eye. Two remarkable vases mark the beginning of true figure-painting in Athens: a skyphos from Eleusis depicting battles on land and sea (Boardman 1998: fig. 41), and a monumental krater in New York with similar iconography (Mannack 2002: 74), once used as a grave marker.

The beginning of Late Geometric is marked by the conventionally named Dipylon Painter's monumental (1.62 m) belly-handled neck-amphora in Athens, dated around 760/750 BC. The impressive vase served as the grave marker of an aristocratic woman in the prestigious Dipylon cemetery, a section of the Kerameikos. The figure-scene,

depicting the lying-in-state (*prothesis*) of a woman, is placed in a panel between the handles (Boardman 1998: fig. 44). The remainder of the vase is embellished with delicately balanced light and dark patterns, among them the multiple left-running meander thought to have been invented by the Dipylon Master. The Late Geometric was a time of prosperity, and contact with the Near East is attested by the first known animal friezes of kneeling goats looking backwards at the bottom of the neck, and grazing deer two-thirds up the Dipylon amphora. Monumental kraters (Figure 3.2) and neck-handled amphorae served as markers for the graves of men, and belly-handled amphorae for those of women (see Chapter 24). Smaller vases with and without figure-decoration were often placed in graves. Vases are covered with a tapestry of fine dark ornaments, resulting in what can only be termed *horror vacui*.

Figure 3.2 Athenian Late Geometric krater. Funeral procession. c. 745–740 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum A 990. Photo: akg-images/Erich Lessing).



With the onset of figure-painting, vases can be attributed, on stylistic grounds, to particular painters if there are two (or better yet, more) by the same hand. The Dipylon Painter's figures are characteristic: the arms and chest of mourning figures form an isosceles triangle; the outline of the chest is slightly concave; and chins are prominent. This artist specialized in large funerary vases, introducing giant oinochoai, high-rimmed bowls, pitchers, and decorated standard oinochoai and tankards.

These vases illustrate the main concerns of Geometric vase-painters: aristocratic funerals, represented by pictures of the *prothesis* – the most common theme, as seen above; funeral processions (*ekphora*),

which are less frequently shown; and fighting on land and sea. Fighting scenes, it seems, ended with the Dipylon Workshop.

The second great painter of the Late Geometric period has been named the Hirschfeld Painter, after a monumental krater once in the Hirschfeld collection and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Boardman 1998: figs. 45, 47). His style differs in several regards from the Dipylon Master. For example, the arms of his mourners form rectangles, the eyes of his figures are a single black dot in the middle of an outlined face or head, and the gender of his subjects is more clearly articulated on the basis of attributes or anatomy (Coldstream 1977: 114).

In the course of the period, decoration ceases to harmonize with shape, and human and animal friezes are broadened beyond the handle zone and placed on the neck and body. Two strands of workshops can be discerned: painters working in the tradition of the Dipylon Master's workshop, and numerous others developing their own styles and subjects, among them the Workshop of Athens 897 (Davison 1961: 45–48). Towards the end of Late Geometric, vases could be adorned by four friezes on the body, shoulder, and neck, and by modeled snakes on the lip, handles, and shoulder, the latter again indicating a funerary function (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 78).

The themes and meanings of Geometric figure-scenes are contested. Human life, Homeric epics, and generic myths have been suggested, but in spite of large numbers of figures, the absence of identifying attributes and narrative often makes identification impossible. There are only a few likely candidates for mythological scenes, among them shipwrecked Odysseus and a hero (perhaps Theseus or Menelaus) abducting a woman (perhaps Ariadne or Helen). The theme of a double figure identified as the Siamese twins, Aktorione or Molione (cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.709–10; Boardman 1998: fig. 59), occurs on a number of vases but disappears with the end of Geometric painting conventions (Coldstream 1991).

3.5 Protoattic

The Orientalizing style of Athens is called Protoattic, and its dates are c. 700–600 BC. Subdivided in Early, Middle, and Late phases, it evolved naturally from the Geometric, but not without outside influences. Protoattic vases are large, occasionally even monumental. In the second half of the 8th c. BC, contact with the Near East and Egypt acquainted Greek artisans with new styles, techniques, and motifs, which vase-painters adapted and combined with the Geometric

style of painting. In Athens, orientalizing inspiration may not have been direct, but arrived via Corinth. Around 700 BC, orientalizing features such as painting in outline, spiral hooks, cable-pattern, florals, and Eastern motifs such as griffins and lions began to outweigh the characteristics of the Geometric style. Among finds from Aigina, an island near Athens off the Attic coast, are vases of the period associated with the Black and White Style (see below). Notable for their imagery are a pedestal krater with Orestes killing Aigisthos (cf. Boardman 1998: fig. 209), a neck-amphora displaying Peleus and the infant Achilles on one side and the centaur Chiron on the other, and a jug, the shoulder of which is decorated with Odysseus's escape from the cave of Polyphemos, the 'name vase' of the Ram Jug Painter (Boardman 1998: figs. 206, 209). The period saw a decline in numbers of vases produced, and a further deterioration in quality: surfaces are softer, the paint less glossy and flaky.

Early Protoattic (700–675 BC) vases are characterized by outline painting and homogenous figures that move organically and have lost the stiffness of their Geometric predecessors. Charioteers are in correct proportion with their vehicles, which now have proper side rails. Incision is rare. Neck-amphorae are more slender than Geometric containers and are often adorned with modeled snakes and latticed (or fenestrated) handles; the angle between neck and body is less sharp. In Protoattic, tall and slender hydriai, often with plastic snake attachments, came back into fashion. The first painter of the new style is known as the Analatos Painter, named after the archaeological find spot of Analatos in Attica. His neck-amphora in the Louvre is the finest representative of the new style (Boardman 1998: fig. 189).

In the Middle Protoattic (675–650 BC) potters introduced ovoid kraters with fenestrated stands, and slender oinochoai termed 'Phaleron' jugs; around 650 BC, painters began to use added red paint. The Middle Protoattic Black and White Style takes its name from the combination of black clay paint with added white, and the use of black-and-white cable-pattern. While there are no certain mythological paintings from the Geometric and Early Protoattic periods, artists using the Black and White Style created a wealth of narrative paintings. Perhaps the earliest depicts Herakles fighting the centaur Nessos (CVA Berlin 1: pl. 11, A 21), a theme that was also chosen by the New York Nessos Painter (Boardman 1998: fig. 210), who placed the main protagonists off-center, and in the Late Protoattic by the Nettos Painter (Boardman 1974: fig. 5). An amphora excavated in Eleusis, attributed to the Polyphemos Painter, is decorated with Perseus fleeing imaginative cauldron-headed gorgons on the body, and Odysseus and his companions blinding the cyclops Polyphemos on the neck (Boardman 1998: fig. 208). The large vessel (1.42 m), which

served as the final resting place for a deceased child, reveals an increasing interest in recognizable mythological narratives.

Late Protoattic (c. 650–600) potters continued to decorate large skyphos-kraters and introduced new shapes, among them the belly-amphora. Their painters used the black-figure technique consistently for figures and ornament. The earliest recognizable painters are the Painter of Berlin A 34 and the Chimaira-Nettos Painter. A fragmentary vase in Leipzig attributed to the Nettos Painter (Beazley 1986: pl. II.1) was excavated in Cerveteri and is the earliest known to have been exported to Etruria; his name-vase was the last to serve as a grave marker for more than a century (Boardman 1974: fig. 5). The Nettos Painter's animal friezes were influenced by Corinthian models, but in contrast to their single lines, he used double and triple incisions for anatomical details. Such use of incision to articulate details of anatomy, musculature, and so on represents both direct knowledge and adoption by Athenian painters of black-figure, a technique whose invention is credited to Corinth.

3.6 Painters and Techniques

Athenian black- and red-figure painters were defined by John Davidson Beazley (1885–1970), an Oxford-based scholar. In contrast to earlier – mostly German – vase scholars, Beazley did not only study pieces with signatures and of high quality, but all figure-decorated vases available to him (Mannack 2002: 18–19). He differentiated around 500 vase-painters, potters, groups, and workshops, scrutinizing shape, ornament, and style of painting. In most instances, the painters' real names are unknown. Beazley, therefore, named them after personal idiosyncrasies (Elbows Out, Worst Painter), the location of their special work (Berlin Painter), the potter they worked for (Amasis Painter, Kleophrades Painter), or a noteworthy subject (Pan Painter). Many scholars have continued this trend of naming new painters, or incorporating them into the framework established by Beazley in his legendary 'lists' of Attic black-figure (1956) and red-figure (1963) vase-painters.

The Attic pottery associated with black- and red-figure vases was made of iron-rich clay which fired to red-orange in the kiln. The paint was made of the same clay diluted with water. Clay-paint of varying thickness produces relief-lines standing proud off the surface and catching the light, applied either with a single hair (Seiterle 1976) or an icing bag (Noble 1988), and black to yellow paint. Black-figure painters sketched the figure-scene, filled the figures in with clay-paint,

and incised details with a sharp instrument; red-figure painters surrounded their sketches with an eighth-of-an-inch-wide outline, added interior lines, and filled in the background. Details could be added in white (kaolinite), red (miltos), and purple clays. The final coloring developed in a three-stage firing process in which the thinner clay-paint melted and prevented the enclosed iron from being oxidized; therefore, the paint remained black, while the clay body turned orange (Cook 1997: 231–240, 259–262; see Chapter 13).

3.7 Black-figure

The full black-figure technique begins with the work of the Gorgon Painter (600–580 BC), named after a dinos showing the gorgons pursuing Perseus and warriors fighting between chariots (Boardman 1974: fig. 11), continuing the tradition of the Nettos Painter. The technique may be defined as follows: figures, both human and animal, painted in black silhouette, with their details incised, and in some cases added red or white paint. Sustained Corinthian influence is attested in the work of the Gorgon Painter by animal-style friezes below the main scenes, and the animals on his other vases, among them standed kraters, belly-amphorae, plates, and oinochoai. Also at this time, the painters of the Horse-Head Amphorae (600–550 BC), named after their preferred subject, the head of a bridled horse (Boardman 1974: fig. 18), introduced a new scheme of decoration for belly-amphorae which became canonical. Figure-scenes were placed in reserved panels, and the body was painted black. Around 100 such amphorae are known, which interestingly foreshadow Panathenaic prize amphorae (see below); one of the earliest examples was found with a vase assigned to the Nettos Painter.

The first Athenian painter to sign his name is Sophilos, active c. 580–570 BC. His name as painter is inscribed on three dinoi with narrative scenes and on one as maker, *‘poietes’*, probably meaning ‘potter’ (CVA Athens 1: pl. 1.1–2). He preferred large vases such as dinoi, and amphorae, and decorated the earliest known funerary plaques and lebetes gamikoi (ritual wedding vessels), as well as one of the earliest Athenian column-kraters, copying Corinthian prototypes. A signed dinos from Pharsalos (Boardman 1974: fig. 26) bears a new type of inscription: the (misspelled) caption, *Patroqlus atla*, ‘the games in honor of Patroklos’, appears next to a stand with spectators and the name of Achilles. Two dinoi, one in Athens and another in London (Figure 3.3), display the earliest known encircling figure friezes: the procession of gods at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, in which each

of the figures is named by inscriptions.

Figure 3.3 Athenian black-figure dinos signed by the painter Sophilos. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis. c. 580 BC (London, British Museum 1971, 1101.1).



The same subject adorns the main frieze of the earliest Athenian volute-krater, the François Vase, made around 570 BC and signed twice by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as *poietai* (Figure 30.1;

Boardman 1974: figs. 46.1–7). It was found in an Etruscan grave near Chiusi and is the first large Greek container to be decorated almost entirely with narrative scenes. Five of the six friezes, including one on the foot, are given over to humans, heroes, and gods. Many are innovative: the earliest known Centauromachy with Theseus and the death of Kaineus in vase-painting; the earliest Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; the only ship with an adjustable mast; and the first city walls. There are artistic innovations too: seated figures place one foot behind the other, and the chariot horses lift one front hoof. Some archaeologists have proposed that the scenes – including: the Hunt of the Kalydonian Boar; the funeral games for Patroklos; Achilles and Troilos; Theseus and his companions celebrating their escape from the Cretan labyrinth; the Return of Hephaistos; and the fight between the Pygmies and cranes – have a common theme and that the krater may have been commissioned for a wedding feast (Beazley 1986: ch. 3; cf. Carpenter 1991: ch. 2). However, the painter may have been aware of the Etruscans' predilection for splendid vases with Greek inscriptions, as all the figures and objects are neatly labeled.

Attic black-figure cups also appear to have been inspired by Corinthian containers. Among the earliest are the Komast Cups, assigned to the Komast Group (580–570 BC), so named for the reveling figures ('komasts') that often adorn their exteriors (their interiors are left plain). The Group's founder was likely the KX Painter (for Komast X), whose style was very near that of Sophilos. He produced lekanides (shallow bowls) adorned with animals in the Corinthian tradition and mythological scenes, Corinthian-type skyphoi with komasts in red costumes, and a small number of other shapes (see Chapter 28). His companion was the KY Painter (Komast Y), who in addition to cups added large decorated column-kraters to his repertoire. Following on from Komast Cups are the larger and more elaborately decorated Siana Cups, which developed around 570 BC in the workshop of the C or 'Corinthianizing' Painter. There are two main schemes of decoration: overlap, where figures cover handle zone and lip, and double-decker with one theme on the lip and another in the handle zone. Usually, the insides of Siana Cups also bear figure scenes. The C Painter appears to have had a particular interest in the Trojan War. In addition to Siana Cups, he decorated a tripod-pyxis in the Louvre (Boardman 1974: fig. 38) with the Birth of Athena and the Judgment of Paris, and a lekanis in Naples with a Sack of Troy scene. A cup in the British Museum (CVA British Museum 2: pl. 8.2A–C) features the Rape of Cassandra on the inside, and the Introduction of Herakles to Mount Olympos on the outside. Achilles in pursuit of Troilos adorns several cups, among them a vase in New York (Beazley 1986: pl. 17.1–3). Another favorite was running gorgons. His

colleague, the Heidelberg Painter, was fond of Dionysos and particularly of Herakles. He was the first to depict the hero with the Boar (*LIMC* 5: pl. 62, Herakles, 2108), the Egyptian king Busiris (Beazley 1956: 64.11), and Nereus (Beazley 1956: 66.56); among his notable works is a study of wrestlers in Florence (Beazley 1956: 64.26).

Little Master Cups are far more attractive than the previous examples, with their flaring feet with long stems, and offset, concave lips. Appearing in the middle of the 6th c. BC are two types, known as lip-cups, frequently including an inscription (often a signature) in the handle zone, with the inside figure-decorated, and band-cups ([Figure 3.4](#)), painted black save for a reserved band between the handles that received the figure-decoration or an inscription, often with the inside undecorated. The Little Masters have preserved a number of painters' and potters' names, among them Xenokles and Tleson, the latter of whom signed as an Athenian citizen, giving his father's name, Nearchos (cf. Boardman 1974: fig. 49). Contemporary with both late Siana Cups and the Little Masters are vases of the so-called Tyrrhenian Group, primarily ovoid neck-amphorae whose main frieze is decorated with mythological or everyday scenes, including the earliest known erotica, rows of animal friezes, and 'nonsense' inscriptions. Most vases of this type with known provenance have been found in Etruria (a few in Ionia) and were probably made for that market. One of the best known shows the Sacrifice of Polyxene and is attributed to the Timiades Painter (Boardman 1974: fig. 57).

Figure 3.4 Athenian black-figure kylix. Gigantomachy. c. 550–540 BC (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2238. Photo: Renate Kühling).



Lydos, 'the Lydian' (560–540 BC), may have moved to Athens from Asia Minor, as suggested by his name. He signed an amphora (the inscription is misspelled: CVA Louvre 11: pl.125.1–4) and a fragmentary dinos with a large-scale Gigantomachy dedicated on the Acropolis as painter (Boardman 1974: figs. 64.1–3). In his time, large vases with large figures became common. He had a long working life, decorating Siana Cups (CVA Taranto 3: pl. 21.4–6), a Little Master Cup signed by the potter Nikosthenes (Boardman 1974: fig. 70), sympotic shapes, such as a column-krater with the Return of Hephaistos in New York (Boardman 1974: figs. 65.1, 65.2), a cooler-amphora (Boardman 1974: fig. 66) with a spout and an inset container for cold water to keep the wine cool, and vases for funerals, among them plaques for attachment to tombs (Boardman 1974: fig. 71).

The potter Nikosthenes (545–510 BC) can be assumed to have owned a large workshop and signed around 170 vases. He may have been trained in the workshop of the Tyrrhenian amphorae or by Anakles, a minor maker of Little Master Cups, with whom he signed a cup as maker (Beazley 1956: 230.1). Nikosthenes too catered for the Etruscan market and made figure-decorated versions of plain Etruscan shapes such as the kyathos (wine-dipper) and a particular variety of neck-amphora with strap handles (Boardman 1974: 64–65). A cup in Richmond, Virginia (Beazley 1963: 122, 1627) appears to copy East Greek (Ionian) prototypes. Nikosthenes employed a number of important painters, among them Lydos and the red-figure painters Oltos and Psiax.

The potter Amasis was probably another foreigner in the Athenian Kerameikos, since his name is the Greek version of the Egyptian name *Ahmose*, and the name 'Amasos' labels a male with African features on an amphora signed by Exekias (J. Paul Getty Museum 1987: 150, fig. 7; 159, fig. 4). The signature of Amasis occurs on 12 known vases, and all are decorated by the same painter. It is therefore likely that Amasis and the Amasis Painter (550–515 BC) were one and the same. Beazley further notes that the Amasis Painter had much in common with Kleitias and the Heidelberg Painter (Beazley 1986: 52). The Amasis Painter decorated band-cups and a curious hybrid of band- and lip-cup (CVA Louvre 9: pl. 84.1-5), eye-cups, lekythoi – among them a pair of oil containers now in New York, one with a group of women weaving and working wool (Boardman 1974: fig. 78), and an old-fashioned Deianeira lekythos (Beazley 1956: 155.62) – oinochoai, and neck- and belly-amphorae. One of his most important works by far is a signed neck-amphora in Paris (Boardman 1974: fig. 85), decorated with the wine god Dionysos and two dancing maenads or nymphs. The women, regardless of identity, are drawn in outline, which has been seen as an experiment by an artist who was no longer contented with what the

black-figure technique could offer.

Arguably the greatest black-figure vase-painter was Exekias (550–525 BC), who signed two vases as painter and potter, and an additional ten as potter only. Among them is the well-known amphora with Ajax and Achilles (Plate 2) playing a game on the obverse – the first depiction of this scene of over 150 examples – and the return of the Dioskouroi on the reverse. It might even be said that Exekias was highly literate. In addition to the artist's signature, the figures on the vase are named, 'Ajax' and 'Achilles', and they pronounce the numbers they have thrown, '*tessara*' and '*tria*', a four and a three. The painter also praises his favorite, one 'Onetorides', as *kalos* or 'handsome'. Exekias introduced a new pot shape, the calyx-krater (Boardman 1974: fig. 103), and the standard 'type A' cup (Boardman 1974: figs. 104.1–3) with deep, rounded bowl with uninterrupted profile, short stem, and broad feet. Some such cups are decorated with two large eyes and are therefore named eye-cups. Exekias also experimented with new techniques: Dionysos in a ship surrounded by dolphins, painted on a coral-red background, fills the whole inside of a cup in Munich. Among Exekias's notable works are two series of funerary plaques (Boardman 1974: figs. 105.1, 105.2), an amphora with Ajax preparing his suicide (Boardman 1974: fig. 101), and the death of Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles (Figure 23.2). Exekias did not use the red-figure technique, but taught the Andokides Painter, who is among those credited with its invention. Some details of his work, such as an ambitious falling chariot (Beazley 1956: 147.4–5), seem to anticipate the experiments of the red-figure Pioneers.

Panathenaic prize amphorae, with short neck, ovoid body, and small disc-feet, were probably introduced in 566 BC, when the Panathenaic games were reformed by the tyrant Peisistratos. As many as 140, filled with olive oil from the sacred groves of Athena, were presented to victorious athletes. Panathenaic prize vases bear the inscription '*of the Athenian Games*', are decorated in black-figure, and were made until the 1st c. BC. The Burgon Group vase in London (Boardman 1974: figs. 296.1, 296.2) is the earliest known example and is decorated with Athena on the obverse and a *biga* (two-horse chariot) on the reverse. The canonical type was finalized in the workshop of Exekias: double lotus-palmette chain on the neck, tongues on the shoulder, rays above the foot, Athena with raised left heel advancing to the left between columns surmounted by cocks on the obverse, and an athletic contest on the reverse. Painters of the Leagros Group were the first to tag amphorae with Athena's shield-device, a siren. After the introduction of the red-figure technique, contracts for making prize amphorae went to the leading red-figure workshops. In the 4th c., painters inscribed the name of the *archon*

eponymous on the vases for a while, providing the year of their production. Interestingly, after 367 BC Athena advanced to the right (Boardman 1974: fig. 307).

3.8 Red-figure

The red-figure technique was introduced around 530 BC. The Andokides Painter and Psiax, who decorated large ‘bilingual’ vases (that is, decorated in black- and red-figure), are among those credited with its invention. The Andokides Painter is named after the potter Andokides, who signed ten vases and was probably trained by Exekias. Decorating amphorae, eye-cups, and at least one calyx-krater, he was fond of experiments. One of his more successful appears on an amphora in Paris (Boardman 1975: fig. 4) using ‘Six’s technique’, a method of painting described below. Among his best known vases are amphorae with Herakles and Kerberos in Paris (*LIMC* 5: pl. 92, Herakles, 2554) and with Herakles and the bull in black- and red-figure in Boston (Boardman 1975: fig. 8). Some scholars attribute the black-figure pictures to a different artist, the Lysippides Painter, named after several *kalos*-inscriptions, while others maintain that the Andokides Painter was competent in both techniques.

While the inventors of red-figure merely reversed the black-figure technique, the red-figure Pioneers, Euphronios, Euthymides, Phintias, Smikros, and others, were the first to explore its artistic possibilities and use relief-lines (lines of glaze paint standing proud off the surface and catching the light) and diluted glaze paint to create dark brown to yellow lines. The Pioneers were obsessively fond of anatomical details and drew twisted limbs and turned bodies, creating the illusion of foreshortening and depth. They were highly literate, although Phintias appears to have been uncertain of the spelling of his name, and were a closely knit group, since they referred to each other on their vases. The Pioneers praised the beauty of Leagros and introduced the neck-amphora with twisted handles. Best known is Euphronios (520–470 BC), who was probably trained by Psiax, and signed early paintings, Hypnos and Thanatos (Sleep and Death) removing the body of Sarpedon on a calyx-krater made by the potter Euxitheos ([Figure 30.2](#)), and Herakles and Geryon on a cup potted by Kachrylion (Boardman 1975: fig. 26), as painter. Later he appears to have owned his own workshop, because he signed as a maker of vases (*LIMC* 8: pl. 400, Iliouperis, 7; Boardman 1975: fig. 228).

Douris (500–460 BC) ([Figure 3.5](#)) began his painting career for the potters Euphronios and Kleophrades. There are four distinct phases

characterized by the use of ornaments and the *kalos*-names Chairestratos, Aristagoras, and Hippiodamas. Douris used the white-ground technique on cups and lekythoi (Boardman 1975: fig. 294) and was fond of mythology and scenes of human life. Another prolific Late Archaic painter of cups was Makron (c. 490–480 BC), who regularly worked with the potter Hieron. His best work is found on skyphoi (Boardman 1975: figs. 308, 309), and most cups are decorated with scenes of human life, including revelers and Dionysian worship.

Figure 3.5 Athenian red-figure kylix signed by Douris. School. c. 485–480 BC (Berlin, Archaeological Museum 2285. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence/BPK, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin).



The painters of large shapes (pots rather than cups) of the Late Archaic period, the Kleophrades, Berlin, and Pan Painters, were among the very best Athenian vase-painters. The Kleophrades Painter (510–475 BC), named after the potter of that name (*LIMC* 1: 592, *Amazones*, 84) and Beazley's 'painter of power', used the black- and red-figure techniques and decorated amphorae, hydriai, calyx-kraters, and pelikai. He was trained in the Pioneer workshop. The painter had a special interest in the Trojan War and its aftermath (cf. Boardman 1975: fig. 135), and the world of Dionysos: a calyx-krater in Paris (Boardman 1975: fig. 130) is decorated with the Return of Hephaistos, and a remarkable pointed neck-amphora in Munich (Boardman 1975: fig. 132.1–2) with a Dionysian *thiasos*. The Kleophrades Painter was also awarded the contract to decorate Panathenaic prize amphorae, and his hallmark was a Pegasos on Athena's shield. Some of his red-figure vases, particularly amphorae of Panathenaic shape, are austere:

a single figure on a short base line contrasts sharply with the black of the body.

Austerity was taken to extremes by the Berlin Painter (c. 495–465 BC), Beazley's 'painter of grace'. He was trained in the Pioneer workshop and is named after a lidded amphora of type A in Berlin (Boardman 1975: fig. 144), decorated with three overlapping figures: Hermes, a deer, and a satyr, on a short base line. The Berlin Painter decorated the earliest known bell-kraters, which have lug handles and no feet. A splendid example in Paris (Boardman 1975: fig. 150) is decorated on one side with a fleeing Ganymede, and with Zeus in pursuit of him on the other. The Berlin Painter also decorated neck-amphorae, some with twisted handles, Nolan amphorae, small neck-amphorae with double and later triple handles, named after their mostly attested find place in Italy, amphorae of Panathenaic shape (Figure 3.6), and Panathenaic prize amphorae. He either places his figures on a brief artificial ground line or places them devoid of setting using a 'spotlighting' technique.

Figure 3.6 Athenian red-figure amphora of Panathenaic shape. Gorgon pursued by Perseus. c. 490–480 BC (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2312. Photo: Renate Kühling).



The Pan Painter (480–460 BC), a Mannerist, is named after a bell-krater with Pan pursuing a herdsman in Boston (Boardman 1975: fig. 335.1–2) and was the best pupil of Myson (500–480 BC). Myson signed a column-krater which he dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis (Boardman 1975: fig. 168) as painter and potter. He founded the Mannerist workshop, which flourished until the early 4th c. It included the Pig, Leningrad, Agrigento, Nausicaa, and Hephaistos Painters (Mannack 2001). Beazley chose the name because their figures resembled those of the 15th c. Antwerp Mannerists. The Mannerists decorated large shapes – column- and bell-kraters, pelikai, and hydriai – and continued to use characteristics of the Late Archaic period, such as stacked pleats for drapery, pictures in panels, and outmoded subjects. An outstanding example is the Pan Painter's psykter in Munich (Boardman 1975: fig. 338.1–2) with Apollo fighting Idas for Marpessa.

The Achilles Painter (c. 465–425 BC), who is thought to have been trained by the Berlin Painter, was named after an austere painting of

the Trojan War hero Achilles (Boardman 1989a: fig. 109). He decorated mainly neck-amphorae and lekythoi, among them the finest examples of white-ground funerary lekythoi. The Berlin Painter may also have taught the Niobid Painter (470–445 BC), a pot painter named after a calyx-krater in Paris (Boardman 1989a: fig. 4.1–2) showing the slaughter of the Niobids; the composition on several levels is influenced by large-scale panel paintings (see Chapter 8). The Niobid Painter also worked closely with the Altamura Painter. The workshop had a particular interest in Dionysos and produced ornate volute-kraters and calyx-kraters with two registers (Boardman 1989a: fig. 6). It was continued by Polygnotos (460–420 BC), who signed six vases as painter and gathered a large group of followers. The workshop produced large vessels, among them stamnoi, amphorae, kraters, pelikai, and hydriai, and was continued by the Kleophon Painter (440–410 BC), named after a *kalos* inscription on a stamnos in St Petersburg (Matheson 1995: 144, pl. 127), who also worked with the Achilles Painter (Oakley 1997: pl. 182d) and trained the Dinos Painter, who probably initiated the florid style with epic subjects, densely pleated, diaphanous drapery, and the use of larger areas of added white. The Meidias Painter (420–400 BC), named after the potter of a hydria in London (Boardman 1989a: fig. 287), is the best known proponent of the florid style (Burn 1987). He and his workshop catered to women and war-weary Athenians, since their pictures show festivals celebrated by women such as the Adoneia, idyllic garden scenes on shapes made for females (CVA Oxford 1: pl. 46), and myths with all dangers removed: in the Garden of the Hesperides, seated Herakles has the apples picked for him and is adored by a nymph (Boardman 1989a: fig. 287).

Around 530 BC, painters began to experiment with new techniques. Some painted figures in added colors, white or red, on the black ground, and incised details. This is called ‘Six’s technique’ after the scholar who first described it. Others coated vases, mainly lekythoi, with a white ground to create a stronger contrast between figures and background, beginning around 525 BC. Early white-ground lekythoi are decorated with the same scenes as their black-figure contemporaries. When artists began to use the red-figure technique on white-ground vases, depictions of women and domestic scenes increased; until around 450 they used a secondary white on an eggshell-white ground (Figure 3.7). This may indicate a change in the use of such vessels; many were still destined for the grave, but others may have been bought as pretty objects by Greek women. From around 460 BC, white-ground lekythoi were increasingly and later almost solely decorated with scenes connected with the funeral: the rites, almost exclusively the *prothesis*; the mythology of death –

Hermes guiding the dead to the Under-world, Charon ferrying them across the Styx; and the personifications of sleep and death, Hypnos and Thanatos, removing or depositing the body of the deceased (see Chapter 24). Most common are paintings of the visit to the tomb. Close relatives of the deceased had to visit the tomb at prescribed intervals, and white-ground lekythoi show that the lekythos itself, as well as plemochoai, alabastra, and other vases, was placed on the steps of the monument, and that the grave marker was anointed with scented oil and adorned with fillets.

Figure 3.7 Athenian white-ground lekythos. Mistress and maid with child. c. 460–450 BC (Berlin, Archaeological Museum 2443. bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Johannes Laurentius).



In the course of the 4th c. BC, vases became taller and more slender, and their mouths broader. A favorite subject was the fight between griffins and the Arimasps, a legendary tribe of one-eyed men from Scythia. Perhaps the most talented painter of the 4th c. was the

Marsyas Painter. Many of his vases were found in Kerch in South Russia. His work epitomizes the Kerch style, which is characterized by added colors, nonceramic paints such as blue and green, and figures in relief. Other representatives of the style are the Toya and Pourtales Painters. The painters of the LC (Late Calyx-Kraters) began working after the middle of the 4th c., since their style resembles that of Panathenaic prize vases made under the archons Pythodelos (336/5 BC) and Euthykritos (328/7 BC). The production of Athenian red-figure vases ended soon after.

3.9 Trade and Distribution

The only evidence for trade with ancient pottery is provided by the vases themselves and trademarks painted or incised underneath the foot. Vases were made for use at home, for dedication in sanctuaries, and for deposition in and on graves. In Athens, some of the finest pottery was dedicated on the Acropolis, but this practice seems to have dwindled after the end of the Late Archaic period – perhaps the result of contemporary historical events. The cemeteries, especially the Kerameikos, contained quantities of large and small Protogeometric, Geometric, and Protoattic vases. As mentioned already, from about 500 BC, smaller containers, predominantly lekythoi, were placed into graves.

Attic pottery apparently followed trade in other goods. Athenian Late Geometric vases must have traveled further than their find spots suggest, since most fabrics outside Attica appear to have been based on Attic models until the second half of the Middle Geometric. Attic Late Geometric vases have been found in Ionia, Cyprus, Hama in Syria, and perhaps in Cyrene, Palestine, Calabria in South Italy, and Sicily. Protoattic vases are not widely distributed and have been found mainly in Attica, the Argive Heraion, and on the nearby island of Aigina. The narrow distribution, relatively small number of preserved examples, and low quality of Protoattic pottery suggest an economic downturn. The Nettos Painter decorated the first Attic vases to reach Etruria, which was to become the most important market for pots for almost two centuries. More than 3000 vases were found in Vulci alone. Other important find spots are the Greek *entrepot* Spina, near Ferrara, and the Etruscan city of Felsina. Trademarks applied in the workshop show that many vases were made for the Etruscan market. The Etruscans bought the finest black-figure vessels and red-figure vases as soon as they became available. They also appear to have valued pictures, shapes, and inscriptions. Not much later, Athenian

decorated pottery was bought by Greeks and natives settling in Italy and Sicily. The Greek aristocrats of Taranto bought large numbers of cups from the early 6th c. onwards, but imports of cups dwindled sharply after the introduction of democracy.

From the 6th c. onwards, Attic vases reached most places of the ancient world: the Greek cities on the west coast of Turkey, Al Mina in Syria, Naukratis in Egypt, and the Celtic princes in modern France and Austria. In the 5th c., the Sotades workshop made vases intended to appeal to customers in the East: a figure-vase in the shape of a camel found in Egypt (Boardman 1989a: fig. 101) and figure-vases excavated in Meroe in the Sudan and Susa. After the Etruscans were defeated by the Greeks in 474 BC and following the disastrous Peloponnesian War, exports to Italy dwindled. New markets for 4th c. vases were found in Spain (e.g. Ampurias), France (e.g. Marseilles and Enserune), and South Russia, especially the Crimea, where pottery probably traveled on ships importing corn.

3.10 Pictures

Mythological vase-paintings appeared around 680 BC with pictures of Odysseus blinding Polyphemos; a Protoattic painter placed the scene on the neck of an amphora in Eleusis (Boardman 1998: fig. 208.1–2). Around the same time, an Attic painter chose a Centauromachy with Herakles. Another favorite of the Orientalizing vase repertoire was Perseus pursued by the gorgons. In the Archaic period, the Labors of Herakles, especially the fight with the lion, became the clear favorite. Dionysos made his entry in the early 6th c. He was the most frequently chosen figure because of his connection with the *symposion*. Gods and heroes did not appear fully formed, but acquired their attributes in the course of the first third of the 6th c. (Carpenter 1991).

Subjects are traditionally divided into gods, heroes, and daily life, but the gods are often present in pictures of human life. The typical range of subjects was established by the time of the Siana Cups: the public aspects of human life, *symposia* and athletes, both preserves of the aristocracy; the Labors of Herakles, Perseus, and scenes from the Trojan War and its aftermath; and most prominent among the gods, Dionysos and Athena, especially her birth. Domestic scenes, pictures of the public side of the life of Athenian women, were relatively rarely shown before c. 500 BC, and often adorned ritual shapes such as plaques, the *loutrophoros* (lit. ‘carrying to the bath’), and the *epinetron*, which protected female thighs during the carding of wool.

The hydria was frequently decorated with women at the fountain-house. Pictures of wives and prostitutes (*hetairai*), characterized by the presence of men with purses, increased dramatically in the red-figure period. After the middle of the 5th c., painters enticed female customers with paintings of female cults, such as the Adoneia, and idyllic mythological and garden scenes. The Labors of Herakles went out of fashion, and Theseus became the painters' favorite. Vignettes of the lives of humans include illustrations of craftsmen, shops, and the theater. Satyr-plays are characterized by actors wearing phallus-trunks and comedies by costumes comprising masks, padding, and phallus. Theatrical markers are all but absent from tragic scenes on vases.

Around 500 BC, gods and goddesses pursuing mortals, probably a euphemism for an early death, became fashionable for about a generation; late examples often found their way into the graves of Greeks in the West. The Persian Wars inspired pictures of the Trojan War and the god Pan (Boardman 1975: fig. 335.1), who came to the help of the Athenians at Marathon. In the 4th c., painters made plentiful use of added colors and continued to depict peaceful versions of myths: on a pelike attributed to the Marsyas Painter (Boardman 1989a: fig. 390), Peleus surprises a naked Thetis at her bath. The new markets in Russia and the (far) West stimulated new scenes: griffins and Arimasps fighting, mentioned above, and battles between Greeks and Amazons. It is worth remembering that with the decrease in figure-decorated vases comes a noticeable increase in those with plain black-glaze (or gloss) decoration, many in rather elegant shapes.

3.11 Shapes

Athenian potters produced a relatively limited range of shapes (Figure 3.1), all of which were deposited in graves by Greeks and foreigners, and most of which were dedicated to the gods in sanctuaries. For the identification of their use outside funerals, archaeologists have to rely on the vases themselves, a very small number of contemporary literary sources, and Book 11 of Athenaios's *Deipnosophists*, written in the 3rd c. AD. Most shapes were in use from the Protogeometric period onward. A large range was used in the *symposion* (see Chapter 27). Amphorae with two handles for carrying were used for the storage of liquids, oil and wine, and solids. The one-piece amphora was introduced in the last third of the 7th c. Wide-mouthed kraters were used for mixing wine and water; the oldest type is the column-krater, introduced in the early 6th c. copying Corinthian prototypes and frequently used in burials in Italy and Sicily; this was followed by volute-kraters, made

from 575 BC, calyx-kraters (cf. [Plate 3](#)), introduced by Exekias, and bell-kraters, invented in the early 5th c. Dinoi or lebetes, round bowls without handles placed on stands, and stamnoi, especially popular in Etruria, also served as mixing vessels. Hydriai, from *hydor*, water, with two horizontal handles for lifting and a vertical handle for pouring, were used for the storage and transport of water. Drinking vessels were varied: cups with shallow bowls, two handles, with and without stem; skyphoi, deep, two-handled drinking bowls; kantharoi with tall, vertical handles; one-handled kyathoi; and figure-vases in the shape of human and animal heads. Oinochoai were used for ladling and pouring wine, and they too could be made in the shape of human heads. Small vases with wide mouths and narrow necks – aryballoi for men, alabastra for women, and lekythoi – contained expensive perfumed oils (Sparkes 1991: 60–92).

A range of shapes were made for religious ceremonies: choes, squat, flat-bottomed wine jugs with trefoil mouths, were used on the second day of the Anthesteria, celebrated in honor of Dionysos; lebetes gamikoi or nuptial lebetes, deep bowls with two vertical handles attached to the shoulder and tall stands, were made from the early 6th c. and held water used in wedding ceremonies; loutrophoroi, slender amphorae with tall, narrow necks and a flaring mouth, were used in weddings and funerals, and decorated with funeral and wedding scenes; and Panathenaic prize vases were given to victors in the games at Athens.

3.12 Chronology

In 1920 Ernst Langlotz established the chronological framework for the dates of early red-figure vase-painting. The large number of preserved vases makes it easy to establish a relative chronology, and those discovered in secure excavated contexts grow annually. Absolute dates are provided by stylistic comparison with the reliably dated sculptures of the Artemision at Ephesos (561–546 BC, dated by a fragmentary dedicatory inscription of King Croesus), the Siphnian Treasury (525 BC, Herodotos), the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (around 465 BC, Pausanias), and the Parthenon (448–442 BC, dated by building records); with the stele of Dexileos (394/393 BC); with dated contexts such as the *polyandria* at Marathon, Plataia, and Delion; and with inscribed Archon names on Panathenaic prize vases. *Termini post* and *ante quem* are provided by the dates of the foundation; relative dates are supplied by Thucydides; absolute dates are given by Eusebius, the total destruction of settlements, the debris of the Persian

destruction on the Athenian Acropolis and in abandoned wells in the Agora (480 BC), the purification pits in Rheneia (425 BC), and subject matter such as the pipes player Pronomos, theater performances such as *Sphinx* by Aeschylus (464 BC), and representations of dated sculptures. Relative dating, based on artistic style, development of forms, and relation to other arts, is also an ongoing necessity. In recent years, the chronology of Athenian pottery has been a subject of some debate, as has its actual status and value in antiquity (Vickers and Gill 1994). Regardless of actual dates, stylistic chronologies, or monetary importance, Athenian vases have much to teach about the visual culture and material life of ancient Greece.

FURTHER READING

The best detailed introduction to Athenian vase-painting in English remains the series of handbooks by John Boardman devoted to black-figure (1974) and red-figure (1975, 1989a), and most recently his *The History of Greek Vases* (2001a) for a general overview. Arias et al. (1962) and Simon and Hirmer (1981) remain staples of the subject, with many beautiful illustrations, though Lissarrague (2001), also pleasing on the eye, is more up to date with regard to theme and approach. Mannack (2002) is a systematic introduction, including separate chapters on functions and forms, and dating. For shapes, see Sparkes and Talcott (1970) and Sparkes (1991).

Much has been written in recent years about Athenian vase iconography. An excellent starting place is Carpenter's *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (1991), which incorporates other artistic media. Berard et al.'s *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (1989), a collaborative endeavor initially published in French, discusses Athenian vases in relation to the cultural and religious life of the city which produced them.

Several conference volumes also provide an excellent range of discussion on the many areas of vase study. J. Oakley et al.'s *Athenian Potters and Painters* I (1997) and II (2009), each based in conferences held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, are among the most recent; see also Schmidt and Oakley (2009).

A full bibliography, an image database of over 100,000 vases, an electronic version of the CVA, and Sir John Beazley's drawings are available at the Beazley Archive's Web site: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk. On Beazley's life and work, see Rouet (2001) with previous bibliography.

CHAPTER 4

Greek Decorated Pottery II: Regions and Workshops

Stavros A. Paspalas

4.1 Introduction

Figured pottery is one of the most widely recognized categories of ancient Greek material culture. The figured vases of Athens have held central stage in modern appreciations of this craft, primarily because of their complex iconography, the great numbers in which they were manufactured, the expanses over which they traveled, and the technical virtuosity of many of their potters and painters. This virtuosity has led many to be considered as ‘art’ *tout court*. An appreciation, though of a different order, of Attic black- and red-figure pottery was, of course, also current in antiquity. However, even then the stage was not Athens’s alone. The Athenian output, so often the baseline for the appreciation of Greek painted pottery, is best seen in the wider context of Greek figured pottery manufacture, where it received influences from other quarters and exercised influence in turn. This chapter focuses on the major, and some minor, mainland, Cycladic, Cretan, and East Greek fabrics of the Archaic and Classical periods, and traces their history in outline. Although emphasis will be given to figured pottery, it is important to remember that this was only one element in a wide range of pottery types produced. During the centuries covered here, many regions produced fine pottery in black glaze and other styles, and a battery of further categories (including vessels that bore relief decoration, sometimes with complex figural scenes) designed to serve multifarious purposes.

A word must also be said regarding the find spots of the vessels discussed here. Examples of some categories were found far beyond

their place of manufacture; others were effectively confined to local use. However, the majority were mainly found in graves and at sanctuaries. Consequently, more can be said about their use in these contexts. Relatively few examples – especially of complete vessels – have been found in house assemblages, though numerous examples are known from other settlement-related contexts: refuse dumps, well shafts, and construction fills (Boardman 1958–1959: 161; Orlandos 1955: 84–85; Akurgal 1983: 47, 51, 54; Ersoy 2007: 162–167; Steiner 2007: 232–233; Misaelidou-Despotidou 2009: 233, fig. 18). This situation is, to a degree, a result of the fact that fewer houses have been excavated than graves and sanctuaries. Many figured vessels may have been intended to serve specific ritual or symbolic requirements beyond the domestic domain, but it is worth remembering that the house was as likely to host some ritual practices as sanctuaries and cemeteries were to see others. Figured vases were not necessarily alien to domestic use, regardless if they were employed in a broadly ritual context or not. Allowances should also be made for the possibility of varying practices throughout the Greek world.

The attribution of a particular fabric to a region can be based on a number of factors, including: the discovery of workshop remains, the fabric's distribution, the qualities of its clay and 'paint' (traditionally known as 'glaze,' but increasingly now termed 'gloss'), aspects of its manufacture (e.g. presence of a heavy base slip, the firing technology employed), the form of the alphabet used for any painted inscriptions applied pre-firing, and stylistic comparisons with other media attributed to specific regions, as well as scientific analyses. Despite such clues there are still many vessels of uncertain origin. In a number of fabrics, potters and painters signed some of their works, and these signatures form the basis for the scholarly study of individual oeuvres, to which are assigned unsigned works by the same hand. Some researchers also aim to define the output of nameless painters, who thus acquire a sobriquet, by identifying characteristics in vase-paintings which are then interpreted as the traits of a specific painter (see Chapter 3).

4.2 Corinthian

The Geometric pottery of Corinth of the 9th c. BC, through to c. 720, largely served local demand, though pieces could travel, initially, for example, to central Greece and to areas at the western approaches of the Corinthian Gulf (Morgan 1988: 314–315, 337–338; Morgan 1995: 333–334) as well as to other regions, including Crete (Kotsonas 2008:

256). Even in its later stages there was only limited use of figural schemes. The conventionally termed “Thapsos class” of the second half of the 8th c., although clearly similar to the mainstream Corinthian output, is characterized by a number of distinctive features, both in shape and in decoration. The most notable point about this class is its distribution. Pieces belonging to it are found primarily to the West: at sites along the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea, in Sicily and southern Italy. Those who identify it as Corinthian see Thapsos-class vessels as having been produced for a western export market (Coldstream 2008: 461). Alternatively, it has been argued that these vessels were made at a point, or points, west of Corinth, whence some were exported further westward to Magna Graecia and Sicily (Gkadoulou 2008: 313–322; Papadopoulos 2009: 238).

From the latter part of the 8th c., various Greek fabrics entered what is conventionally termed the Orientalizing phase, by which is meant the sustained adaptation of features derived from Eastern iconography (and occasionally shapes) – not that Eastern-derived elements were absent earlier. Corinth was one of the most precocious of the Orientalizing centers. Conventionally the first phase of the Orientalizing period in Corinthian ceramic studies is termed Early Protocorinthian, and is dated c. 720–690. The innovations included new curvilinear motifs as well as more lifelike fauna. Figures rendered in outline, primarily animals in various configurations but also the odd horseman, appear occasionally in the company of others painted in silhouette. It must be noted, however, that vessels decorated with Subgeometric motifs also continued to be produced in great amounts. The early Orientalizing style is best represented on small unguent jars (also produced in the West: Morgan 1995: 327, 340), though some drinking cups, jugs, and other vessels were similarly decorated. Their figured scenes were essentially executed in a miniaturist style (a hallmark of the Protocorinthian), and are no more than a few centimeters in height.

The Middle Protocorinthian period (690–650) saw the introduction of the systematic use of incision (Figure 4.1). Earlier, in various Late Geometric traditions, the odd incised line may have been used to relieve an otherwise unrelenting silhouetted figure, but for the first time extensive use was made of incision for the rendering of details, and with the added colors (red and white) the Corinthian potters initiated, particularly on small unguent vessels, the black-figure technique. In this early period, black-figure did not exclusively hold the field, and many pots were still decorated in silhouette, while some painters took a more experimental approach, drawing figures in combined black-figure and outline. While the impetus for the development of black-figure has been much discussed, it may well

owe its inspiration to Near Eastern ivories or metal vessels with incised figured scenes.

Figure 4.1 Middle Protocorinthian aryballos. Bellerophon and the Chimaira. c. 660 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.10. USA/ Catharine Page Perkins Fund/The Bridgeman Art Library).



Toward the middle of the 7th c. a number of painters of small vessels working in the miniaturist technique achieved a polychrome effect by introducing the use of a brown wash for human flesh. This short-lived variant technique may have been influenced by monumental painting (cf. Amyx 1983), which is evinced, albeit fragmentarily, in Corinthian territory. The subject matter of Middle Protocorinthian figured pottery, a (numerically) minor category in the contemporary fine-ware output of Corinth in which linear and Subgeometric decorative schemes were still dominant, included some mythological scenes, such as the Judgment of Paris on the Chigi Vase, an olpe where the figures are labeled, though in a non-Corinthian

alphabet (Rasmussen 1991: figs. 21–24; Wachter 2001: 31). A greater number of scenes cannot certainly be identified as mythological, including battle scenes and hunts. Animals were also a mainstay of the style, and at times – it has been suggested – may have even been used to comment through simile, in a fashion comparable to Homeric usage (Benson 1995). Such interpretations stress that figured pots were not simply decorated vessels, but were meant to engaged with knowledgeable users.

The immediately following phases of Corinthian black-figure (Late Protocorinthian and Transitional, c. 650–615/10) are primarily characterized by animal friezes in which the filling ornaments in the background, often variations of rosettes, become ever more dominant and the animals more slipshod. Both these characteristics have been interpreted as showing that Corinthian workshops were increasingly indulging in ‘mass production’. Indeed, the number of Corinthian vessels imported around the Mediterranean increased notably through the 7th c., and very close imitations were made elsewhere (Morgan 1999: 229–231). The most commonly decorated shapes were, again, an array of small unguent containers – alabastra as well as piriform and round aryballoi – along with a number of jug types, kotylai, and pyxides. Importantly, the Transitional period also saw the introduction, especially prominent on drinking vessels, of *komos* scenes in which padded male revelers (*komasts*) drink and dance, probably in a ritual context. They may, it has been argued, even be shown in comic reenactments of myth (Steinhart 2007: 198–207). These characters had a long life on Corinthian vessels, and subsequently appear in Attic and other fabrics (Smith 2010).

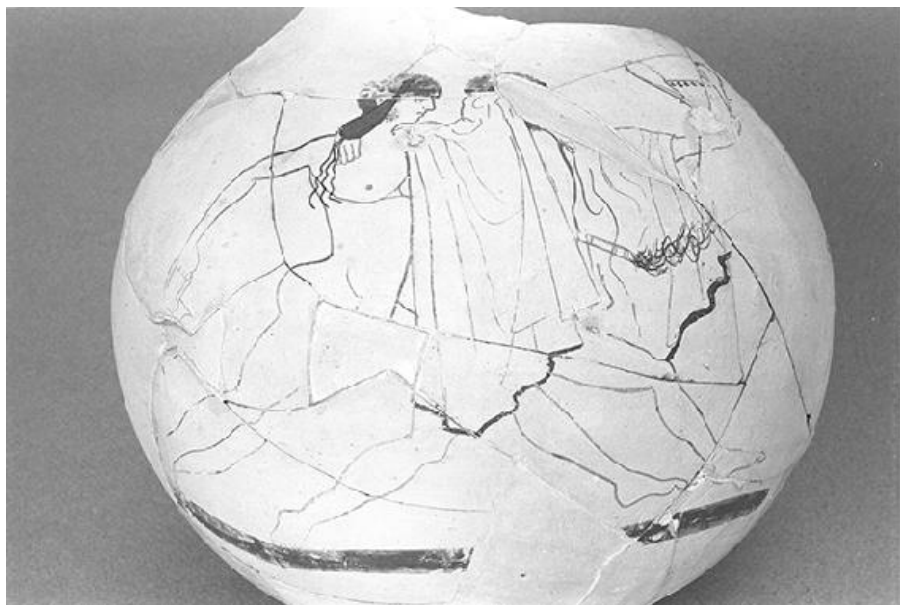
The Early (615/10–590s) and Middle Corinthian (590s–575) are both characterized by the continuing degeneration in the painting of animal frieze vessels, though new shapes, such as the neck amphora and the column-krater – vessels that could easily find a place in *symposia* – were added to the corpus. The human figured scenes of these phases were usually more carefully drawn than their contemporary animal friezes. Foremost among these were those of *komasts*, but more ambitious scenes appear on kraters, including mythological scenes, banquets, and battles – all subjects that we can well imagine interested symposiasts discussing while gathered around a krater.

The animal frieze tradition lasted, in an ever more feeble state, into the Late Corinthian I period (575–550), which also saw the last hurrah of Archaic Corinthian figured vase-painting as well as decreasing numbers of exports. In addition to the very tired animal frieze pottery, a group of red-ground vessels (mainly excavated in Etruria), initiated at the end of the preceding phase, was also

produced for a brief period. These are large vessels, kraters, amphorae, and jugs on which the main decorative fields are covered with a red-orange slip (comparable to the ground of Attic black-figure) decorated with black-figure scenes depicting mythological episodes, banquets, battles, and processions. Corinthian potters continued after the mid 6th c. to manufacture enormous quantities of ceramics in the ‘Conventionalizing Style’, decorated with linear and floral patterns, as well as plainer vases.

Though red-ground was the last major Archaic Corinthian figured style, a small number of local vessels that closely imitate Attic black-figure are known from the second half of the 6th c. BC (Pemberton 2003: 170, 172, [fig. 10.3](#)). 5th c. local ‘black-figure’, which primarily pictures animals, only rarely admits incision and deploys added color very differently from its Archaic counterpart (Pemberton 1970: 270–271). An outline style, with limited use of purple, on a light ground was employed c. 475–425 for some sizeable vessels, such as kotylai, oinochoai ([Figure 4.2](#)), hydriai, and kraters. Its inspiration may lie in Attic white-ground (Pemberton 1989: 129; McPhee 2004: 3–7). The vessels may have been used solely in cultic contexts. A more pedestrian use of outline appears in the so-called Sam Wide group (of the second half of the 5th c., and possibly more specifically its last third), which comprises mostly small shapes, especially kylikes, the interior of which bear the decorative field, occasionally executed in a rather naive, if not ‘burlesque’, fashion. Variation, though, is apparent even within this group, as some pieces are actually decorated in silhouette, which employs very limited incision (Pemberton 1989: 134–135; Risser 2003: 161–163).

Figure 4.2 Corinthian Outline Style oinochoe. Ritual race (?) or *komos* (?). c. 450–400 BC (Corinth Archaeological Museum. C-1934-362, 2003-2-28, *Hesperia* 1937: 311–312, fig. 40. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations, I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti).



Another short-lived technique initiated at the end of the 5th c. was white-figure, where figures were drawn in white on the dark ground, and their internal details were indicated by reservation or dilute glaze (Pemberton 1970: 276–277). A further minor group, inspired by Attic models, is that of the white-ground cylinder lekythoi of the second half of the 5th c. Most Corinthian examples are decorated with polychrome florals, though recently two pieces with figured scenes have been attributed to Corinth. While the lekythoi could serve as grave goods, many of the other pottery groups noted here may have served purposes related to cults, and this too cannot be excluded for the lekythoi as many were found at the Sacred Spring, the site of a funerary cult at Corinth (Steiner 1992: 391–398, 403–405; McPhee 2004: 7; Márton and Nemes 2007).

Attic impact on Corinthian ceramic production is also evident in the Corinthian adoption (c. 440–420) of the red-figure technique (McPhee 1983; Herbert 1986; McPhee and Trendall 1986; McPhee 1991, 1997, 2004: 7–9); it has been suggested that an immigrant Athenian vase-painter may have played no small part in the technique's introduction. In many instances the decorative fields of the local products were purposefully covered with a red slip or wash, which resulted in an appearance that was closer to the red/orange clay of Attic pieces. The technique was mainly used on kraters, especially stemmed and later stemless bell-kraters (a Corinthian innovation), a number of closed vessels such as pelikai, oinochoai, and squat lekythoi, and more rarely on drinking vessels. Toward the end of the series, which lasted until the mid 4th c., the bell-krater may have

been the only shape produced. Given that Attic red-figure was imported during the period of Corinthian red-figure production, the latter can be seen as a local supplement.

Corinthian red-figure scenes could be enlivened by the use of added white. Many scenes were modeled on Athenian prototypes, including 'genre' renditions of a satyr in the company of a maenad, and palaestra scenes. The restricted iconographic repertoire includes Herakles, Nike, and the occasional battle scene. Dionysos too is portrayed, and there are a number of scenes that appear to be based on comic performances. Vessels with Dionysiac subject matter may have been employed in dining and drinking contexts linked to local cults associated with the theater. A number of vessels carry representations of a torch race that may well have been part of local cult ritual. Corinthian red-figure was intended largely for local consumption, though some pieces made their way to various Peloponnesian centers and Boeotia; a few fragments have been identified as Corinthian as far afield as Apollonia in Albania (Amore 2010: 399, no. 1.235) and Cyrene in North Africa (Maffre 1998: 359–361).

4.3 Boeotian

Numerous centers in the relatively large and politically divided region of Boeotia produced figured wares, and a number of techniques, often contemporary though not all long-lived, are represented. Boeotian Geometric pottery was receptive to influence from neighboring centers from an early stage. This character continued into the Late Geometric period, and in its earliest phases there is a substantial amount of Atticizing production, while in its later stages Corinthian and particularly Euboean input is discernable. The kantharos with high-swung handles was from early on an important shape; the large tall-necked amphora, often with a pedestalled base, was shared with Euboea. Large decorated oinochoai are also characteristic of this phase. The Late Geometric figured repertoire includes representations of a Potnia Theron ('mistress of animals'), hunting and boxing scenes, as well as other scenes probably related to festivals (e.g. Langdon 2008: 182–183). One *prothesis* (a deceased's lying in state) scene is known, though unlike its Athenian counterparts it appears on a hydria. Animals in friezes and other arrangements are common. Throughout most of the 7th c. a Subgeometric style dominated Boeotian vase-painting on much the same shapes as were current in the Late Geometric style.

The distinctive Bird Style makes its appearance in the later part of the 7th c. Its earliest pieces carry geometric patterns alone, but it is mainly characterized, especially in the 6th c., by flying birds (painted so as to appear inverted when the vessel stands on its foot) in outline as well as floral motifs (Maffre 1975: 415–418; CVA Tübingen 1: 71, 76–77; CVA Louvre 17: 15–17). Very occasionally incision is admitted; a decorative effect is more often achieved by rendering motifs alternately in red and black, occasionally on a background of added white. Bowls, either with a low or a pedestal foot, are the main shapes. Other forms such as the kantharos, the ring askos, the kalathos, and the oinochoe are also known. The vast majority of pieces derive from graves, though one (non-figured) pedestalled bowl bears an inscription describing it as a gift to the gods.

Most of the other Boeotian figured pottery techniques are more closely related to those found elsewhere in the Greek world. A particular problem, especially when examining Boeotian black-figure, is that one and the same vessel may be identified by different researchers as Boeotian, Corinthian, Attic, provincial Attic, or Euboean. Boeotian black-figure and related pottery, which was produced from the first quarter of the 6th c. and well into the 5th, lacks a fundamental unity, indicating that it was produced at more than one center (Kilinski 1990: 54–62).

In the first half of the 6th c. black-figure Corinthianizing pieces were produced, and it may well be the case that at least one Corinthian potter/painter settled in Boeotia. These vases imitate Corinthian shapes, especially the alabastron, aryballos, olpe, Corinthian-type skyphos, and kothon (though the kantharos, a Boeotian favorite, is also known), as well as decorative motifs and execution. This strong Corinthian impact, which is only sporadically apparent in the second half of the 6th c., was quickly followed by a longer-lived Atticizing period, starting c. 580, which left a durable imprint. Two early Boeotian black-figure painters have been identified as Athenians, and others may have learnt their craft in Athens (Kilinski 1990: 35–38). This Athenian background, however, did not mean that some vase-painters were not open to other influences, and Athenian-trained potter/painters did incorporate Corinthian features into their Boeotian output. A small number of features have also been identified as East Greek.

Shapes decorated in the black-figure technique throughout the 6th and into the 5th c. include the lekane (a shallow bowl), the band-skyphos, and the Haimon Group skyphos – all forms that were adopted from Athens. Different variants of the kothon continued, and a local tall-necked jug form was also decorated in black-figure. The major shape, however, was the kantharos (Figure 4.3) in a number of

variants, often decorated with *komos* scenes (CVA Thebes 1: 16–17; Smith 2010: ch. 6). Boeotian Archaic black-figure production apparently focused on smaller pieces, primarily drinking vessels.

Figure 4.3 Boeotian black-figure kantharos. Komasts. Mid 6th c. BC (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 6010. Photo: Renate Kühling).



Compared to Attic black-figure, the Olympian gods appear relatively rarely in Boeotian black-figure. Similarly, while Herakles, Theseus, and other heroes are present, their appearances are few, and often the representations of their exploits are closely based on Attic prototypes. More popular in Boeotia were Attic-type animals (especially on the early lekanai), hunts, domestic and pastoral scenes, *komoi*, processions, sacrifices, and representations of sexual revels (Kilinski 1990: 41–51). One 5th c. amphora pictures the celebrations of a young athletic victor (Avronidaki 2007b).

Around the middle of the 6th c. figured vases decorated in a silhouette technique were produced; a few examples have been dated towards the end of the century as well (Ure 1929; Sparkes 1967: 121–122; Maffre 1975: 428–435; Scheffer 1993; CVA Louvre 17: pl. 33, 5–7; CVA Tübingen 1: pl. 43). This technique, known as ‘geometricizing’, is allied to Boeotian black-figure, and indeed a number of the vases decorated in the latter technique also bear zones with figures purely in silhouette. The definition of details with incision is exceptionally rare on regular silhouette vases. The technique was mainly used on lekanai, a number of drinking vessels (especially the kantharos), and

small closed vessels such as hydriai, oinochoai, and lekythoi. The *komos* is a particularly popular theme. These festive revels are joined in the repertoire by representations of festivals: athletic games, sacrificial processions, and banquets (Figure 28.6). The group also includes animal friezes as well as a number of hunts. Silhouette scenes also occur later in Boeotia, in the middle decades of the 5th c., when cavorting maenads and satyrs can be seen represented on cups (Maffre 1975: 499–504 nos. 24–25; CVA Heidelberg 1: pl. 28, 3–4). A late 5th c. BC lekane that depicts, in silhouette, the confrontation between Herakles and Gagenes is surprising given that mythological scenes are not particularly common on Boeotian figured pottery (CVA Louvre 17: pl. 34).

A number of minor techniques, figures in added white or red on a black-ground (CVA Reading 1: pl. 33, 7 a–c; CVA Louvre 17: pl. 40, 2–3), and figures painted on a thick white-ground (CVA Tübingen 1: pl. 49), also belong to the 5th c. BC.

Red-figure was produced in greater numbers. Although a few pieces may date to the first half of the 5th c., sustained production appears to have started soon after c. 450, and a few bilingual vases (which carry both black- and red-figure elements) are known (Ure 1953: 245–246; Maffre 1975: 511–513 no. 31). The last examples of local red-figure date to the first decades of the 4th c. As with Corinthian, the reserved areas of Boeotian red-figure vessels are usually covered with a reddish wash, which approximates the color of Attic clay. A number of Boeotian red-figure painters appear to have been trained in Athens. The dependence of individual potters/painters on Attic prototypes varies (Sabetai 1998). As with all Boeotian figured vases, what red-figure was produced in Boeotia was used locally and was not exported.

Frequently decorated shapes are kantharoi, skyphoi, bell-kraters, calyx-kraters, lekythoi, and stamnoid pyxides. Often the telling iconographic details of Attic models can be misunderstood or conflated (Sabetai 1998: 328; Avronidaki 2008: 20; CVA Thebes 1: 31–32). A number of vessels with nuptial scenes clearly fall into this category. In addition to wedding scenes, other compositions include renderings of women's quarters, *symposia*, and komasts. A few mythological scenes are known, though in their relatively restricted appearances deities are normally shown in 'genre' scenes, such as Athena and Herakles conducting a libation. A number of kantharoi and Kabeiran-type skyphoi, deep cups with two vertically-placed spurred round handles at their rim, particularly associated with the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi located near Thebes, of the second half of the 5th c. and decorated in the more rigid manner, bear scenes depicting what may be interpreted as ephebic rites of passage, often

with Dionysiac overtones (Daumas 1998: 93–99; Avronidaki 2007a: esp. 98–120).

The needs of those who worshiped at the Kabeireion were also met by ‘Kabeiran’ vessels (Braun 1981: 2–27; Daumas 1998: 22–23; Walsh 2009: 14–15, 251–253, 270; CVA Thebes 1: 24–26). These vessels appeared toward the later stages of the third quarter of the 5th c., and they are executed in a black-figure technique (though stylistic analysis has shown that some of their painters also produced Boeotian red-figure). Few of the figured pieces of this category were produced beyond the last years of the 4th c., though related vessels that carried floral and geometric motifs continued until the mid 3rd c. BC. The category’s major shape, of varying size, was the Kabeiran-type skyphos. Most of these vessels at the Kabeireion were found in dining contexts, and probably served a specific cultic use at that sanctuary. However, a few pieces have also been excavated from funerary contexts, specifically the Thespian *polyandreion*.

The figures that appear in Kabeiran scenes may be divided into two broad categories. The first includes beings portrayed in a caricature-like fashion: with squat proportions, wrinkled features, and a vaguely simian appearance. The second category consists of figures with idealized features. The latter appear to represent deities, and a reclining Dionysos-like bearded male, identified by an inscription on occasion as Kabeiros himself, can be depicted as looking at ‘caricatured’ figures (cf. Figure 4.4). Figures of the first category can be shown in processions, as well as in hunting, rural, and athletic scenes, while mythological scenes can be similarly depicted. Although it has been suggested that these caricatures should be understood as mortals (conceivably masked), possibly acting out rituals performed at the sanctuary, a recent view argues that the whole repertoire reflects a Dionysian carnivalesque ethos rather than depicting ritual or drama (Mitchell 2009: 250–252).

Figure 4.4 Boeotian Kabeiran skyphos fragments. Kabeiros reclining, to left ‘caricatured’ figures. c. 410–400 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10426. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Image not available in this digital edition.

4.4 Euboean

The pottery of Euboea shares features with that of Attica and Boeotia, and in some cases it is not clear to which of these three areas a particular vessel should be attributed. Eretria dominates the study of Euboean pottery as it is the center which has seen most archaeological activity.

After a long Subprotogeometric phase, c. 800 Euboean potters adopted many features from Attic Middle Geometric, and subsequently created a Late Geometric style of their own, which also incorporated Corinthian-derived elements (Boardman 1998: 28, 47). Versions of it were produced in the West, and a fragment of a locally-made krater on Pithekoussai, the first overseas Euboean foundation, bears the earliest known Greek potter's signature (Wachter 2001: 171), along with a winged hybrid that reflects Eastern prototypes.

Post-Geometric production, best evidenced at Eretria, is well illustrated by a series of large amphorae similar to versions also potted in Attica, Boeotia, and the Cycladic islands (Boardman 1952; Descoeudres 2005; Charalambidou 2007: 278–280). At Eretria these amphorae were, at least ultimately, used in funerary contexts. The figured scenes of the earliest groupings, Subgeometric in style, bear animals and hybrids. In the third quarter of the 7th c. a more strongly Orientalizing style was adopted, in which silhouette and outline could be used to render parts of the same figure. Once again wild animals and hybrids appear as the main decorative motifs, but so do female figures (mourners?) drawn in a rather gross fashion (Figure 4.5). Incision is used rarely, though there is great use of added red clay and of dilute clay that appears as white. At the end of the 7th c. and early in the 6th, incision is employed more regularly, though still along with added colors and outline drawing for some body parts. Under Attic influence a full black-figure technique appears shortly before the middle of the 6th c. Although Euboean black-figure shares many iconographical and technical features with its mainland counterpart and its hitherto major shape, the large amphora, takes on aspects of the Attic lebes gamikos, Euboean pieces retain their own character, achieved by such features as the regular, but not exclusive, use of added color rather than incision for interior markings of figures. These early black-figure pieces, especially the large amphorae (also hydriai and kylikes) can carry mythological scenes: Herakles and the Hydra, Peleus, gorgons (Boardman 1998: 215–216). Their floral secondary motifs are characterized by elements rendered in white directly on to the surface of the vessel, a feature much used in later years.

Figure 4.5 Eretrian Orientalizing amphora. c. 625–600 BC (Athens,



A group of tall-necked jugs best known from excavations at an Eretrian sanctuary, possibly dedicated to Artemis, date from the beginning of the 7th c. through to the beginning of the 6th (Huber 2003: 45–63, 116, 120, 129–136). The earliest bear Subgeometric motifs, but from the mid 7th c. and until c. 600 these jugs are to be placed with the large Orientalizing amphorae on the basis of their decoration. They carry, in outline with added color, processions of women, or two women on either side of what has been interpreted as a displayed garment, possibly a gift for, or a possession of, the goddess (Langdon 2008: 44, 190). As with the large amphorae, here too parallels for the shape are found in Boeotia; they could be deposited in funerary contexts, as on Euboea as well (Huber 2003: 120).

In the 6th c. BC black-figure is the main Euboean figured technique (Ure 1973; Kilinski 1994). Most examples, but not all, are closely

dependent on Attica, though telltale features (added colors for internal details, specific filling ornaments) point to a separate tradition, one that nonetheless may have included Attic or Attic-trained craftsmen. Euboean black-figure did not travel in any great numbers, though examples are known from as close as Boeotia (CVA Thebes 1: 37–38) and as distant as the northern Aegean (Allamane et al. 2001: 157, fig. 3 (Therme); Kaltsas 1998: 253 (Akanthos)) or the Black Sea (Ure 1973: 25 (Olbia)). A range of shapes, close to that known for Attica, was produced, and mythological scenes are not uncommon, along with daily life scenes: horsemen, boxers, youths, satyrs, or an array of animals. A particular speciality (with links to Boeotian counterparts) was *lekanai*, with a tondo often decorated with a figure in true black-figure, while the exterior bore florals in silhouette, though with added colors (Ure 1960a, 1965; Kilinski 1994). Other shapes too could be decorated in incisionless ‘black-figure’ (Ure 1959, 1965: 23). Later in the 5th c., kylikes decorated in pure silhouette depicting Nikai, pursuit scenes, and battle scenes were produced either in a Euboean or a Boeotian workshop (e.g. Ure 1970: 269). In the late 5th c. and into the 4th, Euboean production is characterized by vases decorated with florals, which only very occasionally admit figures (Ure 1960b).

A new chapter in Euboean figured pottery begins c. 440/30 when white-ground and red-figure vessels were produced at Eretria; Athenians or Attic-trained locals are seen as the responsible craftsmen (Gex 1993: 78; Gex and McPhee 1995). It appears that emphasis was initially given to white-ground lekythoi, but red-figure soon became the main product. In the 5th c. BC the focus was on funerary vases, especially the cylindrical lekythos, though the chous and the squat lekythos are also known, as are the hydria and the lebes, and possibly the bell-krater. The level of production fell in the 4th c., and emphasis was placed on the production of drinking vessels, which are found mainly in the settlement. Funerary scenes often appear on the cylindrical lekythoi, while ‘genre’ scenes (women at various tasks, pursuits, satyrs, and erotes) are also present, and are particularly noticeable on the other shapes. Local production, the distribution of which was equally local, ceased in the second quarter of the 4th c.

4.5 Lakonian

Prior to c. 750 Lakonian pottery was characterized by its sparse, mostly rectilinear, decorative motifs. In the second half of the 8th c. it came, initially, under Argive influence and, thereafter, a degree of Corinthian. Scenes of dancing figures have often been interpreted as

illustrating specific religious festivals. The lakaina, a cup characterized by a shallow bowl and a disproportionately tall rim, which was to remain popular in Lakonian fine ware, appears at this stage.

During the 7th c. BC Lakonian potters produced fine wares either decorated with Subgeometric linear patterns, and occasionally c. 650–620 figures in combined silhouette and outline, or simply black-glazed with some minimal linear ornament; the latter was a technique used well into the 6th c. (Catling 1992). Limited incision allowed some silhouette figures c. 620. At this time, various categories of Lakonian fine wares start to be found abroad (e.g. Taranto, Samos, and Etruria in fewer numbers). These areas, especially Samos, remain the main recipients of full Lakonian black-figure after its introduction c. 580, and Naukratis (the predominantly East Greek trading entrepôt in Egypt), Cyrene, and Tocra (on the Libyan coast) are also added to the list (see Chapter 15). Significant amounts, along with black-glaze vessels, also reached Miletos (Pfisterer-Haas 1999: 265) and Didyma (Bumke and Röver 2002: 95–97). Throughout the course of Lakonian black-figure production there were further important fluctuations in the proportions imported into each region (Nafissi 1986: 152–159; Pipili 2006). The importation of Lakonian black-figure at Olympia, often with votive scenes befitting the sanctuary, continued, possibly slightly beyond 520, at a time when Lakonian figured exports had practically ceased elsewhere (Nafissi 1986: 171; Kunze-Götte 2000: 49–50, 64–72; Pipili 2006: 78–79). Indeed, present evidence has been interpreted as suggesting that significant amounts of Lakonian black-figure were actually intended for the foreign market. They were not, however, deposited uniformly in the same contexts; at Etruscan sites and Taranto (Pipili 2006: 80), for example, the vessels are usually found in burials, while elsewhere they are mainly (though not exclusively) found in sanctuaries. It is also clear from the fluctuations in their distribution that recipient sites were not all supplied by the same network (Pipili 2006: 79).

The main figured shapes exported were the krater, the oinochoe, the hydria, and especially the high-stemmed cup. The level of Lakonian black-figure production fell c. 530, and ceased to be produced in the early 5th c. The technique shares the basic characteristics of black-figure, though Lakonian figured scenes were mostly applied to cups, and to the interior of these vessels (characteristically in a large tondo: [Figure 4.6](#)), and only exceptionally to their exterior. It may be noted that in the first fifty years of its existence the figured scene ordinarily rests on a white slip; c. 530 this is gradually replaced by an added reddish surface that approaches the color of Attic pottery. In the following years ever more Atticizing vessels were made (Pipili 2001: 72; Pipili 2009: 141), and it has been

suggested that an Athenian potter/painter may have been working in Lakonia (Kunze-Götte 2000: 48, 50).

Figure 4.6 Lakonian black-figure cup (interior). Hunt for the Kalydonian Boar. c. 560 BC (Paris, Louvre E 670. Giraudon/ The Bridgeman Art Library).



Generally, the subject matter of Lakonian black-figure divides into scenes with overt cultic or religious content, mythological representations (particularly featuring Herakles), and ‘everyday’ scenes such as *symposia*, which probably also held cultic significance (Pipili 1998: 83). An oddity is the cup that pictures a Cyrenean king, Arkesilas, overseeing the weighing and subsequent transportation of a bulk good (Boardman 1998: fig. 420).

Modern researchers have recognized a small number of painters who were the mainstays of the Lakonian black-figure technique, and have further suggested links between painters over a few generations. In the earliest generation, Corinthian influence is evident, but so is that of East Greece. Attic influence becomes particularly strong c. 530.

A notable Samian interest in Lakonian black-figure is apparent, and the written sources indicate that there were close ties between Sparta and Samos dating back to the 7th c. Lakonian black-figure was still

exported to Samos until c. 525, as finds, some specifically ritual in nature, at the Sanctuary of Artemis establish (Pipili 2006: 77). Indeed, it has been argued that many of the sympotic and cult-related scenes (particularly an imposing female figure accompanied by winged acolytes) that appear on Lakonian pieces were initiated by the Naukratis Painter in order to fulfill commissions placed by worshipers at the Samian Heraion (Pipili 2000: 415–418; Pipili 2006: 77). Subsequently, these scenes were incorporated into the Lakonian repertoire. If so, they should not be read as (at least originally) representations of Spartan practices and pursuits (Powell 1998: 120), but rather Samian.

Nonetheless, other representations have been seen as reflections of Lakonian reality. The komasts that are present in the earlier output have been interpreted as revelers participating in a rite associated with the worship of the Spartan goddess Artemis Orthia (Smith 1998: 76–77). A more evident link with wider Spartan practice and iconography is offered by scenes of an enthroned deity or couple, an iconographic scheme that approximates one found on large-scale stone votive reliefs (Kunze-Götte 2000: 68; Pipili 2006: 78–79).

Lakonian black-figure production continued in a degenerate fashion into the early 5th c. BC, as votive cups from the Sanctuary of Kassandra and Agamemnon (outside Sparta) confirm (Pipili 1998: 95). Figured Lakonian pottery had a brief revival c. 415 and into the early 4th c., when red-figure vases were produced (McPhee 1986a). These vessels are closely linked to contemporary Athenian products, and most are covered by a slip that renders the reserved surface more like that of Attica. The most commonly decorated vessels include large (practically krater-sized) mugs, calyx- and bell-kraters, stemless cups, plates, and versions of the lakaina, though pelikai and hydriai are also known. Lakonian red-figure vases have been excavated in sanctuaries in Sparta and elsewhere (including Olympia, Perachora, and the Theban Kabeireion). Most, however, were found in Lakonia or immediately neighboring regions. Red-figure vessels, many bearing deities and mythological scenes, excavated at a site in the border lands between Lakonia and Kynouria were found in houses where they had been placed in niches (Orlandos 1955: 84–85), a position that may indicate that they were reserved for special use.

A number of Lakonian red-figure lakainai were excavated in the Athenian Kerameikos (Stroszeck 2006: 109–118), where they had been placed as grave goods in the burial of Spartans who fell in combat against Thrasyboulos's forces in 403. It is possible that the scenes they carry were deemed specifically appropriate for warriors: hoplite battles, a hare hunt, a possible military training session, and young males performing a ritual dance.

4.6 Elean

In the western Peloponnese locally-made figure vases, both black- and red-, have been found primarily at Olympia, Elis, and the site of Elean Pylos. There is very limited evidence as yet for figured local Late Geometric wares (Themelis 1965: 217, pl. 251 γ , drawing 4; Coleman 1986: 19–32). In the 7th and 6th c. fine wares were mainly decorated with Subgeometric motifs, or banding, and large floral ornaments embellished with added white applied on to a dark ground. The 7th c. vessels can bear Lakonian elements, especially in the linear ornaments employed (e.g. Kunze-Götte 2000: 126), while it has been suspected that some of the dark-ground column-kraters were inspired by Middle Corinthian prototypes (Schilbach 1999c: 314–315). A small number of fragmentary 7th c. figured vessels are known, and may be compared to an even smaller number of earlier pieces from Achaea to the north (Papadopoulos 2001: 396). The subject matter of the west Peloponnesian figured scenes include wild animals, possibly a hunt, and a horseman, all in outline (rarely filled with white), sometimes with interior details rendered in a thinner glaze (e.g. Coleman 1986: 36–37 no. C1; Gauer 1975: 168, pl. 32, 3, [fig. 20.2](#)). Occasionally a mixture of silhouette and outline techniques was employed (Coleman 1986: 46 no. C54). Furthermore, silhouette figures with added white or red details, or even bearing minimal incision, can appear on their own (Coleman 1986: 59 nos. C146–149, 61 no. C184; Schilbach 1999c: 307, pl. 62.6). One early ring stand bears a series of dancing women, probably a chorus, painted in white on a dark ground (Schilbach 1999a: 35 pl. 1.12). The most characteristic 7th c. shape, which continues into the 6th, is the tall-necked ('giraffe-necked') oinochoe; it is accompanied by bowls with reflex handles, plates, and calyx-kraters.

During the 6th c. BC stronger Lakonian impact is evident with the appearance of Elean black-figure c. 575. The most popular motif was the animal frieze, though some more complicated fragmentary late 6th c. figured scenes are known (Kunze-Götte 2000: 146–147 no. 134). In the first half of the 5th c. Elean black-figure was very rarely produced, and appears to have been essentially restricted to plates. This late black-figure, populated with human figures, was dependent on Attic models, and at least one piece may bear a mythological scene (Kunze-Götte 2000: 128 n. 320). An isolated local black-figure fishplate datable to the first quarter of the 4th c. testifies to a patchy reappearance of black-figure (McPhee 1990: 51–52).

Elean figured pottery reappears c. 430, with the local adoption of the red-figure technique (McPhee 1986b, 1990; Schilbach 1999a: 47–45, fig. 35a,b, pls. 2, 5–6; 3.1–2; 5.5; 1999b: 105). Initially, Elean red-

figure was closely dependent on Attic prototypes. Local production consisted mainly of kraters, but also hydriai and pelikai; drinking vessels were far fewer in number. Only a small number of vessels carry recognizable mythological episodes or deities. More common are Dionysiac scenes with satyrs and maenads. These scenes gain in popularity in the early 4th c., a period during which Elean red-figure painters looked increasingly westward to Apulia (see Chapter 19); indeed, it has been suggested that some Elean painters may have come from southern Italy (Trendall and McPhee 1982: 472). Local figured production ceased c. 360, though not before the production of a series of small palmette lekythoi. A number of small 4th c. red-figure squat lekythoi (McPhee 1979), and some few larger vessels (primarily found in areas adjacent to the northern reaches of the Ionian and Adriatic seas), betray strong Apulian associations. They are mainly decorated with women, Nikai, and maenads, and have been cautiously attributed to Elis (McPhee 1990: 48) or, alternatively (and increasingly likely), to northwestern Greece or areas further north on the eastern Adriatic coast (McPhee 1979; Andreou 2004: 561–563; 2009: 137–138; Papadopoulos 2009: 235–238).

4.7 Cycladic

A plethora of pottery groups can be identified as Cycladic, but universal agreement among researchers as to their attribution to a particular island has not as yet been possible. Indeed, some islands may have produced more than one of these categories, and some categories may have been produced in more than one center. Some bear little more than hastily drawn birds and minor motifs, others are more ambitious. It is the foremost of the latter which shall be considered here: the Linear Style and ‘Melian’.

The Linear Style, attributed to Naxos in the most recent study dedicated to it (Knauf 1997), begins in the latter stages of the 8th c. and continues into the first half of the 7th c.; in its later stages it admits many Orientalizing features. In its earliest period, Attic, and to a lesser degree Corinthian, characteristics have been identified; in the Orientalizing phases Cretan and East Greek motifs are detectable. The major shape was a large amphora, normally on a high conical foot, though some kraters and jugs are known (e.g. Coldstream 2007). As with most Cycladic figured wares, the Linear Style eschews regular incision, though internal details can be rendered in a thinner line within the figure’s outlined perimeter; occasionally some parts of the drawn figure can be in silhouette. The more ornate Linear Style

vessels make use of added purple, brown/red, and white. Around 675 BC, a short-lived polychrome style is used on some pieces. Initially the Linear Style exclusively carried geometric motifs, but sinuous birds, lions, horses, sirens, and sphinxes came to occupy the main panel in the handle zone, and occasionally the neck. Ordinarily the reverse of a vessel bears far simpler motifs than the obverse. Numerous motifs of the Linear Style can be paralleled in other Cycladic pottery groups, such as its heraldic lions, which are close to their counterparts of the 'Heraldic Group' (first quarter of the 7th c.), another category that has been attributed to Naxos (Knauß 1997: 46; Perfetti 2006: 236; Coulié 2007: 54–55).

Most of the examples of the Linear Style have been found in cemeteries on Thera (some identify it as a Theran style: Tiverios 2004: 301–303), and among the Delian grave material redeposited on the neighboring small island of Rheneia. One amphora was, extraordinarily, found in a cemetery at Cervetri, Etruria (Rizzo 2000). It has been suggested that these amphorae were produced specifically to serve funerary purposes, and that this may be reflected in their motifs: apotropaic animals and hybrid guardians. Only later in Cycladic production are mythological scenes portrayed with any regularity, and even then they are not particularly numerous. For example, the continuation, in its most monumental form, into the second half of the 7th c. of the 'Heraldic Group' may be represented by the 'Aphrodite Amphora' that was found on Naxos, which shows Ares and Aphrodite in a chariot scene (Perfetti 2006: 245).

The major figured Cycladic style was 'Melian', a category that is now believed to have been initiated on Paros c. 680/70, though it has been suggested that Parian potters may have traveled and produced 'Melian' vases elsewhere as well (Zapheirópoulou 2003: 9). Its origins have been attributed to a Late Geometric tradition particular to that island, with apparent Attic associations (Sheedy 1985: 169–173; 189; Zapheirópoulou 2001: 86; Zapheirópoulou 2003: 17). Recent discoveries have shown Paros was home to a number of ambitiously accomplished vase-painters during the later decades of the 8th c. (Zapheirópoulou 2006). During the first four decades of the 7th c., a number of Parian workshops produced different styles of vessels, some decorated mainly with geometric motifs, others dominated by animal protomes, and a third group predominantly displaying birds, some of which actually admit incision for feathered details (Sheedy 1985).

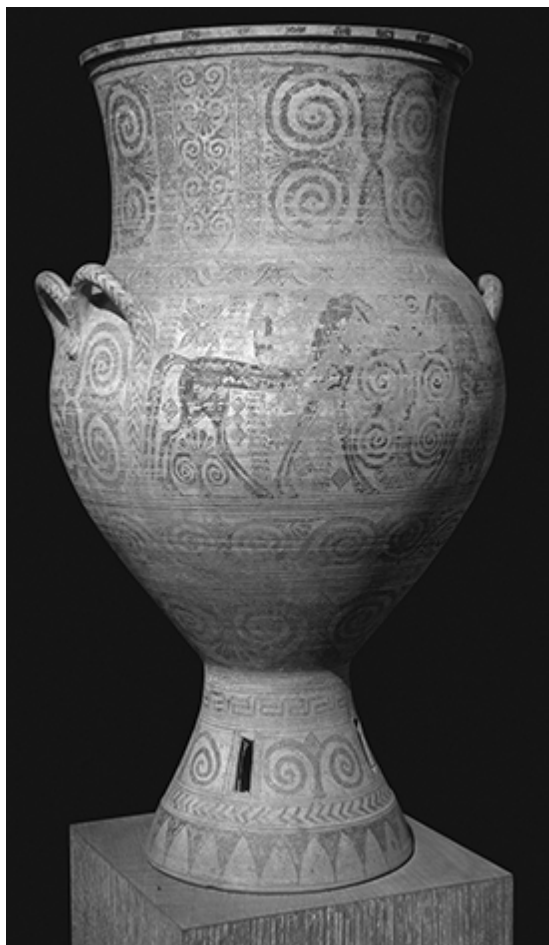
'Melian' (the misnomer has been retained) was produced until the beginning of the 6th c. Its major shape was a large krateroid amphora, though smaller amphorae, hydriai, plates, and some drinking vessels are also known. Its main characteristic, especially noticeable on the large closed vessels, is the richly decorated, and thickly slipped,

surface. Although many vessels bear floral and patterned motifs alone, figured scenes are rendered in outline and silhouette, and details are indicated by added paint and dilute glaze, resulting in a polychromatic effect. Incision was sparsely used, mainly on later vessels; its use may be the result of Corinthian influence. Shortly before the mid 7th c. BC, 'Melian' painters appear to have adopted some East Greek elements.

'Melian' vases have been excavated in both cemeteries and sanctuaries. The krateroid amphorae (which average one meter in height) have been mainly found in cemeteries, and are assumed to have been used as funerary markers, though instances are also known where they were used to hold infant or child inhumations (Zapheirópoulou 2001: 86). Other forms could also be placed in graves, while plates and smaller closed vessels were deemed appropriate for use in, or as votives at, sanctuaries. Unlike the Linear Style or the other decorated Cycladic wares, 'Melian' was exported relatively extensively, and has been excavated as far afield as Tocra in North Africa and Neapolis on the Thracian coast, opposite the Parian colony of Thasos (Boardman 1998: 111).

The scale of the figured scenes on the majority of figured 'Melian' vases is monumental, not miniature, as, for example, on most contemporary Protocorinthian vessels. The necks of closed vessels regularly carry a protome (in outline), and mythological figures, too, are not unknown in this position, while the main scene is placed on the belly. The most ambitious scenes are found on the krateroid amphorae. The scenes may be mythological: Apollo with two female consorts in a chariot, or Dionysos with Ariadne, or the Judgment of Paris (Boardman 1998: figs. 250, 251). They may also be otherworldly, depicting unidentifiable figures in chariots harnessed to winged horses, or stately heraldic riders (Figure 4.7). The popularity of horse scenes may indicate that krateroid amphorae were indicators of status, as horse ownership (especially on an Aegean island) was not for all. Funerary meanings have been read into the protomes that appear on so many 'Melian' vessels. Clearly, though, not all 'Melian' vases were used for funerary purposes as many have been found in sanctuaries, including at least one krateroid amphora.

Figure 4.7 'Melian' amphora. Riders. c. 660 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 912. Photo: Studio Kontos/Photostock).



4.8 Cretan

A number of points need to be kept in mind when considering the fine wares of Crete. Firstly, the island does not present a unified picture. Secondly, its various production centers are not equally well known; Knossos and its immediate area have been best studied. Thirdly, most of the relevant material has been excavated from funerary contexts; considerably less is known from settlements and sanctuaries. While figured scenes, or at least figures, appear earlier on Cretan vessels than elsewhere in the post-Bronze Age Greek world, they were never numerous relative to overall fine-ware output. Indeed, Cretan vase-painting is predominantly characterized by patterned vessels, decorated with floral, curvilinear, or linear motifs. Furthermore, Crete notably differs from most other Greek regions in that the production

of painted fine wares, be they figured or patterned, appears to have practically ceased during the 6th c., as does, for the most part, the import of figured vessels from elsewhere. It has been suggested that this could be explained as part of a wider phenomenon characterized by the adoption of an ethos of material austerity by Cretan elites (Whitley 2005: esp. 47–48; Erickson 2006: esp. 72–74), an argument that identifies these elites as the main commissioners and users of locally produced painted fine wares. The focus here falls on the few figured vessels, rather than on the full range of fine wares, of which many pieces were simply glazed, or on the plastic vases, usually in the forms of animals.

The corpus of Knossian Protogeometric pottery betrays elements, such as the stirrup jar, inherited from the Bronze Age, as well as traits adopted from approximately contemporary traditions external to the island, including Attic. A very small number of Knossian vessels of this period, primarily kraters, bear scenes, with figures either rendered in silhouette or outlined and hatched, including a hunt, a human falling victim to two lions, boats, and mythical. In most instances these early essays in figured forms are swamped by the accompanying geometrical motifs.

A fundamental shift occurs approximately in the mid 9th c. BC, when Knossian pot painters incorporate into their repertoire curvilinear and floral motifs which derive, probably for the most part, from Near Eastern metalwork, though Minoanisms have also been recognized. The style, known to scholarship as Protogeometric B, lasted to c. 800. It is not uncommon in north central Crete, and is encountered sparingly elsewhere. The style, and versions made beyond Knossos, at Prinias (Rizza 1974, 1978: 131, 135), is best evidenced by grave finds, and especially by the straight-sided pithos (Coldstream 1996: 315–317; Coldstream 2001: 27; Englezou 1997: 109–110, pls. 30, 123). In a small number of instances the shape carries figural representations that, unlike most of their accompanying pattern motifs, are not dependent on Eastern inspiration. These include female deities, birds perched on a forest of trees, trees alone in the major field, and fish. This style, when compared to developments elsewhere in the Greek world, testifies to a particularly early example of adoption of Near Eastern elements, an ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon well before the canonical Orientalizing period. It was succeeded by, and probably partly overlapped with, the distinct Knossian Early Geometric style, in which Middle Geometric Attic elements are apparent. Knossian ‘bilingual’ Early Geometric vessels bear on one side rectilinear geometric compositions allied to those of Attica, and on the other, curvilinear patterns more aligned with those of the local Protogeometric B style. Attic-derived features become increasingly

popular throughout the 8th c. The latter stages of the local Geometric style, best evidenced by pithos-urns and cups, produced some few horses and birds, the latter regularly placed in metopes on Late Geometric pieces; the human form is exceedingly rare. A Middle Geometric hunt scene is known (Coldstream 2001: 69). In these late phases of Geometric, a white-on-dark technique, which continued into the Orientalizing period, was introduced (cf. Coldstream 1992: 76 no. 19; 79 no. 120).

The beginning of the conventional Knossian Orientalizing dates to c. 710/700, and it ends c. 600. It saw a renewed adoption of practices from the Near East, especially from Cyprus. The more ambitiously decorated vessels are usually found in tombs, while the finer wares from settlement deposits tend to be decorated in a style dependent on concentric circles and linear schemes, though these are by no means unknown from funerary contexts. Equally, few figured pieces are known from the settlement (Coldstream 1992: 76 no. 19; 79 no. 120; Coldstream and MacDonald 1997: 233 Group Z no. 5). The most arresting components of the orientalizing phase are the polychrome pots, foremost the pithoi-urns with their lids, decorated in red, blue, and sometimes yellow on a thick white ground, which are exclusively found in funerary contexts. They carry dense textile-like patterns populated by birds, and occasionally other animals such as lions, sphinxes, and bees. A pithos, late in the style, carries a couple: a warrior and his lady. However, not all Orientalizing vessels were polychrome; simpler outline compositions are also known (Coldstream 2001: 37). Small unguent vessels could be decorated with elaborate dark-on-light floral confections or simpler bird and bee compositions (Coldstream 2001: 72, 44). 7th c. drinking vessels were often exuberantly decorated with similar schemes, though early in the period cups that followed a Geometric-style metopal division could carry a menagerie of animals and hybrids either in outline or in silhouette (Coldstream 2001: 57). In the late phase of the period, Knossian potters occasionally imitated East Greek Wild Goat Style compositions (cf. Coldstream 2001: 51), as well as miniature Protocorinthian black-figure (Brock 1957: 131 no. 1512; Hood and Boardman 1961: 79; Boardman 1962: 31, pl. 3d; Coldstream 1973: 43 nos. J37–38; 2001: 44).

The best-known production site south of Knossos is that of Aphrati, possibly ancient Arkades (Levi 1927–1929; Rizzo 1984; Biondi 1994a; Erickson 2004: 207), where Geometric pottery not without links to that of Knossos was produced. Aphrati is most notable for its 7th and early 6th c. BC figured output, found mainly on jugs, pithoi (urns), dinoi, and situlae. A number of different techniques were employed: outline and silhouette, sometimes incorporated with elements

rendered in relief; white-on-dark (occasionally with added red); black-figure for large-scale (as opposed to the Knossian preference for miniature) animals; and an innovative technique in which reserved figures, with reserved outlines, stand out against a dark background. Representations, many of which can be interpreted as funerary in content (Biondi 1994b) include those of a Potnia Theron, couples, mourners, and fantastic beasts. As observed elsewhere on Crete, the decorative range of fine-ware pottery at Aphrati is greatly reduced during the 6th c., though some very simplified non-figural motifs, the ancestry of which can be traced back to 7th c. predecessors, were employed, which appear to have continued into the 5th c. (Erickson 2002: 51, 79). Elsewhere, Cretan black-figure has also been found at Prinias (Palermo 1992: 75–76 no. 25). Gortyn has also produced figured Orientalizing wares, which mostly employ outline and silhouette, with a preference for representing animals and occasionally hybrids, though human forms, such as a rider, are known (Johannowsky 2002). Black-figure made at the site was also used on pinakes (plaques). Mention here should be made of a few black cups of the late 7th c. from the southern site of Kommos, which bear complicated figured scenes incised before firing (Shaw 1983; Callaghan and Johnston 2000: 237 nos. 239–240, pls. 4.9, 4.47). These find analogues at Syme Viannou (Kanta 1991: fig. 40) and Gortyn (Johannowsky 2002: 21 no. 137; 72 no. 477).

In the west of the island, the Late Geometric output of Chania, which continued into the 7th c. BC, has recently come into some focus. Its most decorative aspect is mainly evidenced by kraters and cups, and has some links with Knossos and other centers beyond Crete (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997). Toward the center of the island we are now far better informed (from funerary contexts) about the local fine wares of Eleutherna, a site which also imported vessels from Knossos, Attica, and Cyprus as early as the 9th c., with other sources represented into the 7th c. (Stamplidis 2004: 240–271; Kotsonas 2008). Local 8th c. figured pottery is rare, but a Late Geometric necked pithos carries the recently introduced metopal decorative system, in which the metopes are occupied by birds of a specifically Cretan nature and by a particularly stylized butterfly (Kotsonas 2008: 114–115). Local production of the earlier part of the 7th c. at this site includes two distinct categories of vessels generally ‘Subgeometric’ in character and with strong Cycladic elements, so strong that it has been argued that Cycladic potters were responsible for most of their constituent pieces. All these pieces are more accomplished, both technically and iconographically, than the earlier and other contemporary locally-produced fine wares. Birds, grazing horses, Phoenician-like griffins, and an animal attack scene are known on the

amphorae and necked pithoi that compose these groups (Kotsonas 2008: esp. 72–78, 123–124). As elsewhere on the island, the subsequent locally-made fine wares are far simpler, normally just fully glazed (Erickson 2004: 200–201).

The sometimes exuberantly decorated pottery of eastern Crete ('Eteocretan') is essentially non-figural, though exceptions exist, such as a Protogeometric B hydria with a series of outline herbivores with hatched bodies on its shoulder (Tsipopoulou 2005: 86 H691, phot. 38 α,β, pl. 36). The style developed largely unaffected by developments elsewhere on the island, though limited links can be seen with Knossos, as can some Cycladic traits. Minoan elements have also been identified (Mook 2004; Tsipopoulou 2005: 539). The limited figural decoration is, with the exception of the very rare Protogeometric B instances, an innovation of the Orientalizing period, and, as finds from the Kavousi region establish, consists mainly of various types of birds set within a wider patterned background (Coulson et al. 1997: 385, fig. 42; Haggis et al. 2007: 274–275) on serving vessels such as jugs and dinoi, though a horse set within a metope on a closed vessel is known (Gesell et al. 1984: 348). The most ambitious figured piece must be a hydria, from a funerary context, which pictures a charioteer and three mourning women, all rendered primarily in silhouette to which some limited incision has been applied, for which scenes on metal sheets have been suggested as prototypes (Tsipopoulou 2005: 113 no. H1951; 501–502, 528–529, phot. 100 α–γ, pl. 53). Equally notable is a closed vessel fragment from a center further to the east, Praisos, which pictures a flying siren (a creature not without funerary associations), the body of which is shown in silhouette, and the head in outline (Tsipopoulou 2005: 239 H25674, phot. 364, pl. 10). A later fragmentary plate in a mixed outline and black-figure technique from the same site pictures a male battling a sea monster and a rider on its interior (Levi 1945: 30, pl. 29). As holds true for other regions of the island, east Cretan 6th c. fine wares, where known, are particularly simple (e.g. Itanos: Greco et al. 1999: 527; Apostolakou et al. 2004–2005: 999).

Cretan figured vessels, never numerous, only make up a minority of the relatively few Cretan fine wares found beyond the island. The few pots that did travel mainly went to Cyrenaica, and may have originated mostly from the southern part of the island (Coldstream and Huxley 1999: 295). There is, however, clear evidence that fine pottery moved between centers within the island. It was noted above that much of the imagery of the figured pottery from Aphrati and elsewhere is specifically funerary in nature, and this has also been suggested for a great deal of the simpler figured motifs such as birds and bees (Kotsonas 2008: 329–332).

It may be noted that only a handful of pieces can be identified as Cretan 5th c. black-figure (Schaus 1985: 11–12; Rizza 1993; Erickson 2006: 73). Similarly, a minute number of late 5th c. red-figure lekythoi, dependent on Attic prototypes, may be Cretan (Cook 1990; Coldstream 1999: 331 no. R4, pl. 29), as may some early 3rd c. pelikai from western Crete (Tzanakake 1997: 30–32; Skordou 1997: 56–57).

4.9 East Greek

Although the term ‘East Greek’ may conjure up a single entity, the region, ceramically speaking, was divided into a number of units, which, nonetheless, were in contact with one another – so much so that at times it is difficult to determine where the boundaries precisely lie. The major categories of figured pottery are the Wild Goat Style, Fikellura, and black-figure. Our knowledge is now richest for the pottery-producing centers of Ionia, and Aeolis too has come into better view. The Dodecanese islands and the opposite mainland coast are not as well understood. For over a century, researchers have suggested various frameworks into which this disparate material can be classified. Recent discoveries and more general advances in our understanding of East Greek pottery have led to the creation of an umbrella system that aims to cover all ceramic production in this extensive area (Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005). In this discussion, well-established terms for the various styles are retained, but the new terminology is indicated where appropriate.

From what is known of East Greek Late Geometric pottery, it appears that either a basically metopal decorative scheme or one – especially apparent on larger vessels – in which a central panel was divided into superimposed friezes was employed; both relied heavily on lozenges, maeander elements, other geometric motifs, birds, and the occasional palm-tree motif. A *prothesis* scene occurs on a Samian kantharos (not a krater or amphora, as in Athens; see Chapters 3 and 24). Otherwise, figured scenes are not common, though a lion hunter appears on a krater fragment from Chios, and a row of male dancers from Miletos. The most commonly decorated shapes are kraters, oinochoai, kotylai, and skyphoi. Series of unguent jugs, which continued into the 7th c., from Rhodes and Kos are notable in that they derive from Cypriot and Phoenician prototypes, and can be decorated either with geometric motifs (with one known figured example) or schemes derived from the East (Bourogiannis 2009).

The earlier part of the 7th c. BC saw a Subgeometric phase, in which the metopal scheme is progressively dropped. The North Ionian

bird bowls carry the Subgeometric tradition into the early years of the 6th c. (e.g. Boardman 1998: fig. 138). Unlike most East Greek Geometric pottery, the vast majority of fine wares from this time onwards throughout the Archaic period were covered with a substantial slip on to which painted decoration was applied. From the first quarter of the 7th c., orientalizing features, which first appeared in the last quarter of the 8th c. BC, increase in number. Figures, primarily wild animals and hybrids, are still rare. A small number of human figures are known, including a mid 7th c. horse-rider frieze (Kerschner 2008: 41–42, 52, pl. 42.8), a theme well documented later in the production of 6th c. East Greek workshops. Animals are usually rendered in silhouette, with the head and other selected features painted in outline, and some musculature reserved; there are points of similarity with contemporary Cycladic vase-painting (von Graeve 1971, 2007a: 649, fig. 1; Kerschner 1999: 30–31). Some vase-painters chose to experiment: there is fragmentary evidence for vessels with figures (including a rider and possibly a cuirassed warrior) in outline and white paint alongside rather baroque versions of Late Geometric ornaments, as well as more crudely drawn outline figures (Cook and Dupont 1998: 29, fig. 7.3).

The Wild Goat Style, best traced down to the early 6th c. in its South Ionian guise, developed in this context. Its subdivisions are defined by a large number of features, ranging from vessel shape, through to iconography, filling ornament type, and the motifs in secondary zones. Here the focus will fall upon the changes in the figured zones, though it should be remembered that vessels that carry floral and geometric patterns alone also belong to this style. Miletos appears to have been the main, but not only, center of production; Ephesos and Samos may also have been producers (Kerschner 2007: 227; Kerschner and Mommsen 2004–2006: 84). By the mid 7th c. BC, the hallmark of the Wild Goat Style, a series of animals, had appeared, though in the Early Wild Goat phase (which largely falls into the phase South Ionian Archaic Ia of the recently proposed system), animals could also confront one another. Humans are rare. The Early phase is best known from closed shapes, broad-bodied oinochoai and amphorae, and some kraters. Vessels, especially oinochoai, normally carry one figured zone alone, the remainder being decorated with geometric or curvilinear motifs. The bodies of the figures are shown in silhouette, with the head normally rendered in outline, as are paws (but not hooves), while musculature and other anatomical details are reserved against the silhouetted body.

The fourth quarter of the 7th c. saw the advent of the Middle phase of the style (South Ionian Archaic Ib and c). The broad-bodied oinochoe continues for a time but is supplanted by a slimmer

trefoiled-mouthed version; other shapes include the krater, dinos, piriform amphora, cup with everted rim, stemmed as well as the low-footed dish, and later lekanides. Lids to accompany open vessels were also so decorated. In effect, the shape range allows for the creation of a serving and drinking set. Added red and white were used to indicate details. Oinochoai may now carry a second animal frieze below the shoulder zone. The latter is still the primary field, and it often carries an imposing central floral element, on either side of which are heraldically placed various animals and hybrids (Figure 4.8). Occasionally a feline is shown with its lifeless prey, openly disturbing the peaceful world of most Wild Goat vessels. The second figured zone may carry hounds chasing various herbivores (intimating violence, which is rarely shown) or a series of grazing quadrupeds. Exceptionally, some vessels can carry multiple animal friezes. Toward the end of the phase, zones with repetitive grazing animals are very common, while the filling ornaments become larger and more thickly packed.

Figure 4.8 South Ionian Wild Goat Style oinochoe. c. 630–620 BC (Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie 1237).



The very latest pieces of Middle Wild Goat II continue into the first quarter of the 6th c. BC (along with the poorly-defined Middle Wild Goat III, they are classified as South Ionian Archaic Id). The developments noted in the previous paragraph continue, and the shape range remains much the same, but individual shapes do undergo some changes. The second animal frieze may be replaced on some oinochoai by a series of horizontal bands; animals are hastily drawn and are often, but not always, extended so that fewer individuals are needed to fill a frieze. 'Metopes', filled with a range of motifs, framed by pendant rays (a scheme initiated earlier), are found on a number of shapes. The end of the South Ionian Wild Goat tradition occurs during the first third of the 6th c., and in effect it was transformed by its last practitioners into the style known as Fikellura.

Recent discoveries have shown that the earlier phases of the Wild Goat Style were also produced in northern Ionia (Ersoy 2000: 400; Hürmüzlü 2004: 84–85). Toward the end of the 7th c. a style arose there which combined on the same vessels friezes in the Wild Goat

technique and others in a Corinthianizing black-figure technique (but on a white slip). Despite being termed Late Wild Goat (North Ionian Archaic Id), the style ran parallel to the later stages of South Ionian Middle Wild Goat. Output included dinoi, kraters, oinochoai, cups, and plates. Non-figured vessels were also made. The style admitted animal and hybrid friezes, along with some divine and human figures. Plates, probably intended as votives, carry a Potnia Theron, while neck fragments of an oinochoai excavated on Aigina (Walter-Karydi 1982: 89, pl. 7) carry a series of female figures – in all probability dancing and singing – a motif that was later very popular in North Ionian black-figure. Simpler figured vessels, more in line with the Wild Goat outline and silhouette tradition, were also produced (Kerschner and Mommsen 2004–2006: 87); analogues made in Aeolis, the region immediately to the north, suggested that potters moved between these two regions (Kerschner 2006: 113; Aytacılar 2007: 64–65). A fragmentary krater from Old Smyrna, dated by its excavator to the late 7th or early 6th c., carries an ambitious hunt scene executed in an unsophisticated outline and silhouette technique along with at least one Wild Goat filling ornament (Akurgal 1999: 51, figs. 2, 4, pl. 12). This piece alerts us to the existence of workshops beyond the ‘mainstream’.

Our view of the painted pottery of Aeolis only really comes into focus in the 7th c. BC, and after some Subgeometric output, Aeolian production (Aeolian Archaic I) can be divided into two major categories: Wild Goat and the Dot Style. The latter, which continues into the 6th c., occurs on many of the same shapes as the Wild Goat Style, though its decorative schemes are less ambitious. Figured animal scenes are exceptional; geometric and floral motifs, some dependent on Wild Goat prototypes, dominate its output. The beginnings of Aeolian Wild Goat can be placed in the third quarter of the 7th c., and its terminal point is c. 550. While oinochoai, dinoi, dishes, stamnoi, lidded lekanides, and skyphos-kraters are its mainstays, its most characteristic shape is the large shoulder-handled amphora with a principal field (which can carry animals, hybrids, and human forms) on each of its shoulders. It is, however, not certain that the shape was made in all the centers that produced Aeolian Wild Goat, and indeed differences have been perceived between the Wild Goat pieces found at the main excavated sites: Burunçuk (possibly Larisa-on-the-Maeander), Pitane, Gryneion, and Myrina. The earliest amphorae can bear intricate patterned decorative zones on the neck and lower body as well. In the middle and later phases of the style, these areas carry simpler geometric motifs or plain horizontal bands.

Vessels which incorporate black-figure zones, as North Ionian Late Wild Goat does, have also been found at Burunçuk. It appears that

Aeolian painters of the late 7th and early 6th c. more readily portrayed the human figure than their Ionian contemporaries, though to our eye some of the results look like caricatures (Iren 2003: pls. 19.82, 44.106, 45.109). Examples of these various strands of Aeolian Wild Goat are rarely found beyond the region. However, one group of dinoi, and a small number of associated shapes, termed the 'London Dinos Group', were exported widely, though thinly, from the Black Sea to Malaga in the years c. 600. Although scientific analyses indicate that the workshop responsible for these vessels is Aeolian, doubts have been raised, and it has been suggested that they have a North Ionian pedigree (Aytaçlar 2007: 63–64). A number of figured fragments attributed to this group bear effectively drawn human figures, and the Judgment of Paris has been identified as the subject of one of them (Akurgal 1995: 38). The major Aeolian workshops, which also produced an array of non-figured fine wares, have recently been placed in Kyme and its neighboring area.

The fine-ware pottery of Chios, with its distinct fabric covered by a rich white slip, can be followed as a separate tradition. Most vessels would have been made on the island, but some production at Erythrai on the mainland opposite has been suggested, and a workshop was active in the northern Aegean during the second quarter of the 6th c. BC. The output of the various Chian workshops can be studied primarily, but not exclusively, by the examination of the chalice (which sometimes reaches krater size), a shape that developed from a Geometric-period drinking vessel. Chian too has an Early Wild Goat phase, though it is poorly attested. The Middle Wild Goat phases of the style generally follow the development outlined above. Well known through votives dedicated at Naukratis, the finds there also include large bowls (which can bear female protomes on their rim and handle attachments) and a phallus/vulva (drinking?) vessel enlivened with a pair of eyes, presumably to be associated with rites directed toward Aphrodite. Elsewhere, oinochoai with a neck in the shape of a bovine head are known, as are kantharoi, phialai, and plates.

These Wild Goat vessels were succeeded by a number of other Chian styles. Black-figure decoration (with some Corinthianizing features) executed in a miniaturist technique and mainly portraying animals and hybrids in thickly set friezes appears c. 600; the occasional early piece still bears Wild Goat elements. The craftsmen responsible for this black-figure generally eschewed the chalice and preferred a large-stemmed lidded bowl; plates, small dishes, and ring vases are included in their repertoire. Another workshop continued to produce chalices with series of Wild Goat animals (though with much added color) and accompanying filling ornaments throughout the first quarter of the 6th c.; their interiors carried intricate designs, and

occasionally figures, in red and white paint on the dark ground. Simpler chalices with one or two animals (Plate 1) or the occasional human (still in outline and silhouette but without accompanying filling ornaments) on the obverse and, at most, a central rosette on the reverse seem to have followed on from those with colorful Wild Goat animal friezes and continued until c. 530.

The first half of the century also saw the production of a series of chalices decorated with figures (drawn in outline), often in mythological scenes, ritual processions, or revels. A further arresting feature of this style is its extensive use of polychromy (and the possible influence of monumental wall-painting). This group derived from the earlier 6th c. chalices that carried Wild Goat animal friezes. Black-figure continued, in various guises, parallel to these vessels, but its (with the exception of the Grand Style) dominant themes of komasts and rather heraldically placed animals pale in comparison to their polychrome counterparts (Lemos 1991: 154–175; Smith 2010: 179–193). The Grand Style is notable for the similarity of its drawing to that of Lakonian black-figure on an equally Lakonian cup shape, as well as on chalices; it has been suggested that an immigrant Lakonian may have been responsible for this phenomenon (Williams 2006: 130–131). Black-figure chalices, and other shapes including the kantharos, were made into the second half of the century, but their decoration became simpler, and some unslipped Atticizing vessels appeared. Thereafter, Chian vase-painting became primarily an affair involving simple friezes of horizontal leaf ornament and banding.

Recent research has nearly removed the island of Rhodes, with its three Archaic *poleis*, from the list of areas that produced figured fine ware, though it may still retain some Wild Goat, including, along with other East Dorian centers, ‘segment’ plates. Knidos, on the mainland, was responsible during the latter part of the 7th c. and into the 6th for a series of open vessels, especially plates, and a few other shapes Wild Goat in technique (Attula 2006). Similar, as well as more crudely decorated, plates have been found in cemeteries on neighboring islands, and occasionally in contexts further afield such as Tocra and Selinus (Sicily). The Knidian series seems to have been particularly well-suited as display pieces in sanctuaries. Many plate fragments carry representations, in outline or silhouette, of ships, a theme easily appreciated as important to a maritime settlement. More ambitious are the representations of Perseus (or a sprinting hunter?) (Cook and Dupont 1998: fig. 8.25) and a gorgon-headed Potnia Theron (Boardman 1998: fig. 297). Still from the East Dorian region, despite its inscriptions in the Argive alphabet, is the well-known Euphorbos plate, which pictures Menelaos and Hektor’s duel over Euphorbos’s corpse, though not the version known from the *Iliad* (Boardman 1998:

fig. 290). The polychromy of the plate and its figure drawing are reminiscent of contemporary Cycladic developments; the densely packed filling ornaments find parallels in South Ionian Middle Wild Goat, as does the pair-of-eyes motif set suggestively between the two combating warriors. Incision is discretely used for the device on Hektor's shield, and far more extensively on the Perseus plate, which can be described as basically black-figure with a number of Wild Goat filling ornaments.

Situlae – deep round-bottomed vats that stand on a ring base – with figured decoration are also primarily attributed to the East Dorian area. The shape owes its origins to Egypt, and Egyptian echoes have been identified in some of the scenes situlae carry. Most examples have been found in Egypt, but they also occur elsewhere (primarily Rhodes). The earliest known piece, late 7th–early 6th c., was excavated on Samos and is decorated in the Middle Wild Goat Style. Most examples are later and are decorated in black-figure, often with mythological subjects. The later examples of the shape bear on their lower body dark zones in which have been incised floral motifs with details highlighted with added red. This technique, known as Vroulian (when it appears alone on a vessel), is also seen on a number of vessels, primarily neck amphorae and cups, that have been attributed to Rhodes (Cook and Dupont 1998: ch. 14).

Clearly, Wild Goat Style had a varied career in different regions of the East Greek world, but the full story is still not told. A group of very fine vessels, mainly stemmed dishes, with a very shiny slip and decorated in this technique, with red and black as its basic colors, and termed 'Ephesian Ware', is known primarily from finds at Ephesos and Sardis. It may have been produced in either one or both of these centers, but its distribution pattern tends to favor Sardis (Kerschner 2002: 50). Lydia also produced its own, even more specific version of Wild Goat (Greenewalt 2010a: 114), but not apparently in any great numbers. More locally-produced pieces are known from Caria, where the style seems to have been adopted in the late 7th–early 6th c. Best known by its oinochoai and stamnoi, it is a clearly provincial style when compared to the main South Ionian series on which it is dependent. Its output, however, provided researchers with indications that the Wild Goat Style underwent a transformation, sometime in the first quarter of the 6th c., that resulted in the Fikellura style.

These Carian finds paired Wild Goat figured friezes with patterned zones characteristic of the Fikellura style (South Ionian/Milesian Archaic II), which, prior to recent discoveries, was not dated before the mid 6th c. BC. Excavations at Miletos have now shown that these earlier Carian vessels reflect developments that originated in Milesian workshops (Schlotzhauer 2006: 135, 141). The motifs of a subcategory

of Fikellura in which restrained use of ornament is juxtaposed with large expanses of plain surface also furnished hints of a link between Wild Goat and Fikellura prior to the recent Milesian finds (Schlotzhauer 2007: 274). About 580–570, Milesian potters produced bilinguals (South Ionian/Milesian Archaic IIA) which included animal friezes in the Wild Goat technique as well as more adventurous compositions, such as mounted hunters, executed in a new technique in which the figures were rendered solely in silhouette and details were indicated by reserved lines (incision is exceedingly rare). Added red was retained for highlighting, but its use declined as the style developed. New patterned and floral friezes also appeared. By c. 560 the Fikellura style is recognizable as an independent entity. Although primarily known through figured scenes executed in a relatively large scale, vessels decorated in a miniature style have been reported among the finds of the recent excavations at Miletos. The style is generally thought to have ended with the Achaemenid destruction of Miletos in 494.

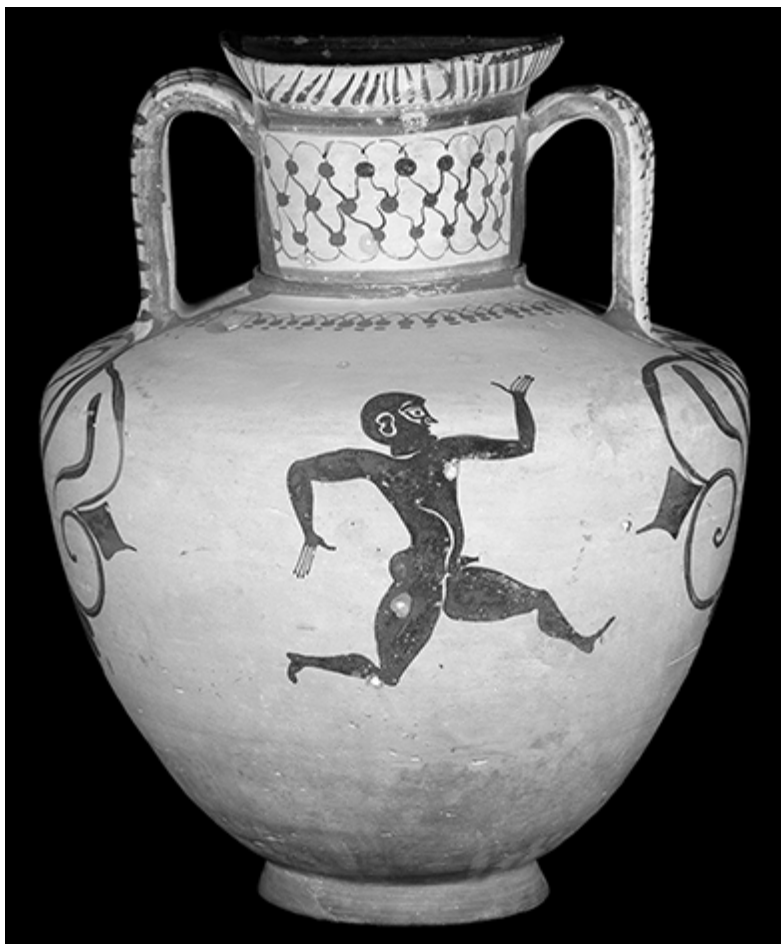
In the earliest Fikellura proper there was a restrained use of sparsely placed filling ornaments, but these were soon abandoned; animal friezes quickly lost ground (though versions consisting of partridges and later dolphins were introduced). Scenes featuring primarily humans – but also anthropomorphic hybrids such as a winged, canine-headed swordsman as well as a collection of winged phalloscephaloids cavorting with more human playmates, both male and female (von Graeve 2006: 251) – became increasingly common.

Scenes of revelling komasts, and others that depict elegantly clad men reclining on elaborately decorated mattresses and pillows while drinking to the accompaniment of musicians, may afford us insights into actual Milesian practices. Participants in such banqueting and *symposion* scenes can even be named by accompanying inscriptions (Ketterer 1999: 216–219). A solitary hoplite armed to the hilt may also aid our understanding of what may have been involved in being a 6th c. Milesian male (of a certain class). Mythological themes, too, appear, as evidenced by centaurs and satyrs, a Potnia Theron, and possibly Herakles's Egyptian foe Busiris. There is a marked tendency towards portraying flying winged anthropomorphic figures (von Graeve 2007b: 634, fig. 9).

Fikellura vases can be decorated in a number of different ways: with horizontal zones, one or more of which bear figured scenes; with one or two figures shown in free field (Figure 4.9); or with the body of the vessel primarily covered in ornament, such as large-scale volute and palmette chains or schemes, especially on squat oinochoai, that imitate a bird's plumage (Donner 2009). Occasionally, dark-ground secondary zones carry discrete motifs (dot rosettes, lotus flowers) in

added white. As in other fabrics, a pair of staring eyes was not uncommonly painted on a vessel's surface, animating it as well as placing its user (and company) under scrutiny. The style's secondary decoration may have had an impact on Attic black-figure, while some limited Attic traits have been seen in Fikellura draftsmanship (Williams 2009a).

Figure 4.9 Fikellura style amphora with a running man. c. 530 BC (London, British Museum 1864,1007.156. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



The range of Fikellura shapes is wide: oinochoai of various forms, broad-bodied and slim amphorae, dinoi, kraters, cups with everted or simple rims, mug-like cups, kantharoi, hydriai, and stamnoi. Most of these shapes readily find a place in *symposia* or banquets. Spherical aryballoi used for personal grooming are also known. Much of the Fikellura excavated at Miletos comes from sanctuary contexts, and it is certain that a series of mugs decorated with relatively simple floral or

curvilinear motifs were specifically commissioned to be dedicated, as they bear dedicatory inscriptions applied prior to firing.

The Ionian Little Master Cups, datable slightly before the mid 6th c. and through the third quarter, have traditionally been given to Samos, though it is possible that they were produced more widely, but nowhere in great numbers. Some of the figured pieces share with Fikellura the avoidance of incision and its replacement in the rendering of details by reserved lines; on others, incision is deployed consummately. These thin-walled, tall-stemmed cups with a tall everted rim share their form with approximately contemporary Athenian kylikes. They carry, on either their exterior or interior, figured decoration of no great originality for the most part: confronting beasts, hunts, komasts, and the like (though note the novel 'bird catcher': Boardman 1998: fig. 327).

Slightly later than the inception of the Wild Goat/Fikellura bilingual vessels, transitional styles between the North Ionian Late Wild Goat and North Ionian black-figure styles (North Ionian Archaic II) appear. North Ionian black-figure production seems to have been focused on Klazomenai, but Teos and Old Smyrna may also have been centers of production. The transitional pieces, occasionally without a white slip, are still dependent on Corinthianizing animals, though some can carry a subsidiary zone with Wild Goat fauna. Transitional black-figure should date to the 560s and was applied to dinoi, kraters, oinochoai, lidded pyxides, and aryballoi. In the same period, or towards its end, a more fully black-figure style was practiced in North Ionia, in which the white slip was progressively dropped. Komasts are a common subject, and chariot races too are known, as are files of dancing girls. In subsequent decades the latter become a hallmark of North Ionian black-figure (Moustaka 2001). They may be seen as the female equivalent to files of youthful male riders. Both themes may well represent practices, probably in religious contexts, where emphasis was placed upon the presentation of the community's youth. At this early stage, animals still regularly appear in secondary zones, and female figures are not required to be white-skinned. Scenes of myth do not figure prominently. A unique amphora that carries cartouches of the pharaoh Apries and other motifs that may be linked to Egypt is to be placed in the formative years of North Ionian black-figure (Boardman 1998: fig. 306).

Klazomenian black-figure of the late second and third quarters of the 6th c. divides into three major, and largely successive, stylistic groups. The earliest (the Tübingen Group, 560–540) is most notably represented by large shoulder-handled amphorae. The major decorative field is regularly occupied by a chain of dancing girls; animals normally inhabit the subsidiary zones, while bands

comprising alternating white and dark crescents are also a hallmark of the style. By the 540s the dominant output, the Petrie Group (540–420), specializes in tall, slim amphorae. Series of girls commonly fill the main panel ([Figure 4.10](#)), as do scenes with young naked riders (in all likelihood male, despite their white skin) and accompanying figures. Cavorting satyrs and maenads too can form the principal subject. The neck and the secondary zone below the main panel can carry sphinxes, cranes, and roosters. On an amphora on which the main panel is covered in a scale pattern, the secondary zone carries a series of komasts (Boardman 1998: fig. 343). The Urla Group (540–510: Özer 2009) is best known from its amphorae (slim- or broad-bodied), kraters, dinoi, hydriai, and pyxides (lidded or not). The group, which is decorated with characteristic Klazomenian themes such as dancing girls, sirens, and roosters, is most noteworthy for its amphora showing a sphinx confronting a bearded male, often identified as Oedipus (Cook and Dupont 1998: [fig. 12.4](#)). Recent excavations at Klazomenai have retrieved fragments of another amphora which places an apparently female figure in the company of a sphinx or, possibly, sphinxes (Özer 2004: 204, fig. 6). The Klazomenian corpus also includes a small number of figured scenes that can be associated with the Trojan War and Odysseus's *nostos*.

Figure 4.10 Klazomenian black-figure amphora. c. 540–525 (London, British Museum 1888.2-8.71a. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Also datable to the third quarter of the century and into the fourth is the North Ionian Knipovitch class of oval-shaped amphorae, the panels of which canonically carry the front half of a winged horse; their feathers are conspicuously embellished with added red and white paint. Similarly shaped amphorae of the Enmann class are prone to carrying satyrs and other Dionysiac-related themes, various animals, scales, or cruciform lotus palmette compositions. The Enmann class, to which other shapes such as hydriai, oinochoai, and askoi have also been attributed, lacks the profuse use of color so characteristic of many other North Ionian figured categories. Both the Knipovitch and Enmann categories are best known from finds made in the Black Sea region (Cook and Dupont 1998: 101–105).

Klazomenian, and generally North Ionian, black-figure's most notable production came to an end with the passing of the workshops outlined above, though mention can also be made of North Ionian black-figured kraters dated primarily to the third quarter of the 6th c., the most impressive of which bears a camel and its Eastern driver on

its obverse and its reverse (Cook 1965: 123 no. 45). Black-figure was still produced, probably at a number of centers, into the last quarter of the 6th c. BC (e.g. Özer 2004: 207–209), along with vessels that simply bore patterning such as a scale pattern and banding, or a palmette finial on the neck of amphorae. Lekanis lids and amphorae are among the shapes that were decorated with relatively monotonous series of sirens and animals, or animals alone. The last years of the 6th c. saw the production of Atticizing black-figure vessels (Özer 2004: 209–210), a phenomenon which has been noted elsewhere in the Greek world. Production largely appears to have ceased soon thereafter, and the Achaemenid response to the Ionian Revolt has often been seen as the cause. Limited Ionian black-figure of the fourth quarter of the 6th c. is also known from areas south of Northern Ionia (Kowalleck 2008: 93, pl. 42.5). On current knowledge, the later local figured pottery in East Greece seems to be exceptionally rare. Indeed, it is practically confined to the early 4th c. red and white ware from Old Smyrna, which, although primarily a floral style, portrays monkeys and less often bulls in silhouette (Cook 1965: 137 no. 139). As an adjunct to North Ionia, it may be noted that Aeolis too produced some black-figure in the 6th c. BC, but the very little that is known of it is for the most part dependent on fragmentary material from Buruncuk.

East Greek figured wares, along with more simply decorated vessels from the same region, traveled extensively, but not uniformly, and distribution patterns changed through time. The main recipients beyond the region were Naukratis and sites in the Black Sea area, especially Berezan, and to a lesser degree Tocra and Cyrene. Ports on the routes which led to these places have also produced relevant finds, but not in the same numbers. Concentrations of late 7th c. East Greek pottery at some Levantine sites have been attributed to the presence of Greek mercenaries rather than trade (Fantalkin 2006: 202–203), as has Klazomenian black-figure at Tell Defenneh in the eastern Nile Delta. East Greek figured pottery from the central Aegean and mainland Greece is rare. Relatively isolated finds, such as those from Delos, may be indicators of the presence of East Greeks rather than of regular shipments of pottery. Figured wares could also travel eastwards into Anatolia, though again they are few in number (e.g. Gürtekin 1996).

From the end of the 8th and the early 7th c., North Ionian bird kotylai were making their way to Sicily; a Subgeometric oinochoe with an early animal frieze is also known from that island. Early Wild Goat did not travel widely, though isolated South Ionian pieces have been excavated at sites as distant as Eleutherna on Crete (Kotsonas 2008: 277–278), and a transitional Early/Middle Wild Goat I oinochoe

has been found at Sicilian Naxos (Lentini 2006: 35–36). The picture changes with Middle Wild Goat, which was imported, especially South Ionian oinochoai and plates, into numerous regions throughout the Mediterranean: Rhodes, Egypt (Naukratis above all), Cyprus, Crete, Tarsus in Cilicia, the Levant (especially Al Mina), and settlements on the northern Aegean coast and others on the Black Sea coast, in Cyrenaica, and on Sicily. North Ionian Late Wild Goat is also widely found, especially kraters. Naukratis again was a major recipient; fewer pieces have been found on Cyprus, in the Levant, in Cyrenaica, and on Sicily; around the Black Sea many pieces have been excavated, especially at Berezan and Histria. It appears that in the early 6th c. the amount of exported North Ionian was greater than that from southern Ionia. Aeolian figured ware was not as widely exported, with the major exception of the possibly Aeolian London Dinos Group vessels (though still not in great numbers). The distinctive fine wares of Chios are also often met, though not always in substantial amounts, especially the chalices. During the second half of the 7th c., major recipients were Naukratis, Tocra, and Cyrene, as well as sites in North Ionia and the Black Sea area. Significantly smaller amounts have been excavated in Sicily, southern Italy, and as far west as Marseille. Relatively little is known from peninsular Greece, though Aigina did receive noteworthy amounts, not all figured. Notable amounts have been found on the Aegean north coast.

Fikellura (primarily amphorae and oinochoai) too is well-represented at Naukratis and Tell Defenneh, as well as in smaller numbers at Levantine sites, on Cyprus, Cyrenaica, and as far away as Sicily; a number of pieces also traveled some way into Anatolia (Gürtekin-Demir 2003: 214–224). The Black Sea remains a major area of reception, and odd pieces appear in the Aegean islands and on the Greek mainland. The 6th c. black-figure wares of North Ionia, primarily amphorae, first make a marked appearance beyond their homeland at Naukratis and Berezan, which remain important recipients. Notable finds of the mid and third quarter of the century come from Tell Defenneh; later pieces, up to the end of the century, continue to make their way to the Black Sea region.

Reference must be made to a number of figured wares that have been identified either as East Greek-derived or East Greek. It is generally argued that the mid 6th c. saw an exodus of craftsmen from East Greece, and that a number of North Ionians eventually found a base in Etruria, where they produced vessels of the Northampton Group, the Campana dinoi, the Ricci hydria and vessels linked to it, and the Caeretan hydriai (Boardman 1998: 220–222). It has, however, been recently argued that the initial pieces, if not all, of the first two groups should be attributed to the homeland (Hemelrijk 2007: 377–

378), and related fragments have been excavated in the Black Sea region (CVA Pushkin 8: pls. 26–27). Mythological scenes are more common in all these categories than on other East Greek wares. This disparate output established new, if short-lived, ceramic groups. This was not, as far as is currently known, the case with the limited production of East Greek-style fine wares – known from sherds that bear floral or ornamental motifs – that can be documented primarily in the Black Sea region and the Hellespont (possibly focused on Abydos), and even at Naukratis (Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006: 62–65; Posamentir and Solovyov 2006: 113–115; 2007: 195–198; Posamentir et al. 2009: 45–49).

4.10 Northern Greek

The figured pottery of Thasos has its roots in the ‘Melian’ vessels of Paros (Coulié 2002, 2008). Plates and kotylai in a version of ‘Melian’, though in a miniature style, were produced locally from the third quarter of the 7th c. BC; some patterned local imitations of Corinthian piriform aryballoi of the end of the 7th c. are known as well (Coulié 2002: 175–176). Polychrome plates with Cycladic links were also produced. The first true Thasian black-figure painter, c. 590/80, initially produced vessels decorated in an outline and silhouette style with links to ‘Melian’, and only subsequently adopted the black-figure technique. Thasian figured pottery was throughout its existence receptive to features of other fabrics, and black-figure in its earlier years was especially open to North Ionian and Chian elements. Indeed, a number of painters of the first half of the 6th c. produced a strongly Chianizing style. From c. 560 until its end shortly prior to c. 500, Thasian figured pottery was exclusively black-figure. During the later 6th c. BC, Attic influence is dominant, and figured scenes can be very Attic in appearance.

The major Thasian shape is the lekane, which can be richly decorated with a number of friezes, and has been excavated both in sanctuaries and in domestic areas (Coulié 2002: 146–147, 234–235). The eclecticism of Thasian black-figure is well illustrated by its shape range: the ‘bowl-kraters’ (a drinking vessel which declined in number in the mid 6th c., at the same time as the increased importation of Attic cups) owe their inspiration to a Cycladic tradition, while the convex pyxis was adopted from Corinth. Other shapes potted include oinochoai, skyphoi, and column-kraters; kantharoi and kalathoi are rare.

In the earlier stages of Thasian black-figure, animals are common,

while the human figure is relatively rare. In the later stages of the third quarter of the 6th c. BC, deities (often associated with local cults) appear, as does the hero Herakles, who held special significance for the Thasians. Komasts, warrior scenes, dancers, palaestra and wedding scenes, and hunts were also depicted throughout. Highly ornate pieces, particularly those in the polychrome technique, appear to have been intended as votives. Some Chian-style and black-figure have been found at sites on the coast opposite Thasos, and at a number of other northern Aegean centers. With the end of black-figure, pottery production on Thasos ceased.

Beyond Thasos, our knowledge of the region is particularly patchy and new discoveries can easily alter our impressions. A 7th c. amphora from Akanthos, with strong Cycladic links, has been identified as locally made (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006–2007: 50–51, pl. 4.1). Most of the relevant material is later in date, though a small number of sherds of idiosyncratic style from Karabournaki on the Thermaic Gulf testify to some interest in figured (notably silhouette) pottery by regional potters in the 7th c. (Manakidou 2010: 468–469). Later production is represented by the output of a short-lived black-figure, possibly in the vicinity of the Thermaic Gulf, that seems to have specialized in kraters which bear strong similarities with the work of the 6th c. Attic potter/painter Lydos and his workshop (CVA Thessalonike 1, pls. 1–20, 24–25; Skarlatidou 1999: 1036–1039). Otherwise, most of the Archaic and Classical painted pottery consists of vessels that bear Subgeometric, floral, curvilinear, and banded schemes. At Torone, in the Halkidiki peninsula, such motifs can be found on 5th c. vessels, along with silhouetted birds or hybrids, occasionally with incised details. A small number of late 5th and 4th c. vases excavated at Pyrgadikia, in the central Halkidiki, indicate a workshop that made use of human protomes in outline and silhouetted birds. The non-red-figure (see below) production from Halkidiki is as yet poorly understood given its limited numbers, but testifies to local, if minor and erratic, output at a number of centers (Gioure 1972; Tudor Jones 1990; Pante 2008: esp. 52–81, 231–248).

The best known production in the northwestern Aegean is Chalkidian red-figure, most of which was probably made at Olynthos, from c. 430/20 and into the first half of the 4th c. BC (McPhee 1981, 2001: 356–358). Its distribution is effectively limited to sites within the three-fingered peninsula, though at least one example has been tentatively identified as from Halkidiki at Sindos on the western coast of the Thermaic Gulf (Misaelidou-Despotidou 1997: 170–171, 174, figs. 37, 38) and another, at a far greater distance, at Isar to the north (Mitrevski and Temov 1996–1997: pls. IIIA and IIIB). The fabric's repertoire was mainly restricted to shapes known in Attica, such as the

skyphos, hydria, askos, and bell-krater, though it did adopt, presumably from Apulia, the non-Attic epichysis used for pouring oil. Notably, red-figure painters in Halkidiki decorated the bolsal, a shape well represented in Attic black-glaze, but which only rarely admitted red-figure decoration in Athens itself. Most of these local red-figure vessels bear simple scenes composed of one or two figures, including two figures at an altar and an athlete and his trainer; another characteristic scheme has the surface of the vessel practically covered with the head of a woman, an 'Oriental' or an Arimasp. Depictions of myth are rare. The initial dependence of Chalkidian red-figure on Attic is clear, though it did develop its own characteristics. Soon after its appearance it seems to effectively have replaced Attic imports at Olynthos (and so did not complement Attic products, as appears to have been the case, for example, at Corinth: Pemberton 2003: 170), though in the first half of the 4th c. the neighboring city of Torone imported red-figure from both sources.

Moving westward and away from *polis*-dominated areas, recent finds from cemeteries in the region of the inland site of Aiiane, the capital of the Upper Macedonian canton of Elimeia, are evidence for the production of black-figure vases, dependent on a southern tradition, in the fourth quarter of the 6th c. BC. An isolated imitation, suggested to be local, of an Attic Heron-class skyphos has been found far further to the northeast (Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1993: 169). In Elimeia, however, sustained production can be documented. The output consisted of skyphoi and jugs with cut-away necks (a shape with a local pedigree) decorated with floral patterns and figural scenes (e.g. birds, riders). It has been suggested that the initiators of this output may have been Athenians. The succeeding generation of potters decorated the same shapes but in a purely silhouette technique (Karametrou-Menteside and Kephaliidou 1999: 538, 546–548).

The recent discovery of this ceramic category highlights how lacunose our knowledge of these regions is. This impression is only reinforced by the recent publication of funerary white-ground hydriai decorated with floral and large-scale geometric motifs from a mid 4th c. burial at Vergina in lower Macedonia (Kyriakou 2008: 169–196). Furthermore, excavators at Pella and Vergina (ancient Aegae) have very cautiously suggested that a very small number of 4th c. red-figure vessels found at these sites may have been made in Macedonia, possibly in the latter instance by an itinerant Athenian (Akamates 2008: 62–63, 75; Kyriakou 2008: 202–205). More material is required to substantiate these suggestions.

4.11 Conclusion

The brief of this chapter was to provide an outline of various Archaic and Classical figured vase-painting traditions. Complete coverage was not possible within its confines. Despite the detailed account and range provided, the little we know of the limited production of Argive figured pottery (e.g. the mid 7th c. krater fragment with the Blinding of Polyphemos scene; Boardman 1998: fig. 216) has not been discussed. Nor, as a further example, has the 7th c. style of Skyros. The same holds for Klazomenian sarcophagi, a major class of painted ceramic artifact with links to contemporary pottery production (see Chapter 24). Such shortcomings are hopefully mitigated by the fact that the reader can more easily pursue these topics in readily obtainable publications, whereas subjects such as Elean red-figure are not as well served. It should also be noted that the field is a growing one. Only recently, to give two examples, has the likelihood of 7th c. black-figure production in the western Saronic Gulf (with possible implications for Aiginetan production) been raised (Simantoni-Bournia 2009), while regional 6th c. black-figure evidenced by finds excavated on Samothrace has also come into focus (Dusenbery 1998: 710–720).

Many of the categories examined above were only produced for a relatively short period of time. This phenomenon may be explained in a number of ways. The fact that some workshops adopted Attic characteristics shortly before their end could imply that a contributing factor to their demise was an inability to compete with Attic production; though this must be checked in each area against the record of Attic imports and how its own exports (if any) were faring. Generally, however, other scenarios should also be considered. Local, especially small-scale, production may have been dependent on a small group, and an inopportune death or change in ‘commercial’ or other conditions could spell the demise of a workshop. Alternatively, changing practices (and use of containers’ contents) could lead to a drop in demand for specific vessel types, and subsequently to their disappearance, while the cessation of imports of a certain type may have stimulated local potters, if the demand existed, to imitate vases no longer available. In all cases it should be remembered that figured pottery was only one component of a far wider selection of ceramics produced and used in the Greek world. Equally, it was only one of the Greeks’ many media that carried images, and we should be mindful that vase-painters may have interacted with the works of other artisans to varying degrees. They received influences from other categories of material culture, such as metalwork and monumental painting, and they could also be responsible for the production of other artifacts, most notably terracotta figurines (and figurine vessels).

This aspect of the potter/painter's craft, although not dealt with here, should be kept in mind.

Acknowledgments

I should like to thank Antonis Kotsonas, Maria Pipili, and Alexandra Villing for reading and commenting on sections of this chapter. Any remaining errors are my own.

FURTHER READING

See Coldstream (2008) for Geometric wares. For the conventional Orientalizing period, see Osborne (2006: esp. 154–155), Gunter (2009), and Powell (2002: 146–187) (for the further argument that in this period Eastern images were also fundamental to the development of Greek mythology). Boardman (1998) and Cook and Dupont (1998) are essential for the Archaic period (the latter for East Greece alone), and vessels not specifically referenced in here are to be found in the relevant sections of these two works. For Corinthian: Amyx (1988), Neft (1991), and Rasmussen (1991). For Lakonian: Stibbe (1972, 2004), Pelagatti and Stibbe (1992), and Coudin (2009). On Lakonian iconography: Pipili (1987). Walter (1968) and Walter-Karydi (1973) provide a wide range of illustrations of East Greek wares, for which also consult the papers in Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006). For East Greek mythological scenes: Tempesta (1998). For Wild Goat: Lentini (2006) and Kalaitzoglou (2008). For Caeretan: Hemelrijk (2009). For finds of the Wild Goat Style in the Near East: Waldbaum and Magness (1997). Hayes (1991) provides an introduction to later, essentially non-figured (though see Karadema 1985: 487–488, figs. 3, 4), painted and other Greek fine wares. Inscriptions are presented in detail by Wachter (2001).

CHAPTER 5

Free-standing and Relief Sculpture

Dimitris Damaskos

5.1 Introduction

Sculpture was one of the most important forms of artistic expression in Greece. It vividly depicts the whole trajectory and development of Greek art from the earliest historical times (at the beginning of the first millennium BC) until the Romans were in full control of the Mediterranean towards the end of the 1st c. BC. Sculptures were used as votive offerings in sanctuaries, as cult statues and as funerary monuments, as well as to decorate public and private spaces. At the same time, they were vehicles for political and ideological propaganda, whether for individuals or social groups, at a time when images played an important role in expressing a variety of messages. The materials involved in their construction were usually marble or bronze, though works in other materials, such as gold and ivory, have survived.

Given its anthropocentric nature, the rendering of the human figure, either male or female, predominates in Greek art from its very beginnings. The same is true of the anthropomorphic gods of the Greeks, though there is no shortage of depictions of monsters and fantastic creatures (e.g. sphinxes, gorgons, etc.).

5.2 The Geometric Period

In the Geometric period, sculpture is small-scale (statuettes), rarely exceeding 20 cm in height and, as a rule, made of bronze, and more rarely clay. As in the vase-painting of the period, not just human

figures, but animals and inanimate objects too, are depicted with geometric forms and in a very abstract way, which gave the period its name: a triangular or rhomboid torso, round head, and long legs; flat figures which are far removed from a naturalistic rendering of the human body. The individual parts are set out incrementally and the organic cohesion of the whole is lost, so that the figure acquires an abstract character.

Geometric statuettes have been found in the early excavated levels of the great temples and earliest cities on Greek soil (Samian Heraion, Argive Heraion, Olympia, Athens, Thebes, Sparta, Dodona, etc.). They were used as votive offerings to the gods and more rarely as grave goods. In many instances the dating of these small sculptures continues to be problematic and relatively unclear, as many come from excavation strata that prove difficult to date. Nevertheless, archaeologists have distinguished bronze-casting workshops, which were endemic in the areas where production of and trade in these works developed.

The range of subjects treated in Geometric sculpture is relatively restricted and they are all connected with basic human occupations, such as war, hunting, and religious rituals. The social stratification of the period is evident from these compositions: the wealthy landowners, members of aristocratic families, dedicate works which depict them as members of their social class to Panhellenic sanctuaries (e.g. Olympia, Delphi), or smaller regional ones. Horse riding and wild-animal hunts were the basic occupations of aristocrats, who had the leisure time to give themselves up to such activities. Martial valor, as reflected in the depictions of warriors with the figure-of-eight-shaped shields which are characteristic of the period and the usual battle gear (cf. Boardman 1978: fig. 7), is a reminder of the wars over territory between the earliest Greek cities, or a direct reference to the first expeditions to colonize land elsewhere. Many of these works were not free-standing but the decorative handles of large bronze vessels (cauldrons standing on tripods), which in their turn were offerings made to great temples.

The artistic depiction of animals and mythological monsters offers a parallel to the works mentioned above. Monsters, such as griffins, decorate the handles of great cauldrons, but animals can be represented independently. Horses, the faithful companions of warriors and a symbol of the wealth of the aristocratic society of the Homeric period, are a very common theme. Their bodies are made very thin, unlike their sturdy legs and thick muzzles (cf. Boardman 1978: fig. 8). The animals stand on a level bronze base, featuring an openwork pattern of triangles or rhombuses, showing the artists' fondness for decoration. Often animal and human figures are brought

together in a composition, creating group sculptures, the individual parts of which are put together incrementally, like those of single figures.

A bronze figurine found at Thebes dates to the early 7th c. BC, the transition from the Late Geometric to the Early Archaic. It preserves one of the earliest depictions of the god Apollo, as well as one of the first carved inscriptions on a sculpture. From this, we learn that it was an offering to the god from a man named Mantiklos, who is depicted as a standing figure, naked with long hair (now in Boston; Boardman 1978: fig. 10). With works such as these, the artists of the period begin to address themselves to the business of depicting their gods in early Greek art.

5.3 The Archaic Period

The development of large-scale sculpture goes hand in hand with the development of the early Greek cities and the great sanctuaries and their temples from the 7th c. BC onwards; that is, in the Archaic period. The emergence of city-states (*poleis*), complete with their cemeteries, their temples, and the first political structures, contributed to the development of sculpture, which played an important role in depicting the human figure in a wide range of activities within the social and urban fabric. Meanwhile, the Greeks were establishing trading relations with the Egyptians, who had developed stone sculpture, mainly large-scale, depicting their kings (or pharaohs) or high palace officials (see Chapter 15).

Marble, which came from quarries on Mounts Hymettos and Penteli in Attica, or from islands such as Paros, Naxos, and Thasos, was already in widespread use and characterizes the whole of Greek sculpture. It is true that Greek sculptors made greater use of bronze in the creation of their sculptures, but owing to the fragility of the material and the fact that the metal was recycled to make new works, only a few bronze sculptures have survived. As a result, a great many more marble works are now extant than bronzes. Not all the above-mentioned quarries, or other smaller ones (some with local reputations), went on being used throughout the whole of antiquity, but some, such as Paros and Penteli, were in constant use from the 6th c. BC. Studying the working of the quarries and the distribution of the marble extracted from them gives us important information about the makeup of the workshops of artists and craftsmen who worked there, as well as information on economic history and the trade between cities in the Archaic period and later (Stewart 1990: 33–42). As far as

Archaic sculpture is concerned, the composition of the workshop that worked a particular marble is one of the factors in categorizing finds. Another important factor is the provenance of the works. Archaeologists have distinguished certain stylistic characteristics belonging to particular workshops, which differentiate their output from corresponding works in other areas.

The earliest works to have survived are dated to the mid 7th c. BC and come from the Cyclades and Crete, something which can be explained by the extraordinary dynamism of their populations, which established contact at an early stage with the other civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean. The 7th c. is also known as an Orientalizing period, precisely because of the adoption of iconographic motifs from the East, mostly in vase-painting and the minor arts. Crete adopted a particular style, the 'Dedalic', which takes its name from the mythical Cretan craftsman Daidalos (Hom. *Il.* 18.590–93). A number of female figures made of limestone survive from the island, depicted standing or seated on a throne, which may signify Cretan society. All the figures are smaller than life-size and could depict mortals or goddesses. And they all have the characteristic 'Dedalic' hairstyle, with the hair combed in horizontal layers, creating – by the way these coils of hair are arranged round the head – a sort of wig. The soft stone used also helped to preserve incised patterns (rosettes, checkerboard patterns) on draperies, which follow the fashion of the time (cf. Boardman 1978: fig. 30). The chiton, which covered the whole body to the ankles and usually had sleeves, was the garment in most widespread use.

The earliest life-size female figure to have survived, dated by the middle of the 7th c. BC, is clad in the chiton. It is made of Naxian marble and comes from Delos, the island sacred to Apollo. The sculpture depicts a standing female figure (Boardman 1978: fig. 71). Her arms are at her sides and her hair is long, framing the face and neck. The sculptor, not yet sufficiently in control of the marble to produce a three-dimensional figure, made a very thin figure reminiscent of the thickness of a plank of wood. The inscription which has been preserved on the figure's left side reveals the identity of the statue. It is the goddess Artemis, whose statue was dedicated to the sanctuary of Apollo, the goddess's brother, by a woman donor, Nikandre of Naxos, which shows women were able to pay for the production of large-scale marble works and dedicate them to temples. Other important works of the period represent seated women, since for the Greeks seated figures symbolized persons of note. Such statues may also have depicted goddesses.

Nikandre's statue, and some Cretan works which depict standing female figures, represent the first attempts by Archaic sculptors to

depict the female form (mortal or divine) on a scale larger than the Geometric statuettes. Similarly, they are also the first examples of a type of statue which will endure throughout the Archaic period: the kore (or maiden). The korai (pl. of kore) are statues of young girls dressed in two ways. Most wear a chiton, above which is draped a thinner garment, the himation, which usually covers the upper part of the body, like a shawl, falling in elaborate folds. In some cases, however, they wear only a simpler garment, the peplos. The figures are frontal, the face looking straight ahead, and their lips form the characteristic grin known as the 'Archaic smile'. Their arms are by their sides or, usually when they are carrying various objects, spread out in front of them. Normally they have the left foot slightly in front, indicative of movement (we normally step out on the left foot). Their draperies are replete with folds and often incised with motifs (meanders, fleurons, etc.), something which shows both the decorative tendencies of Archaic sculpture and the attempts of sculptors to depict female vanity, as well as indicating the economic status of the women represented. Their prosperous financial situation is also evidenced by the amount of jewelry these maidens are wearing.

These sculptures were often used as offerings. The majority of the korai were found in sanctuaries, a fact which confirms their dedicatory nature. A very typical group of works comes from the Athenian Acropolis ([Figure 5.1](#)) and is mostly dated from the second half of the 6th c. BC. Members of wealthy Attic families dedicated statues of korai to the temple of the goddess and patron of the city, and these statues probably represented the young girls who served the goddess. Other find spots for korai are Ionia and the Cyclades. From the evidence available to us, we can conclude that the donors were usually wealthy members of the ancient *poleis*. In this way they wished to honor the prevailing divinities, simultaneously demonstrating their own financial muscle and the social recognition enjoyed by their families in the city. A characteristic example is the family monument of Geneleos erected at the Heraion at the island of Samos (Stewart 1990: figs. 97–99; see Chapter 17).

Figure 5.1 Marble statue of a maiden (kore). c. 510 BC (Athens, Acropolis Museum 675. Evangelos Tsiamis/Acropolis Museum Acr. 675).



The korai were also used as funerary monuments. Statues, which once stood on the tombs of dead girls, marking the burial place, have been found in cemeteries. A characteristic example is the statue of a young Athenian girl found in the Mesogeia plain in Attica. The sculpture was unearthed with its base, on which is preserved a carved inscription giving the name of the dead girl: it is the statue of Phrasikleia, who died unwed (Kaltsas 2002: pl. 1–12). There is still some red paint clinging to various spots on the surface of the statue. Phrasikleia is plucking at the hem of her chiton with her right hand, a very common gesture in statues of korai.

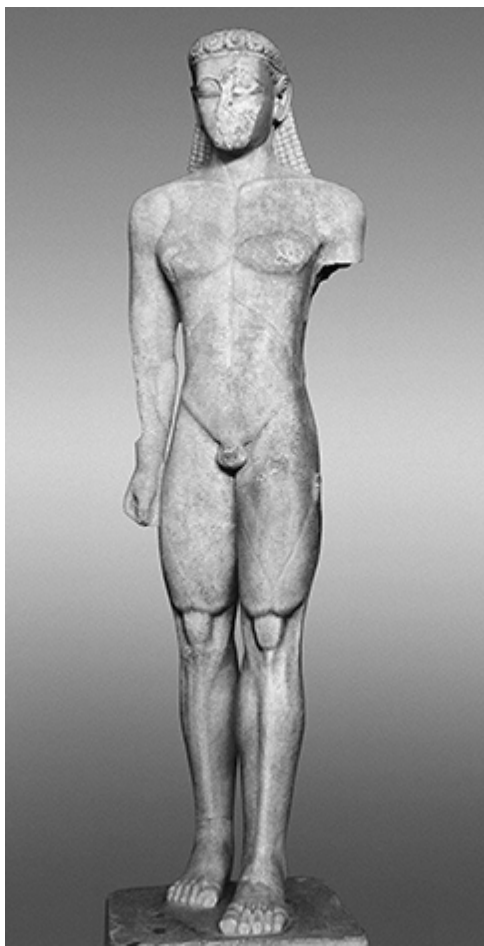
The corpus of Archaic korai gives us a picture of the way sculpture evolved in the Archaic period. Over the years, the sculptures tend more toward naturalistic depictions of the figures; in other words, they begin to approximate the anatomical details of the female body. An often neglected aspect of Greek statuary, its vivid, astonishing, and – to the modern viewer – often quite puzzling polychromy, must be taken into account in order to assess fully the outlook Greek

sculptures offered to their viewers. All draped surfaces, as well as most naked parts of a Greek statue, male or female, were covered in heavy coats of pigments produced from ground rocks and minerals such as azurite and cinnabar. Traces of pigments (or of the foundation on which they were originally applied – pigments are usually blue and red, less often yellow) survive on most Greek statues, also preserving preliminary sketches for the pattern-work decorating draperies and so on scratched on their surfaces. We are thus able to reconstruct the ‘whole picture’ as it were, a picture that might surprise the unsuspecting casual viewer, accustomed to pristinely white classical sculpture as promoted by post-antique aesthetics, Neoclassical to Romantic (cf. Brinkmann and Wünsche 2007).

The developments in representing the human body in the Archaic period become clearer when studying the kore’s male equivalent, the kouros (youth). Some of the first known examples of these naked, standing male figures, the kouroi, were discovered at Sounion. They are statues of young males with long hair, arms at their sides and the left leg slightly extended in front of them. This indicated movement at a time when the sculptors, attempting to depict the male form life-size or often over life-size (cf. for example the 4.75 m high kouros from Samos; Kyrieleis 1996: pl. 15–28), did not have the necessary skill to endow these large marble statues with a greater sense of motion.

Their artistry was demonstrated in the depiction of details on the faces and in the elaborate hairstyles, compensating for the minimal movement in these young scions of noble families. In the kouroi one can recognize all the rules of Archaic sculpture: the frontality of the works, with the figures divided equally into two identical parts around a notional vertical axis at the center of the figure, and the schematic nature of the individual anatomical details, as well as their decorativeness, which requires considerable artistry on the part of the sculptors. The best-preserved example from the Attic temple at Sounion measures 3 m high and is dated to c. 600 BC (Figure 5.2). This example marks the beginning of a tradition of Attic kouroi, which makes up a corpus of works dating throughout the period in which this type of statue evolved.

Figure 5.2 Marble statue of a youth (kouros). c. 600 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2720. Photo © AISA/The Bridgeman Art Library).



Whether they served as offerings made to sanctuaries or funerary monuments marking the tombs of young men, the kouros, just like the korai, face life with a smile. The 'Archaic smile' is one of the characteristics which remained unchanged throughout the Archaic period. The smile has been interpreted as expressing Archaic man's pleasure in bringing an *agalma* (ancient Greek for 'statue', lit. 'a pleasing gift') to the god (Keesling 2003: 6–10). Thus, the Moschophoros (calf-bearer) from the Acropolis, climbing the rock with his calf on his shoulders, an offering to the goddess Athena, is depicted with a smile (Boardman 1978: fig. 112): he is glad that he can offer part of his wealth to the goddess of the city as a sacrifice, so that his personal and family affairs will prosper or because the goddess has already intervened to good effect. The smile and the forward motion of the left leg are two important elements used by the Archaic sculptor to give a sense of movement to the figure, which in other respects, especially to the modern-day viewer, appears to be positively motionless.

The nudity of the male figure, which is a constant throughout Greek art, gave sculptors the chance to experiment in representing the male body. The progress of the kouroi from the Early to the Late Archaic periods shows us the advances made in achieving a representation of the male body in accordance with naturalistic models. Specialists in Archaic sculpture have classified and dated the kouroi not just on the basis of the external historical evidence or the excavation data, but according to how closely the bodies and all their particulars approximate a naturalistic depiction of humanity. Thus, kouroi are compared with one another on details such as the fashioning of their limbs or how close their arms are to the body. The earliest kouroi have their arms very close, as if the sculptor is afraid to release them from the trunk. In those from the Late Archaic period a small marble strut is fitted between each wrist and the torso, and the elbows are bent at an angle. The Aristodikos, for example, the funerary kouros of a young man from Attica, represents the culmination of the male figure in Late Archaic times (Boardman 1978: fig. 145). With his short hair and arms held away from his sides, he is ready to take the great step forward.

The remaining representations of male figures, which are not encountered in the iconographic type of the kouros, follow the same conventions of Archaic sculpture. The horsemen from the Athenian Acropolis and the seated figures, mostly draped, depicting priests or gods are typical: from the very beginnings of Greek art, a seat was a symbol of power (cf. Boardman 1978: figs. 114, 135, 164, etc.).

The same is true of the depictions, in free-standing sculpture, of female figures; in addition to the korai, mostly mythical figures with female characteristics, Nikai (victories) or sphinxes, which are intended as offerings. Characteristically, the winged victories have their legs bent almost at right angles so as to give an impression of flight (cf. Boardman 1978: fig. 103). The sphinxes typically witness a progression from having their feet firmly based on the horizontal to something more relaxed – at the end of the Archaic period – where they are lifting up slightly (cf. Boardman 1978: figs. 225, 226, 228, etc.).

The Archaic period also witnessed the emergence of the first reliefs with decorative scenes. Most of them were of a funerary nature, being placed on tombs. They are tall and narrow, quadrilateral stelai (upright stone slabs), topped with a double helix or sphinx in the round or some simple floral motif. The scenes on these tablets depict the deceased, who appears in profile and facing right, occupied in some everyday activity. Typical iconographic motifs include the warrior, the athlete, or the mother holding a child in her arms. A well-preserved example is the stele of Aristion, a warrior, signed by

Aristokles, and dated c. 510 BC (Boardman 1978: fig. 235). The depiction of the figures follows the basic rules of Archaic sculpture. From Attica we have an extensive series of funerary stelai. But production was halted by the democratic reforms of Kleisthenes at the end of the 6th c. BC, in order to put a stop to the tendency of aristocratic families to flaunt their wealth before the public at large by erecting excessively expensive funerary monuments. This period also saw the emergence of votive reliefs dedicated to sanctuaries, which are characterized by their wide, quadrilateral shape. The most typical depiction is that of the dedicator bringing offerings to a deity, as portrayed on the relief from Chrysapha (Sparta) of c. 550 BC (Boardman 1978: fig. 253).

5.4 The Classical Period

The Persian Wars were not just a stage in the history of Greece, but also fundamental to the development of sculpture. The repelling of the Persians and the attempts to rebuild fire-ravaged Athens immediately after the naval Battle of Salamis in 480 BC mark the period of the Severe Style, the beginning of the Classical period. This style, which lasts roughly to the mid 5th c. BC, is thus named as a result of the abandonment of the smile on the faces of the figures and the adoption of a severe expression. A typical example is the statue of a young man from the Acropolis, known as the Kritios Boy (Boardman 1978: fig. 147; 1985: fig. 2). It is dated to the transition from the Archaic period to the Early Classical. In this work we observe seriousness of expression and what has been called the 'heavy' chin, a characteristic feature of many sculptures of the Severe Style. But what differentiates the statue from earlier ones is the figure's stance. The extended left leg of the kouros is gone. The boy is supported on his left leg, while the right comes forward, bent at the knee. In this way the weight of the body is better balanced between the two legs, approximating a naturalistic depiction of the stance of a male figure.

Three years after fighting off the Persian threat, in 477/76 BC, the Athenians set up the statues of the Tyrannicides in the ancient Agora, to replace an older monument from the Late Archaic period, which the Persians had taken with them when they left Greece. This group has been preserved in a Roman copy, and is known from other artistic media (see [Figure 21.1](#); Boardman 1985: figs. 3–9). It depicts the two Athenians, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who had attempted to murder the tyrants Hippias and Hipparchos in 514 BC, though they only managed to kill the latter. Their immediate execution was the reason

for their being thought heroes of the city once the tyrannical regime was abolished and a democracy declared in 510 BC. The two Athenians are depicted side by side, Harmodios raising his sword to kill the tyrants and Aristogeiton giving him cover with his himation (cloak), which falls from his outstretched arm. The difference in their ages is evident, with Harmodios beardless and Aristogeiton bearded, a reminder moreover – given that the Tyrannicides were lovers – of the age difference between male lovers in Greece (see Chapter 26). According to literary evidence (Thuc. 6.56–59; Wycherley 1957: 93–98), Aristogeiton wanted to avenge Hipparchos's persistent attempts at courting his young lover, something which the Athenians kept quiet about, in order to stress the political significance of the assassination attempt. The Tyrannicides has acquired an important place in the history of Greek sculpture because it was the first political monument of antiquity. Until then, sculptures had a votive, devotional, or funerary function. This work establishes the honorific function of sculptures: works which were generally set up by cities to honor political or other celebrities in the community.

This was the period when the first attempts at depicting historical figures, what we call portraiture, appeared in ancient sculpture. Well-known figures such as Themistokles, the politician who led the Athenians to victory at Salamis, and the poet Pindar are represented for the first time in sculpture (cf. Boardman 1985: fig. 246 (Themistokles); Stewart 1990: fig. 299 (Pindar)). The figures have some sort of distinctive facial features, but they are not yet in any sense realistic portraits, instead representing particular types of people (the politician, the poet, etc.). Given that the Archaic artists were not interested in depicting historical figures, the portraits represent another innovation in the Early Classical period. The identities of the *kouroi*, *korai*, horsemen, and priests were given in inscriptions on the bases of the statues and not by depicting their facial features. Probably the honorific group of the Tyrannicides triggered artists' interest in historical personalities (as the motivating force behind the growth of the city), and similarly, the political conditions favored recognizing individual contributions to the smooth functioning of a democratic city at the political and artistic level.

Apart from statues of mortals, some very well-known statues of gods have survived from the Early Classical period, such as the bronze Zeus (or Poseidon) from Artemision, with its monumental physical presence, reminding us of his mastery over both gods and men (Boardman 1985: fig. 35). The celebrated Charioteer from Delphi is also in bronze, part of a larger votive offering to the Temple of Apollo, dated c. 470 BC (Boardman 1985: fig. 34). The female figures no longer wear the chiton and himation, but have turned to the simple

peplos, which covers the figure, leaving the observer no possibility of making out the details of the female body.

One statue that has come down to us in a very good state of preservation and is a work of the highest artistic caliber is the Mozia Charioteer (from the west Sicilian Phoenician city of Motya; Bol 2004: II fig. 11), which may depict a charioteer putting on his victory crown (Figure 5.3). The quality of the work is evidence of the high level of the sculpture workshops outside of Athens even in distant parts of the Greek world, such as Magna Graecia. It has been assigned a date of c. 460 BC based on its style, and although some scholars assume he represents a local (Phoenician) priest, it is more likely that the Mozia Charioteer was looted from a Greek Sicilian city, such as Himera or Akragas.

Figure 5.3 Marble statue of a youth. c. 460 BC (Mozia, Whitaker Museum 23102. © Johnny Jones/Alamy).



The ‘mature’ Classical period (second half of the 5th c. BC)

represents the highpoint of Greek civilization, a highpoint which was achieved thanks to the democratic institutions of Athens and the corresponding developments in literature, the arts, and philosophy. The sculpture of these years was a model much copied in later periods and admired more than any other by the Romans, who came into close contact with Greek art from the 2nd c. BC. This can be seen from the relevant judgments made by Roman authors, such as Pliny. His comment that art died in the early 3rd c. BC (the Early Hellenistic period) and was reborn in the mid 2nd c., when classicism became the main stylistic tendency of the Late Hellenistic period (*HN*, 34.52), is typical.

A distinctive aspect of Classical sculpture is the fact that the majority of these works are known to us through Roman copies in marble. Classical statues were copied *ad nauseam* in order to decorate the buildings of the Roman Empire. In this way, both the Romans and the other inhabitants of the Empire felt that they were part of 'classical' culture. The study of copies is part of the study of Classical sculpture, because through them we do not just get to know the lost creations of the Classical period, but we also learn about artistic production in Roman times, since the copies are *per se* precious data on the art of the Roman period.

Thus, though the original statues were generally of bronze, the fact that many of them survive only as copies changes the picture we have of Classical sculpture. The average person acquainted with Greek sculpture thinks of it as pure white, like the classicizing models of modern times. There are few extant bronze works in good condition. The surprisingly well-preserved statues of warriors from Riace in southern Italy are an exception ([Plate 4](#)). They were found on a shipwreck and had once been set up in some Greek city (most likely at a sanctuary) before being transferred to Italy in the Roman period, in the way that Greek works were customarily packed off to Italian cities (Bol 2004: II figs. 7, 8).

There are numerous references to named artists from this period in literary sources, much more so than in the Archaic period, when the inscribed bases of the statues are the basic source of our knowledge both as to their works and of the artists themselves. The social status of sculptors varied, most being simple laborers of small means or sometimes considerable wealth, though some of them escaped mediocrity and consorted with the most outstanding figures of their day, as, for example, the Athenian Pheidias.

It is also in this period that sculptors begin to explore the relationship between the human body and space. Thus the *Diskobolos* ('Discus Thrower') by the sculptor Myron, who sculpted a naked athlete at the moment when he is bending down to throw the discus,

immortalizes its subject in a single instant of these movements (Figure 30.3). In the mid 5th c. BC, however, the most characteristic feature of male statues is what is called *contrapposto*. These Classical works depict idealized figures which combine physical and spiritual beauty: the ideal of the eternal as opposed to the everyday and fleeting. Achieving harmony of movement and between the individual bodily members means a carefully thought-out system of mathematical calculations aimed at producing an ideal figure. It is this correspondence between movements which governs the stance of standing figures in the period when Athenian democracy is at its height and grandiose works are being built on the Acropolis.

Polykleitos from Argos was the most celebrated sculptor of the period, and he actually wrote a treatise, the *Kanon*, detailing how a male statue should be created using idealized proportions (*HN* 34.55), thus contributing to shaping the concept of the Classical in the history of Greek culture. His Doryphoros ('Spear-bearer') is the epitome of the Classical ideal in the depiction of the male figure (Figure 5.4). The weight falls on one leg, the right one, while the left is extended, bent at the knee. The head is turned to the right, while the left hand holds the spear, which rests on his shoulder, his right arm hanging at his side. The creations of Polykleitos are reflected in the multiplicity of statues of young athletes which survive in Roman copies, such as, inter alia, the statue of the Diadoumenos (youth binding his hair), known from a copy found on Delos (Boardman 1985: fig. 186a).

Figure 5.4 Marble statue of a youth. Roman copy of the bronze Doryphoros by Polykleitos. c. 440 BC (Minneapolis Institute of Arts 86.6).



The rapid development of Athens in the mid 5th c. BC under the political leadership of Perikles contributed, as was to be expected, to the development of sculpture. At this time new temples were built for the worship of the Olympian gods. The majority of cult statues placed in the new temples are preserved in Roman copies. The cult statues and votive offerings of those years, and of the Late Classical period, fix to a large extent the iconography of the Olympian gods. These creations are the models for the statuary of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The most illustrious cult statue of the Classical period, whose function as cult statue has indeed been doubted by some scholars, is the statue of Athena Parthenos (cf. [Figure 5.5](#)). One of the most important Greek sculptors, Pheidias, who – according to the Roman author Plutarch (*Vit. Per.* 13.4–9) – supervised the works on the Parthenon, undertook to construct the great statue of the goddess, which at 12 m surpassed every earlier creation in height. The sculptor fashioned a wooden frame, on which he fitted sheets of gold and

ivory, termed 'chryselephantine' after the precious materials that were used (Lapatin 2001: 63–79). The goddess wore a peplos and a helmet, while in her right hand she held a winged Victory and in her left a shield, which was propped up beside her. The snake sacred to the goddess was shown coiling itself up the inside of the shield. The base of the statue, the goddess's sandals, and the outer surface of the shield were decorated with mythological scenes in relief. The whole statue, together with the architecture and its sculptural decoration, stood as a propagandistic monument to the supremacy of Athens, which combined regional cults with the current political reality. The original statue by Pheidias has not survived, as one might well imagine, but is described in detail by ancient sources (e.g. Paus. 1.24.5–7). Furthermore, we can get a picture of this unique Classical work from small-scale, mostly Roman, copies in marble and clay, or depictions of it on precious stones (cf. [Figure 5.5](#); 10.2 Boardman 1985: figs. 97–103).

Figure 5.5 Marble statue of Athena. Roman copy of the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos by Pheidias. c. 447–432 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 129. © Universal Images Group/SuperStock).



Apart from the statue of Athena Parthenos, Pheidias created another colossal gold and ivory work for the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which we can reconstruct on the basis of later coins from Elis, and the evidence of the Roman traveler Pausanias. Pheidias's statue was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. It is consequently not unreasonable that a writer of the Roman period should write that Pheidias represented the god's majesty better than any other artist, just as the most appropriate sculptor of athletes was Polykleitos, and for portraiture, the 4th c. sculptor Praxiteles (Hölscher 2004: 92–98). Characteristic of the other great creations of the mature Classical period is the cult statue of Nemesis in her temple at Rhamnous in Attica (the work of Agorakritos, pupil and later rival of Pheidias), from which a few fragments of the head and draperies have come down to us (cf. Boardman 1985: fig. 122; cf. [Figure 22.1](#)).

In marked contrast to the vigorous image of the goddess of war are the sculptural representations of the other important Olympian goddess, Aphrodite. In the last decades of the 5th c. BC, depictions of

Aphrodite appear, which start a whole series of works dedicated to the goddess, gradually evolving up to the end of antiquity. Aphrodite seems to acquire particular importance in Attic cults in the second half of the 5th c., as further becomes clear from the temples built in her honor. Today among the statues of the goddess which survive, mostly in later copies, some creations can in fact be linked with the artistic career of a particular sculptor, Alkamenes. The common feature in these works is the transparent chiton, which allows the goddess's breasts and abdomen to show through. It is as if the goddess is being shown in wet clothes which cling to the body, an indisputably sensual characteristic of the goddess of love (cf. Boardman 1985: fig. 136). A similar version of drapery folds can be seen on a colossal statue of a Victory from Olympia, the Nike of Paionios, on which the folds are represented as if the wind is hitting the figure and sticking to the drapery (Boardman 1985: fig. 139). The final decades of the 5th c. are well known in the history of Greek art as the time of the 'Rich Style'. It takes its name from the elaborate folds of the women's draperies, a trend which starts with the figures on the pediments and frieze of the Parthenon and reaches its apogee in depictions of Aphrodite and other female figures.

The creation of relief sculpture continued into the Classical period. The most characteristic examples of votive reliefs are the Attic ones, which give us important information about local cults. Olympian gods, as well as local deities or heroes, are shown receiving offerings from their worshippers. A relief to Dionysos, from Piraeus, shows the god reclining and holding ritual vessels (rhyton and phiale) in the company of actors holding masks and tambourines (Boardman 1985: fig. 170). However, the most important category in this series of Attic reliefs is that of the funerary monuments set up on the tombs in the Kerameikos and other cemeteries in the region. They reappear at the same time as the great monuments are being built on the Acropolis and create a highly characteristic form of Attic art, until they are banned once again in 317 or 307 BC by Demetrios of Phaleron. These grave stelai acquire the shape of the facade of a small temple with a pedimental top. The name of the deceased is carved on the architrave, often with verses singing his or her praises. Usually several people are depicted in a group, in which the deceased is identifiable by the way in which he is represented and/or his name is inscribed. In Perikles's time, the depth of relief of the figures is only a few centimeters; but as we move into the late 5th c. and then the 4th c. BC, greater volume is acquired and they end up as free-standing figures set in small-scale, temple-shaped buildings. The male figures depicted represent a wide range of types of citizen, offering characteristic pictures of democratic Athenian society: athletes are shown with the accoutrements of the

gymnasion, citizens wearing the himation, warriors victorious over their opponents. And the same is true of the women they feature: a modest maiden, faithful wife, good mother, or a grandmother who did not live to see her grandchild grow up (Figure 5.6). A typical feature is the so-called 'farewell scene'. The deceased are bidding farewell with a shake of the hand to their loved ones, who are shown mourning. But the dead have no eye contact with the living, since they have passed over to the other side. Whatever the deceased are depicted as doing, they cannot return to their former lives but must remain isolated in that other world, which is henceforth to be their own.

Figure 5.6 Marble gravestone of Ampharete. c. 410 BC (Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 695, I 221. © Karl Hausamann/Alamy).



A characteristic group of works from the 4th c. BC are the portraits. The increased frequency in commissioning statues of historical personages of a dedicatory or honorific character

contributed to the development of portraiture or statuary. Given the ancients' views on portraiture, the statues which were set up in various parts of the city and its temples were idealized depictions of human figures, classified according to type. The pose, hair style, dress, and any objects the figure is holding, combined with the requisite inscription on the base, give us information on the person depicted and their identity (e.g. soldier, orator, Olympic champion, etc.). Typical examples are the portraits of the philosophers Socrates and Plato, or of the tragic poets. We have testimonies to the latter being set up in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens (Bol 2004: II 415–18) at a time when the great 5th c. tragedies were beginning to be staged again in a city learning to manage classical heritage and its reception.

A big change which occurs in the depiction of the female figure in the 4th c. springs from a creation of one of the most important sculptors of antiquity, the Athenian Praxiteles. Praxiteles was the first who dared depict a completely nude female figure, that of Aphrodite (Figure 5.7). The goddess is depicted as a fully-grown woman at the moment of leaving her bath, pulling at her garment, which is draped over a vessel, with one hand, while attempting to hide her nakedness with the other. The sculpture was set up in the goddess's temple in Knidos in Asia Minor. It provoked a variety of sentiments at the time on account of its daring, was copied in later years, and inspired a series of sculpted works of the goddess naked or semi-naked stepping out of a bath or the sea. A typical example is the semi-nude Aphrodite from Melos (often called Venus de Milo), now in the Louvre, a work of c. 100 BC (Smith 1991: fig. 305).

Figure 5.7 Marble statue of Aphrodite. Roman copy of the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles. c. 350 BC. (Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence).



Praxiteles is one of the most important sculptors of the mid 4th c. Son of the similarly well-known sculptor Kephisodotos (who created a statue of the goddess Eirene, holding the infant Ploutos (Wealth) in her arms, for the Athenian Agora: [Figure 22.4](#)), in addition to the Aphrodite he created a series of young male mythological figures, which redefined the depiction of the male figure more generally. The Hermes of Olympia is perhaps his best known work, though its dating to the 4th c. has occasionally been doubted (Boardman 1995: fig. 25). But the most characteristic example for understanding the work of Praxiteles is the Sauroktonos ('Apollo Slaying a Lizard': Boardman 1995: fig. 27), also mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 34.69–70). The god is depicted as a youth, supporting himself with his left hand against the trunk of a tree while preparing to kill a lizard that is climbing the bark with his right. In contrast to the idealized yet sturdy proportions of the male figures of the mature Classical period, Praxiteles creates youthful figures with delicate torsos featuring a characteristic 'S-shaped' curve, the sculptor's trademark. The Hermes of Olympia and

the Leaning Satyr (Smith 1991: fig. 148), as well as other statues which have been linked with Praxiteles, show the same swaying pose. But this is not the only feature to characterize his creations. The common denominator in his important works is the depiction of divine figures in a moment of action. And that is the distinguishing feature between the figures of immortals in the mature Classical period and those of the Late Classical period. If, for example, one compares the mid-5th c. Apollo by Pheidias in Kassel (Boardman 1985: fig. 68) and the Sauroktonos of c. 330 BC, one can recognize the big change between the two periods: the Pheidian Apollo is the idealized depiction of a divinity of the mature Classical period, expressing the eternal Olympian calm. The Late Classical Sauroktonos by contrast is shown in a moment of action, which 'brings him down' to the level of mere mortals, occupied in what appears to be a banal activity. The transition from the enduring to the instantaneous is an important change in artistic mentality in the Late Classical period. Such phenomena will be taken even further during the Hellenistic.

5.5 The Hellenistic Period

Alexander the Great's campaigns and the dramatic changes which the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms in the East brought about contributed a great deal to the new breakthroughs in the field of sculpture. New subject matter is added to the existing repertoire, and sculptors reflect the new tendencies in art and society in their works. At the same time, new cities and provinces are springing up on the map, where sculpture is being developed, as in the newly established capitals of the Hellenistic kingdoms: Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamon in Asia Minor, and Antioch in Syria are now in the forefront. As regards patrons, in addition to cities and wealthy individuals, they are now the Hellenistic rulers as well as Romans and colonizers, who have come from the eastern provinces and are using sculptures as commissions for the great shrines and public spaces. From the Hellenistic period onwards the development of private commissions begins to acquire greater importance as compared with earlier times. Thus, many sculptures are thought to have been intended for decoration at wealthy houses in cities where numerous examples of contemporary buildings have survived, such as Delos or Priene. Other places (e.g. Pergamon, Rhodes, and Alexandria) are thought to have looked much the same, even though the archaeological evidence is not as clear.

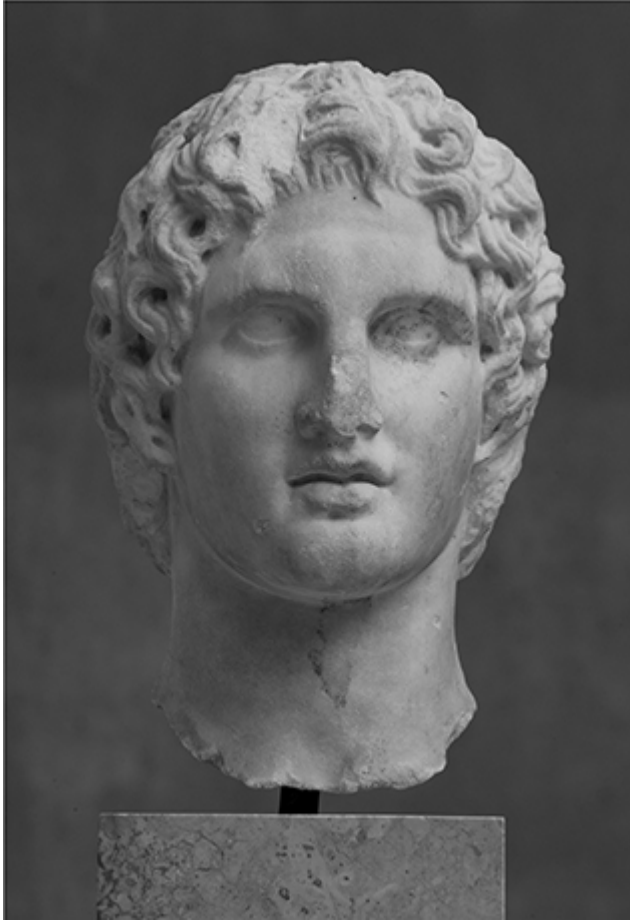
The new subject matter and the parallel development of different

stylistic tendencies are two important reasons why the evolution of Hellenistic sculpture is not as linear as that of the previous periods. This often impedes the dating of works, which are difficult to assess on the basis of external criteria, such as their archaeological context or comparisons with historical events. Archaeologists have assembled corpuses of works that are dated to around the same time and are characterized by shared stylistic features (Pollitt 1986: 265–271). Thus there is a consensus that works which need to be viewed from all sides (because each aspect has something different to offer the observer towards an understanding of the sculpture) should be dated to the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd c. These works often create a pyramidal composition; that is, with a notional pyramid defining the sculpture in space. By contrast, works in which this dimension has been lost (in which, for the most part, it is the back view which has lost its significance) are dated to the years immediately after that, in the latter half of the 2nd c. Probably at that time the sculptures were placed in front of walls or in niches, so that any working up of the back was superfluous. The traditional tripartite division of the period and the arts into ‘Early’, ‘Mature’, and ‘Late’ continues to be used by archaeologists, yet one cannot help but notice that the first two sub-periods coincide with the establishment and development of the Hellenistic kingdoms, while the Late period (from the mid 2nd c. up to 30 BC) correspondingly coincides with the political subjection of the eastern Mediterranean to Rome.

The innovations in sculpture which the advent of the Hellenistic era brought first become clear in the iconography of Alexander the Great in the transition from the Late Classical period to the Early Hellenistic. The sculptor who created the portrait of Alexander on which later ones were based, and which went on to be repeated in all forms of art, was Lysippos. All the portrait heads, free-standing statues, and other depictions of Alexander in the minor arts, created from the time of Alexander himself up to the end of antiquity, hand down the same shared iconographic characteristics: Alexander is shown beardless, with youthful features (Figure 5.8). His abundant head of hair forms the characteristic *anastole*, made up of two locks which curl up before falling back on either side of the center of the forehead (Ridgway 2001: 100–112). His head is turned slightly towards the right, with the eyes looking upwards. The depiction of the Macedonian king as beardless is an innovation in the development of Greek portraiture, but becomes a standard feature of the iconography of later Hellenistic rulers and Roman emperors. Alexander put a stop to the established trend of showing rulers bearded. This practice was followed by subsequent rulers, who based themselves on Alexander’s iconography in order to give their dynasties a sense of continuity, at a

time when their heirs and successors were competing for supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean.

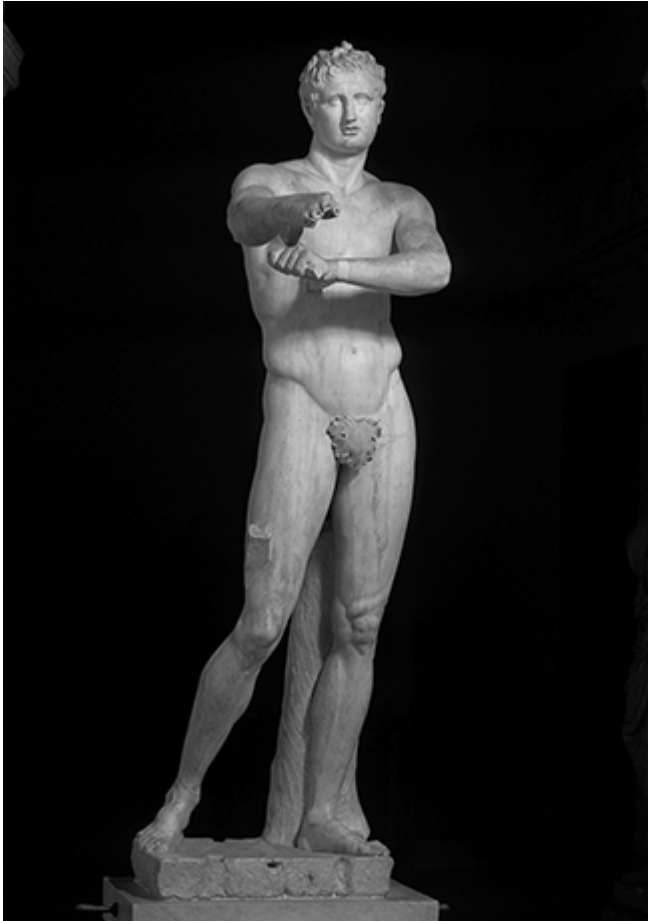
Figure 5.8 Marble head of Alexander. c. 330–320 BC (Athens, Acropolis Museum 1331. Socratis Mavrommatis/Acropolis Museum, Acr. 1331).



Lysippos also crafted the statue of an athlete who is scraping his body after training in the *gymnasion*, the so-called *Apoxyomenos* (Figure 5.9). This work is a genuine innovation of Greek sculpture and marks the transition from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic. It depicts a naked athlete stretching his right arm out in front of him and cleaning the mud and oil from it with a special tool called a strigil held in his left hand (Miller 2004: 15–16). The movement of the figure is made by stretching one hand out in front of him, opening the sculpture up to the surrounding space, thus giving more weight to the third dimension, which had been lacking in earlier statues. Moreover, the weight of the body oscillates between the two legs. Lysippos also

broke with the conventional proportions of head to body established by Polykleitos, making the heads of his figures quite a bit smaller than the corresponding ones of the Classical period.

Figure 5.9 Marble statue of an athlete. Roman copy of the bronze 'Apoxyomenos' by Lysippos. c. 330 BC. (Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence).



Another important work by Lysippos is the Farnese Herakles, depicted holding the apples of the Hesperides in a hand held behind his back (Boardman 1995: fig. 37). The opening up of the statue to three dimensions is clear from the apples, which the sculptor places at the back of the figure, so that the observer is obliged to walk around it in order to see what the hero is holding in his hand. From then on, one of the characteristics of Hellenistic sculpture was the creation of compositions with multiple figures, which the observer has to walk around in order to discover the subject of the work fully.

The main characteristic of the political history of the Hellenistic

period is the decline in the city-states and the creation of large kingdoms with subjects of different ethnic backgrounds. The significant changes which came about did not just contribute to the destabilization of the existing sociopolitical system but also increased the citizens' insecurity with regard to their place in shaping the new reality. This insecurity is expressed in sculpture through the depiction of personifications of abstract concepts (see Chapter 22), such as Tyche (Fortune) or Kairos (Opportunity; see [Figure 22.5](#)), the latter indeed having been represented for the first time by Lysippos. This practice, which had begun even earlier with works such as the celebrated Eirene (Peace) by Kephisodotos, lasted until the end of antiquity, with an increase in these abstract personifications as time went on.

The time of Alexander's successors was characterized, in terms of sculpture, by a broadening of the repertoire of subjects: a basic characteristic is the creation of the ruler portrait, above all for the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings. The first Ptolemies based their ruler portraits on that of the founder of the dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter ('Savior'), enriching their iconography with Pharaonic features (Smith 1988: 86–98). One aspect of this is the deification of the ruler, a tactic which was adopted by Alexander and continued by the Ptolemies. In the case of sculpture, these tendencies are expressed by adding some of the iconographic symbols of Egyptian divinities to the ruler portraits, so that the ruler appears godlike. As a result, the two traditions exist side by side, the strictly Greco-Macedonian and the native Egyptian/Pharaonic. Some portraits have survived in which the ruler is presented with a purely 'Greek' appearance, while others are accompanied by attributes of whichever divinity the ruler is assimilating.

But an important element in the subject matter of Hellenistic sculpture, which also appears in the early years of the period and continues until the end of antiquity, is the appearance of Egyptian and Eastern gods; more often than not these appear in a syncretistic form, in other words combining Greek and non-Greek features. Thus Isis appears with the attributes of Aphrodite or Demeter, and so on. On the other hand, an important Egyptian god, Sarapis, who is depicted as both a seated and a standing Zeus, has from the very beginning a Greek face, as a purely Greek invention. The worship of these gods spread throughout the Mediterranean, and their cult and votive statues and other depictions of them flooded the Hellenistic world, indicating their importance at this time (Damaskos 1999: 237–238).

Alongside these, statues of the traditional Greek gods naturally continue to be produced, whether as offerings or as cult statues, and their iconographic models come directly from the earlier Classical

ones. Similarly, in this period the production of funerary reliefs was continuing throughout the eastern Mediterranean, creating numerous groups classified according to their provenance. They are simple rectangular panels with scenes contained in a shallow frame. The subject matter usually continues the repertoire associated with the Classical period (Schmidt 1991).

The achievements of Hellenistic sculpture include works featuring subjects not previously treated on the large-scale. Indicative of the more extensive repertoire of this period are statues depicting the lower social orders, elderly women, countrywomen, fishermen, and herdsmen. These works have generally been preserved in Roman copies, which indicates how widely distributed they were in later, Imperial times as well.

Along with the iconographic innovations, sculptures were being made which recalled military exploits, offerings from victors in battle. A typical example, perhaps dedicated to a nautical victory, is the Nike of Samothrace, one of the most emblematic Hellenistic sculptures, a work of the early 2nd c. BC (Smith 1991: fig. 97). Often victory is depicted from the point of view of the conquered, not just the victor, as in earlier times. Typical examples are the statues of the Gauls. A tribe from Asia Minor, the Gauls started advancing against Greece from the early 3rd c. and making raids. They were repulsed once and for all in the early 2nd c. by the Pergamene kings, Attalos I and his son, Eumenes II. To commemorate these victories, the kings dedicated statues of wounded Gaul warriors just before their defeat to some of the great temples (Figure 5.10). In this way they were attempting to stress their superiority over this Anatolian tribe, and emphasizing the importance of the kingdom for the protection of the freedom of the Greek cities. It was due to their victories over the Gauls that the rulers of this small kingdom acquired a high profile culturally speaking, with respect to both the founding of a library to rival the one in Alexandria and the construction and decoration of their capital with buildings and a host of statuary. The Great Altar of Pergamon (see Chapters 7 and 17) is preeminent among their achievements.

Figure 5.10 Marble statue of Gaul chieftain committing suicide alongside his wife. c. 220–210 BC (Rome, Terme National Museum 8608. The Art Archive/Museo Nazionale Terme Rome/Gianni Dagli Orti).



Pergamene sculpture expresses something which archaeologists describe, though not without serious doubts in recent years, using the term 'Hellenistic Baroque' (e.g. Pollitt 1986: 111–126). The intensely theatrical gestures, the often exaggeratedly emphasized musculature of the male figures, and the deep drapery folds characterize both the sculptures of the frieze on the Great Altar and the free-standing works, which belong to the same period and were found nearby. Similar observations can be made about other works which come mainly from Asia Minor and the islands (e.g. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Rhodes, and Samothrace). The so-called Hellenistic Baroque, like the examples associated with the art of Alexandria, such as the depictions of elderly people, constitutes the core, and at the same time, the most innovative creations of Hellenistic free-standing sculpture, and was created in the 'new' provinces where the Hellenistic culture developed most strongly. As for Pergamene sculpture, its contribution to the development of Hellenistic sculpture is twofold. On the one hand we have the highly dynamic figures created around the time that the Great Altar was

being built and which shape a new artistic idiom in the first half of the 2nd c. BC, one of the most characteristic of the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, and more or less at the same time, the reworking of Classical sculpture in Pergamene art occurs, which introduces us to the principal trend in the Late Hellenistic period: classicism. A typical work is the colossal Athena of over 3 m in height, which reinterprets the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias (Smith 1991: fig. 185). The development of the classicizing style is part of the Pergamene dynasty's attempts to present itself as the political and cultural power of the period, a new Athens. It all stemmed from the victory over the Gauls, evoking comparisons with the victories of the Athenians over the Persians in the 5th c. It was in this spirit that statues of wounded Gauls were set up on the Athens Acropolis, in order to underline the assumption by Pergamon of the responsibility of protecting Greek cities from the hostile designs of Anatolian tribes, just as the Athenians had undertaken to drive the Persians out of Greece in the 5th c. The transfer of works of art, mainly sculptures of earlier times, from Greek sanctuaries to Pergamon should also be seen in the context of creating this cultural policy (Schalles 2004).

Classicism, as it developed from the mid 2nd c. BC, was extremely widespread, both in its obvious home territory of Athens, and in the new political power, Rome; it had ideological dimensions, which were also directly bound up with the political events of the period. The Pergamene kings supported classicizing expressions in their sculpture, in order to present themselves as continuing classical Athenian civilization. The Athenians and the places which came under their sphere of influence, such as Delos, continued to create sculptures, reworking older types of statuary as well as copying Classical works, as is plain from the copy of Polykleitos's Diadoumenos found on Delos and mentioned already (Boardman 1985: fig. 186a). For them, reworking or copying meant continuing their artistic production, which now found new buyers in the Romans. Finally, the promotion of classicizing sculpture by the Romans was proof that classical civilization, which was the object of so much admiration by the new leaders in the Mediterranean, had been conquered.

The development of this stylistic trend was centered on the two important artistic centers of Athens and Delos. As a free port from 166 to 88 BC, the year when the island was destroyed by the campaigns of the Pontic King Mithridates, Delos attracted a host of immigrants from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean, as well as from Athens and the cities of Italy, creating a mosaic of ethnicities. Sculpture was also used to decorate the local homes of the rich in the so-called theater district of the island. The dedication of statues of a couple, Kleopatra and Dioskourides, in honor of Apollo in the atrium of a house, is

indicative of the mentality of a wealthy Delian bourgeoisie of the Hellenistic period (Smith 1991: fig. 113). Gestures such as these highlight the emergence of a wealthy sector of the population in the Hellenistic period, who had both the financial standing and the ability within their community to put on this sort of social display. The now headless statues of the couple preserve the contemporary mode of dress. The coquetry of women is depicted, especially in the elaborate folds of Kleopatra's dress. At the same time, we have a picture of how the fine silks of Kos and the sturdy cottons of Egypt, known to us from the written sources and widespread in the Mediterranean, would have been represented in marble and bronze. Similar female figures in marble survive on Delos and at a host of other archaeological sites (Smith 1991: figs. 108–117).

A characteristic sculpture of c. 100 BC from Delos is the group of Aphrodite with Pan and Eros, sometime charmingly called the 'Slipper-slapper' (Smith 1991: fig. 314). Aphrodite is raising her sandal to rebuff an amorous assault by Pan, while the small winged Eros is attempting to fight him off by pushing at his horns. The whole composition is fashioned in such a way as to be intelligible from just one side, the front. If one looks from the sides it is impossible to make out its content. The group becomes hard to separate and the space inhabited by the figures in sculptural groups of the Middle Hellenistic period, such as those of the wounded Gauls is lost. The observer no longer needs to walk around the statue but is satisfied with just the frontal view, into which all the details of the composition are compressed.

From Delos we also have portrait heads from the early 1st c. BC, which already introduce us to the portraits of the Roman era (cf. Smith 1991: figs. 317, 318). To these statues of men and women, the sculptors give realistic facial features: hooked noses, wrinkles, thin lips, and small eyes distance the works from the corresponding ones of the immediately preceding period, in which an entirely realistic depiction was not desired. In this context, and given moreover that artists were turning to reworking and/or copying Classical sculptural types, it is hardly surprising that works such as the so-called Pseudo-Athlete of Delos (Smith 1991: fig. 315) have been preserved on the island. It was found together with a copy of Polykleitos's Diadoumenos in a house where half-finished sculptures were also found, allowing us to suppose that we are dealing with a sculptor's workshop which was also his home. The body of the statue copies a Late Classical type of Hermes, whereas the head is the epitome of a Late Hellenistic, realistic portrait: the bald, angular head with the protruding ears brings to mind the head of a middle-aged man, and bears no relation to the rest of the well-toned body. Most likely the

sculptor combined in one work, on the one hand, the wishes of the patron represented here that his features should be recognizable on the statue, which he was going to set up somewhere on the island, and on the other hand, the patron's simultaneous desire to embellish his body on account of its going on public display. The eclecticism of the sculptor – that is, his combining of more than one stylistic tendency in a single work (in this case classicism and realism) – will predominate in portrait statuary of the Roman period. Works like the Pseudo-Athlete complete the circle of Hellenistic sculpture, while at the same time introducing and foreshadowing Roman art.

FURTHER READING

Stewart's *Greek Sculpture* (1990) remains a valuable account, with an emphasis on the literary evidence as well as the surviving monuments. Bol (2002–2007) is a solid multivolume survey, while Ridgway's three volumes on Hellenistic sculpture (1990, 2000b, 2002) are detailed assessments of a complex period in Greek art. A good study of portraits in context is Dillon (2006). The volume of essays edited by Palagia (2006a) is an important and up-to-date assessment of these crucial topics. Mattusch (1996) is a useful account on bronze sculpture. For the use of color on ancient Greek sculpture, see Brinkmann and Wünsche (2007). Finally, Boardman (1978, 1985, 1995) and Smith (1991) offer essential, fully illustrated surveys.

CHAPTER 6

Architecture in City and Sanctuary

Marina Yeroulanou

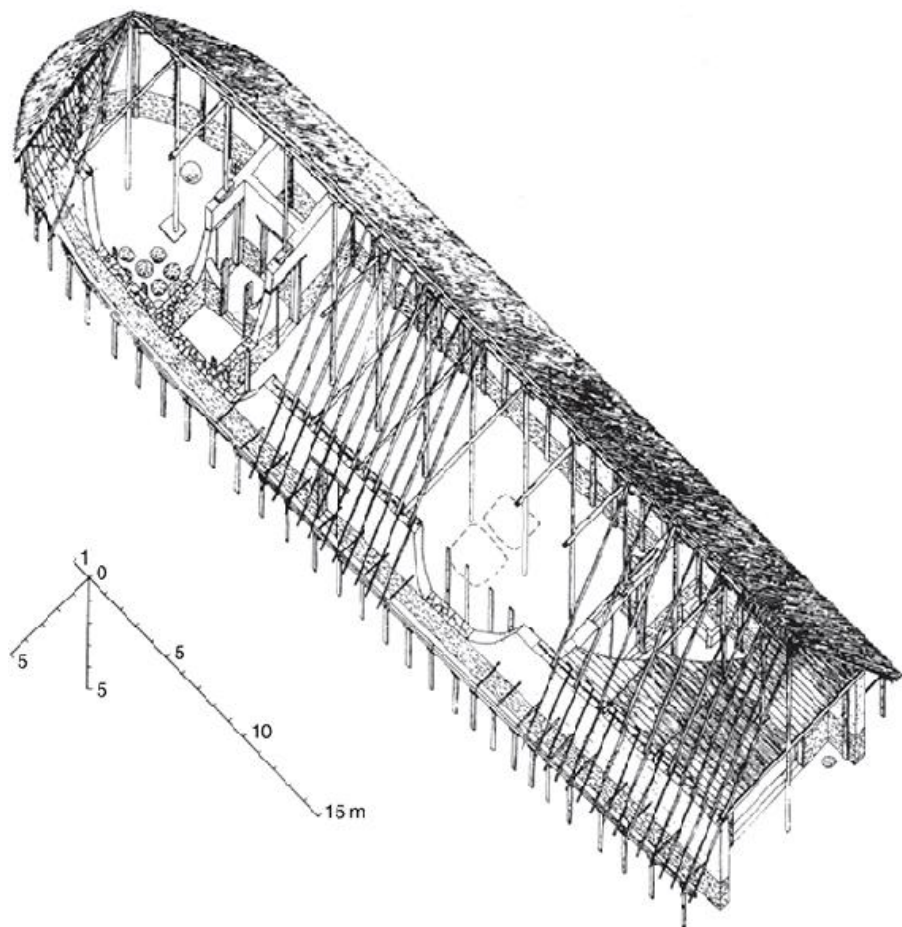
6.1 Early Development in Greek Architecture

Architecture in Greek cities and sanctuaries is characterized by the development of standard building types and standardized types of construction and decoration, which reached a level of perfection in the High Classical period. The early development of Greek architecture can only be tentatively reconstructed by the few remains of monumental buildings which can be securely dated between the 10th and 8th c. BC. The development in form, materials, scale, and function which occurred during this period eventually led to the better-known stone architecture of the 7th c.; however, the precise identification of the stages of this development are hardly known. Apsidal structures and curved walls gave way to precise rectangular buildings; mud-brick walls, wooden supports, and thatched roofs gave way to stone walls, columns, and tiled roofs; palaces and larger chieftains' dwellings gave way to temples and religious buildings.

A few buildings can assist to bridge this gap – first, the ‘Toumba building’ (sometimes called a heroon) at Lefkandi, which dates from the middle of the 10th c. BC ([Figure 6.1](#)). The building is of apsidal plan, facing east, and surrounded by a veranda of wooden posts. Its width is calculated to about 13.8 m and its length – less precisely determined – to around 50 m. Its apsidal plan is not unusual for the period; however, its size and the effort which must have been put into its construction are exceptional. Two tombs were found in its central room: one of a couple, the other of four horses. Though the evidence for its original function is not conclusive, its funerary use cannot be

questioned (Popham et al. 1993; Mazarakis Ainian 1997).

Figure 6.1 Lefkandi (Euboea). Reconstruction of the ‘heroon’. 10th c. BC (after Boardman 1996: 31, fig. 13).



The earliest predecessor of the ‘characteristic’ Greek temples can be traced back to the island of Samos, where the first Temple of Hera dates as early as the first half of the 8th c. BC. Little remains of the first Samian Heraion; however, its plan and the remains of the walls (a socle about 0.5 m thick of carefully dressed stone reinforced by posts) point to a clear development in early Greek architecture (Biers 1996: fig. 6.9). The second Heraion at Samos, built immediately after the destruction of the first in 670 BC, illustrates a more advanced ground plan of 6×18 posts, which are disconnected from the walls. The full height of the walls was dressed in small squared limestone blocks, whose surfaces bear chisel marks. This sequence of building phases remains under question, however, as the scant material evidence comes under fresh scrutiny.

The recently excavated remains of the earlier Temple at Iria on Naxos are, according to the excavators on the basis of the remains in the hearth inside the temple, of roughly the same period or perhaps a little earlier. The size of this temple was estimated to be a little smaller than its successor, whose length measured 28.33 m. The most impressive characteristic of this temple is the material used. The wall consists of wide granite foundations, which point out to a stone superstructure; the marble chippings inside the foundation trenches are a further indication that some elements were made of marble; marble bases of internal supports with traces of bedding of wooden posts, 29 cm thick, have been identified beyond doubt as belonging to the building (Lambrinoudakis 1991: 173–188; Gruben 1997).

In the Peloponnese, a number of buildings have been found dating from this period. In their majority, larger buildings have been identified as parts of clusters of houses; however, the architectural remains that can be associated with the Hekatompedon at Ano Mazaraki in Achaia, the Temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the earlier structure of the temple hill at Corinth, the Temple at Isthmia, and the Heraion at Argos clearly suggest the emergence of monumental architecture in the area, and the development of tiled roofs in Greece.

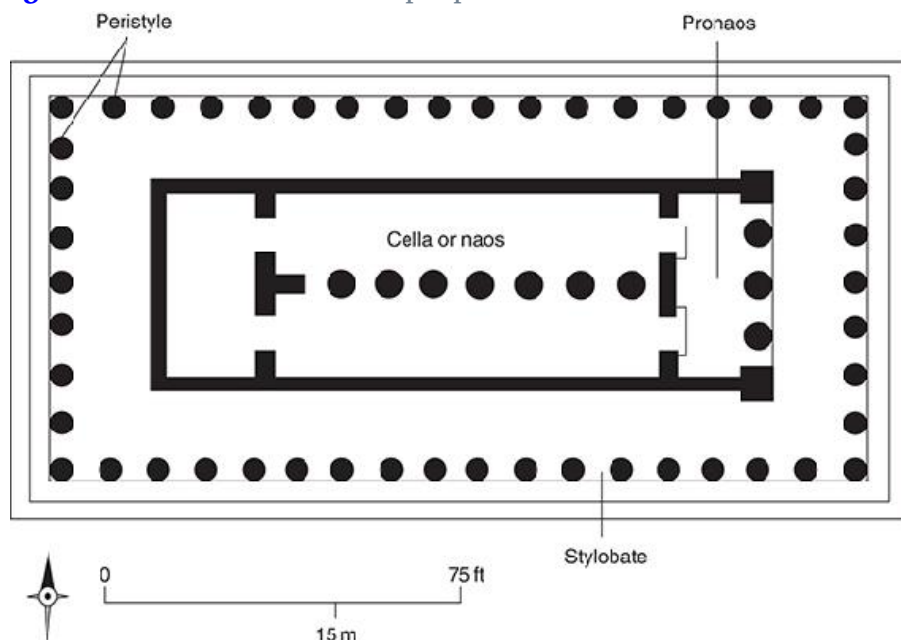
6.2 Forms and Conventions

During this early development of Greek architecture, and through the existing fragmentary evidence, we can identify the emergence of a set of standard technical terms and two types of architectural decoration, the Doric and Ionic orders. In order to comprehend the development of temple architecture in Greece, it is useful to understand these terms.

A common feature of Greek temples, which can be identified even in the earliest examples of Greek monumental architecture, is the plan (Figure 6.2). As the temple emerged as a structure to provide shelter for the cult statue, its main feature was the cella, a term which is applied to the main room of a temple, or even the whole structure except for the colonnade (for terminology in general, see Lawrence 1996: esp. chs. 10–12). The entrance to the cella is most often marked by an open porch, the pronaos. Normally, two columns stand on the pronaos front between the slightly thickened ends of the side walls (antae), an arrangement called ‘in antis’. A space in the back of the cella often mirrors the porch, either in closed form – the adyton reached from the cella – or in open form – the opisthodomos,

matching the pronaos. Large temples are further decorated by a peripteral colonnade, the pteron or peristasis. Finally, interior colonnades were also used, mostly for structural reasons; a double row of columns within the cella – in contrast to the earlier axial colonnade – created a central space for the statue of the god or goddess.

Figure 6.2 Standard Greek temple plan.



Differentiations from this 'typical plan' are numerous, though the general shape is usually adhered to. As to the main structure of the temple, sometimes both an adyton (lit. 'inaccessible' area) and an opisthodomos (back room) coexist, and in these cases the opisthodomos often gives access to the interior of the temple; examples are the Temple of Apollo at Corinth (c. 540 BC), the Parthenon (447–438 BC), and the Temple of Artemis at Sardis (c. 350–300 BC).

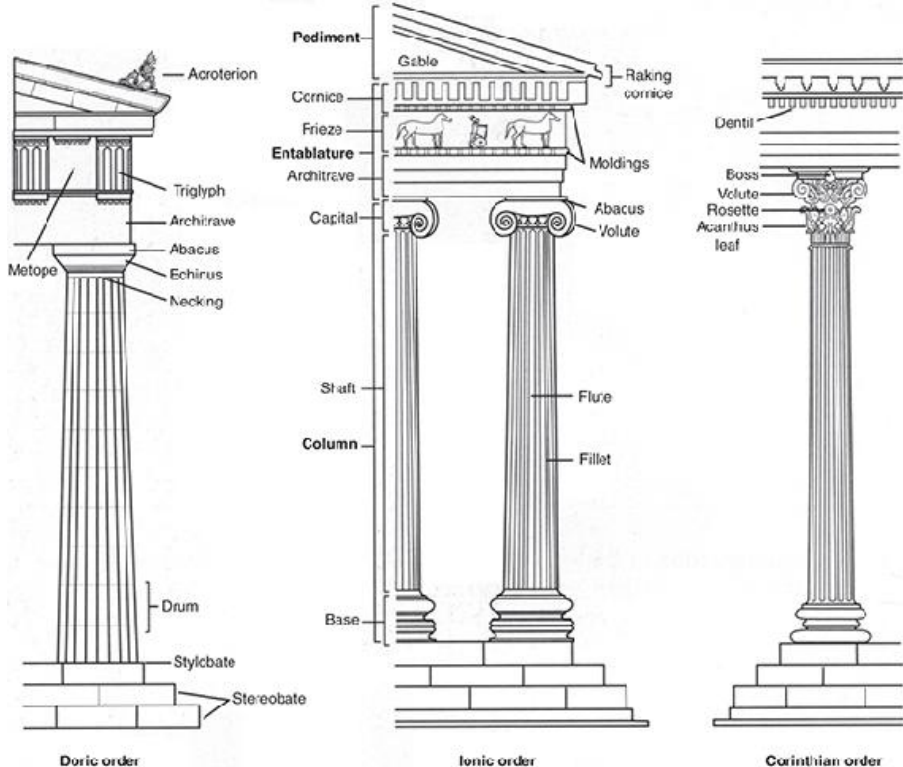
Peripteral colonnades are characteristic of temples; however, they are by no means an imperative element in temple architecture. A number of temples in smaller sanctuaries consist of only a cella and a porch, while amphiprostyle plans (with columns only on the short sides) can be seen in the third Temple of Apollo (Athenian temple) on Delos (425–417 BC), the Temple at Ilissos in Athens (449 BC) and the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis (420s BC). In the cases where a peripteral colonnade does exist, the number of columns varies. In Doric temples, six columns normally adorn the facade, but the number of columns on the flanks can vary anywhere between

eleven and seventeen. In the Classical period the two-times-plus-one rule becomes the norm when calculating the number of columns on the flanks; for example, if the facade has six columns then the flanks would have thirteen ($6 \times 2 + 1$). Longer temples are encountered in South Italy and Sicily, often with a second front portico added to the colonnade, and (frequently colossal) dipteral temples can be seen in Asia Minor, where the development of the Ionic order gave them a completely different aura from the Doric temples on the Greek mainland, where the tendency was always towards greater strictness of form.

As to the porch, though the two columns in antis are first observed as early as c. 590 BC at the Temple of Hera at Olympia and become the norm for most temples, many variations exist throughout the Greek world. Three columns in antis can be seen in the Temple of Hera ('Basilica') at Paestum (c. 550–530/520 BC). Prostyle porches can be seen in the late 6th c. Temples of Athena ('Ceres') at Paestum (c. 500 BC) and of Apollo ('GT') at Selinus, and later in the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens (447–438 BC) and the Temple of Artemis at Sardis (c. 350–300 BC). Piers instead of columns between antae can be seen in the three amphiprostyle temples mentioned above. Furthermore, deep pronaoi in antis with multiple sets of columns between the projected cella walls can be found in the colossal temples of the eastern Greek world, as for example the third and fourth Temples of Hera at Samos (570–550 and c. 500 BC respectively), the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos (c. 550 BC, rebuilt in the 4th c.), and the Archaic and Hellenistic Temples of Apollo at Didyma (c. 550 BC and c. 330 BC respectively; see Chapter 17).

The temple's facade is characterized by the 'order' of the building. Two orders coexisted in the Greek world – the Doric and Ionic – and though their names are relevant to the dialect of the areas where they are most often encountered, this geographic distribution is not absolute. Above the foundations (Figure 6.3), the krepis (platform) of a Greek temple consists of the stylobate, on which the columns stand, and usually of two other steps. The columns and entablature clearly differentiate the two orders.

Figure 6.3 Greek architectural orders (after Jenkins 2006: fig. 1).



The Doric column consists of a fluted shaft, whose flutes end in sharp arrises, with three horizontal grooves at the top. The Doric capital is divided into two parts: a smoothly curving echinus, superimposed by a square abacus. Above the columns, the architrave – the lower member of the entablature – spans the width of the supports. In the Doric order, the frieze is decorated with triglyphs and metopes, which are sometimes adorned with sculptural decoration. The triglyphs are mirrored on to the top of the architrave; under a narrow tainia, regulae with guttae span the width of the triglyph above. Above the frieze, the projecting cornice is decorated with a molding on the outer face. Its underside bears mutules with guttae separated by viae.

The Ionic column, whose flutes are separated by fillets, stands on a molded base, sometimes on a square plinth; the column base normally consists of a convex torus and one or two concave scotiae, which are usually fluted. Variations to this scheme are numerous, the most distinctive being the 5th c. Attic base, where a second convex element is added below the scotia. The Ionic capital differs on the front and sides. It consists of a volute member whose ends form two spirals above an echinus – a cushion decorated with moldings; the capital is topped by a square abacus, usually decorated with another molding.

In the Ionic order, the entablature is lavishly adorned. The architrave usually bears three fascias and the frieze is decorated with moldings superimposed by a row of dentils. In the Ionic treasuries at Delphi and the Athenian Ionic buildings, the dentils are replaced by a continuous frieze with sculpted decoration, while during the Hellenistic period, sculpted friezes and dentils coexist on the same building. Above it, the cornice is again decorated with another set of moldings on its front face.

On the sides of the temple, in both Doric and Ionic orders, the cornice is usually crowned by a *sima*, a gutter with holes to let out the rain water. These spouts are usually decorated, often with lion-head sculptures. In cases where the *sima* is omitted, a row of antefixes are placed above the cornice. At the ends of the temple, the triangular space formed at the end of the roof is called the pediment. In most cases, the pediment is crowned by a raking cornice, which often mirrors the decoration of the horizontal one. Another *sima* stands above the raking cornice. In early structures this *sima* is made of terracotta and often bears extensive decoration. A system of tiles was developed in Greek architecture from a very early age (c. 700 BC). Flat pan tiles are placed one next to the other and their joints are protected by cover tiles, whose tops have a semicircular or triangular finish. Specially made cover tiles are placed on the ridge of the roof.

Two different types of capitals are also associated with the Ionic order: the 'Aeolian' and the Corinthian capitals. The 'Aeolian' or 'proto-Ionic' are contemporary names to describe a capital with upwardly springing leaves, in some cases superimposed by two volutes that curl upwards and outwards (Boardman 1996: fig. 65; Biers 1996: [fig. 6.4](#)). Such capitals have been found at the Temple of Athena at Smyrna (c. 610 BC), the Temple at Neandria in Asia Minor (c. 550 BC), and – in their simpler form – at the Massaliot Treasury at Delphi (540–500 BC). The Corinthian capital bears lavish vegetal decoration, first used on interior columns (Boardman 1996: fig. 159; Biers 1996: fig. 9.5). The first known Corinthian capital has been dated to the end of the 5th c.; it seems to have occupied a rather original position at the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Boardman 1996: fig. 154). During the first century of its existence, the Corinthian capital appears in a number of forms, which will lead to the type that becomes characteristic in later Hellenistic and Roman buildings. In the 4th c., Corinthian capitals are known to have decorated the interiors of *tholoi* (circular buildings), such as those in the precinct of the Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi ([Figure 6.6](#)) and the sanctuary of Asklepios in Epidauros. The fact that after the 3rd c. the use of the Corinthian capital becomes widespread has led scholars to refer to a separate 'Corinthian order'.

Figure 6.6 Delphi, the Tholos. c. 390–380 BC (photo: D. Plantzos).



The coexistence of the two orders, the Doric and the Ionic, can be seen in a number of different structures and appears as early as the 6th c. BC in the temples of the western colonies (see Chapter 19). This combination, though often explained as the result of a political choice, as in the case of the Acropolis in Athens, or a decorative choice, as in the Macedonian tombs, was often used for structural reasons. The fact that Ionic columns have more slender proportions, or that the use of a Corinthian capital adds a few centimeters to an Ionic column, makes their choice predominant for interior colonnades even in Doric buildings.

The beauty of the Doric order is that it is extremely structured – the members of the peripteral Doric temple, from the krepis up to the cornice, follow some general rules. Once the intercolumniation (i.e. the distance between two neighboring columns) is decided upon, the stylobate and krepis blocks can be more or less determined – as often columns stand on the center or the joints of the blocks of the stylobate. Furthermore, as the joints of the architrave blocks stand exactly over the axes of the columns, not only for aesthetic but also for structural reasons, the length of the architrave block equals that of

6.3 The Temples

Two early buildings together comprising all the features of the typical Doric order are the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (Biers 1996: [fig. 7.1](#); Boardman 1985: figs. 187.1–6) and the Temple of Hera at Olympia (Biers 1996: [fig. 6.10](#)), both dating from the first half of the 6th c. BC. The former was a peripteral temple with 8×17 columns, with a triglyph frieze with plain metopes and a sculptured pediment (see Chapter 7). The latter shows all the known aspects of a typical temple plan: a cella with a pronaos and an opisthodomos with two columns in antis surrounded by a peristasis with 6×16 columns. The columns seem to have been originally made of wood and replaced by stone at different times.

Characteristic of an alternative development of 6th c. Doric architecture are the surviving temples at the Greek colonies of South Italy and Sicily, some of which were mentioned above as exceptions to the normal plan of a Greek temple (cf. Boardman 1996: [fig. 63](#); Biers 1996: [fig. 7.8](#)). Their ‘heavy’ proportions show a different type of development when compared to the early 5th c. temples on the mainland. The 6th c. also saw the development of the colossal Ionic temples in the East, which show the early development of the deep pronaos and double peristasis. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos – also referred to as the ‘Croesus’ Temple – had 8×20 columns on the outer peristasis (Boardman 1996: [fig. 67](#); Biers 1996: [figs. 7.6, 7.7](#); see Chapter 17) and the Temple of Hera at Samos had two rows of columns at the flanks and three rows at the fronts, with a total of 133 columns adorning its peristasis and the interior of the pronaos (Biers 1996: [fig. 7.5](#)).

The beginning of the 5th c. BC saw the standardization of the Doric temple. In the middle of this process, two very similar temples were built, which act as a transition point between the Archaic and the High Classical styles: the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The Temple of Aphaia at Aigina is a rather small temple (13.77×28.82 m) with six-columned fronts (hexastyle) built in the beginning of the 5th c. (Boardman 1996: figs. 79, 80; Biers 1996: [figs. 7.4, 7.25–29](#)). Situated at the eastern tip of the island of Aigina, it was built in the sanctuary of the local goddess, Aphaia. The larger part of the building was built in the limestone of the district, which was coated with a thin layer of stucco. The pediment sculptures and acroteria

were of Parian marble and the tiles of terracotta, while the metopes were plain slabs of limestone, painted black (for pediments, see Chapter 7). The pteron comprised 6×12 columns, the majority of which were monolithic. The columns on both the ends and the flanks were uniform in diameter, except for the corner columns, which were slightly thicker. The height of the columns was twice the width of the intercolumniation. The cella consisted of one main space with both pronaos and opisthodomos, each with two columns in antis. The interior of the cella was divided into three parts by two double-story colonnades and the lower architrave supported a gallery floor above the side aisles (Ohly 1977).

The Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 470–457 BC) is a similar structure, but about twice the size (stylobate 27.68×64.12 m; Boardman 1996: figs. 126, 128, 129; Biers 1996: [figs. 8.1, 8.2, 8.26–33](#)). According to Pausanias (5.10.2–10), the architect who designed it was Libon of Elis. As in the Temple of Aphaia, most of the structure was built of local shelly limestone, covered with stucco, and the sculptures and tiles were of Parian marble. The design of the temple was based on a very simple system of proportions. The axial spacing was 16 Doric feet (1 Doric foot = 0.326 m) – except for the contracted corner intercolumniations – and the height of the columns was 32 Doric feet, exactly twice the axial spacing. The abacus width was 8 Doric feet, as was the distance between triglyph centers; the distance between mutules was 4 Doric feet, and the tiles were 2 Doric feet. The peristasis consisted of 6×13 columns, the two-times-plus-one calculation that becomes the norm in the Classical period. The cella was flanked by a pronaos and an opisthodomos, each with two columns in antis. Sculptured metopes depicting the Twelve Labors of Herakles decorated the porch and opisthodomos friezes. The interior of the cella was also divided by two rows of double-story colonnades. The central ‘aisle’ of the cella housed the huge gold-and-ivory statue of Zeus, which was made by Pheidias and was added to the temple later.

The Temple of Hephaistos ([Figure 6.4](#)) stands on the Kolonos Agoraios, the hill to the west of the Classical Agora in Athens (Dinsmoor 1941; Koch 1955; Camp 1990). Its peristasis is very well preserved, as it was later converted into a Christian church. The name of the architect of the temple has not survived and he is generally referred to as the ‘Hephaisteion – or Theseion – architect’; the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, the Temple of Ares, and the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous have also been attributed to the same person. The date of the Hephaisteion has yet to receive universal agreement but the temple construction is generally accepted to have begun around 450 BC. The Hephaisteion (stylobate 13.71×31.78 m) can be

considered as the quintessential peripteral Doric temple, for its peristasis seems to follow very regularly the expected principles of a Doric temple. It consists of 6×13 columns and demonstrates all the refinements that are known to exist in Periklean architecture. The cella building of the temple was flanked by two porches, each with two columns in antis. The porches were decorated with Ionic friezes and architraves – with a Lesbian molding instead of the Doric tainia and regulae.

Figure 6.4 Athens, the Hephaisteion. c. 450–400 BC (American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).



The second half of the 5th c. BC was marked by the Periklean building program on the Athenian Acropolis (Plate 6). The Parthenon is generally considered to be one of the most important, if not the most important, Doric temples of the ancient Greek world, because of its position, its historical significance, the grandeur of its scale, the refinements of its structure, and its extensive sculptural decoration (Orlandos 1976–1978; Korres 1994: 55–97; Tournikiotis 1994).

On the basis of its building accounts, the Parthenon's construction has been firmly dated between 447 and 438 BC, though the pediments were not completed until 431 BC. Plutarch (*Vit. Per.*13.4) states that Pheidias was the general overseer of Perikles's building program, and that Kallikrates and Iktinos were the Parthenon's architects; however, the exact role of each is not clear. The Parthenon was transformed

into a Christian church under the reign of Emperor Justinian (AD 525–565; see Chapter 32) and into a mosque in AD 1460.

The Parthenon is an octastyle peripteral Doric temple with a hexastyle amphiprostyle cella building (Boardman 1996: figs. 137–140; Biers 1996: [figs. 8.5–10](#)). The krepis consists of three steps, and the stylobate measures 30.88×69.51 m, a ratio of 4 : 9, which is also found between other major parts of the building, such as the stylobate width and the height of the order, and the column lower diameter and the intercolumniation. On the stylobate stand forty-six columns, eight on each front and seventeen on each flank. The reason for the large width and the octastyle plan of the Parthenon has received different interpretations. Most scholars agree that the large width was dictated by Pheidias's cult statue of Athena, which necessitated a wide cella, and that the octastyle front was thus a result of making a wide temple while still using the material which was available from the Older Parthenon. It has also been suggested that the octastyle plan was an Ionic influence, which is also apparent on other parts of the building. The cella of the Parthenon consisted of two unconnected chambers. The hexastyle prostyle porches which formed each entrance were reached through small steps between the large steps of the krepis. The hexastyle porches were crowned by a Doric architrave (with regulae) and an Ionic frieze. The Parthenon is the supreme example of all the refinements that are known to exist on Doric temples. The stylobate and the cella walls form a curve. The columns, being of uniform height, transmit the curve of the stylobate to the entablature, so that the horizontal blocks of the architrave form a convex polygon whose sides are tangent to the curve. Furthermore, the entasis of the columns (their diminishing profile) is strongly curved together with the inclination of the columns, and the cella walls decrease even further the number of the members of the temple that are actually straight and perpendicular to each other.

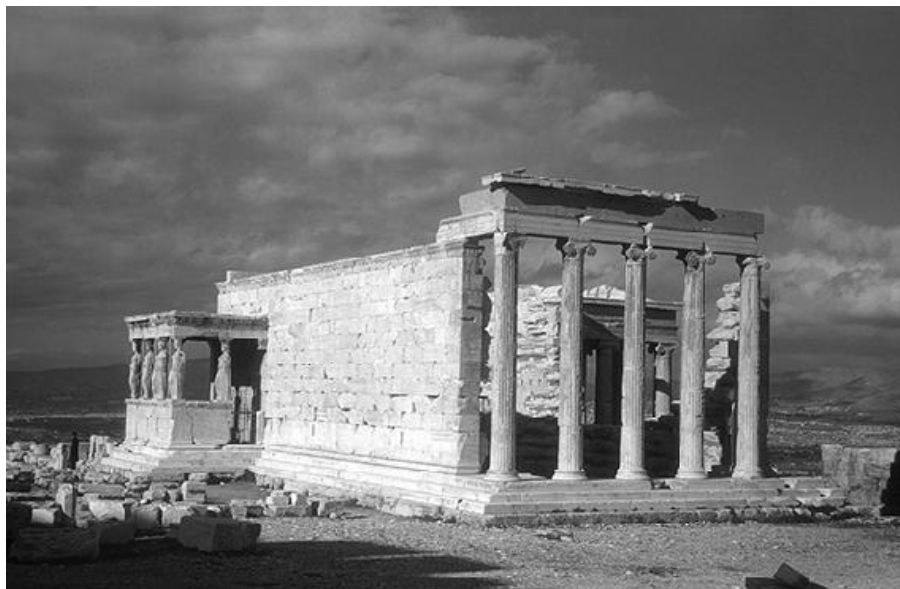
The Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis (Camp 2001: figs. 91, 92) is a small tetrastyle amphiprostyle building (5.39×8.16 m). The height of its Ionic columns, being only 7.82 times their lower diameter, indicates that it had heavy proportions for an Ionic temple. The column bases were formed by a scotia between two tori; a formation seen, with some modifications, on most Attic buildings during that time. Above the columns, the architrave, which bore three fasciae, was crowned by a sculpted Ionic frieze, a characteristic of Attic Ionic that seems to have originated in the Ionic treasuries in Delphi. The cella was quite original in size – wider than long. In contrast to most rectangular cellas that existed during that period, it was of almost square shape. Its entrance was marked by two piers, and antae covered each corner of the exterior. The Temple of

Athena Nike has been dated in the 420s BC on architectural, stylistic, and epigraphic evidence.

Another example of Attic Ionic at the site is the Erechtheion (Figure 6.5), a most unusual building. Its shape resulted from the need to accommodate different cults and from the uneven terrain on which it stood. It consists of a rectangular structure with two separate porches on the north and south sides. While the former had normal Ionic columns, the south had female figures (caryatids) instead of columns. The varied decorative features of the building contradict but do not antagonize the Parthenon, which dominates the Athenian Acropolis.

The trends that appeared in the Athenian Acropolis were further developed in later Doric temples. The Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Boardman 1996: figs. 154, 155; Biers 1996: figs. 8.14, 8.15), which has a very innovative interior with different orders and decorative use of architectural elements, has also been attributed to Iktinos. In the 4th c. BC, newly built temples were shorter in relation to width, as in the case of the Temple of Asklepios in Epidauros (6 × 11 columns) and the Temple of Zeus at Nemea (6 × 12 columns), both of which lack an opisthodomos (Biers 1996: figs. 9.1, 9.2 (Epidauros)).

Figure 6.5 Acropolis, the Erechtheion. c. 430/420–410/400 BC
(American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).



However, the 4th c. BC was mainly marked by a series of very impressive Ionic temples, which reveal a conscious return to Archaic Ionic forms (dentils instead of a continuous sculpted frieze, Asiatic instead of Attic bases). The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos replaced the

‘Croesus’ Temple mentioned above and has been attributed to Paionios of Ephesos. Its plan followed that of its Archaic predecessor. Its outer peristasis was reconstructed with 8×21 columns, as a third row of columns was added to the front. Furthermore, its floor was raised and a closed adyton replaced the opisthodomos.

The Temple of Athena Polias at Priene (350–340 BC) has a cella with a deep porch and a shallow opisthodomos, each with two columns in antis and a peristasis of 6×11 columns (Biers 1996: figs. 9.6, 9.7). A typical Ionic entablature stood above the columns, with an architrave with three fascias topped by an astragal, an egg-and-dart molding under the row of dentils, superimposed by another egg-and-dart over an astragal. The entablature was crowned by a decorated sima with waterspouts. The dimensions of the temple seem to adhere to a strict set of systematic proportions. The plan is set on a grid, with each column placed on alternate squares. The pronaos antae stand exactly behind the penultimate columns, while the two columns in antis stand behind the two central columns of the peristasis front. The measurements of the stylobate follow a ratio of 11 : 21, the closest possible to 1 : 2, which is the ratio of width to length if counted from the axes of the corner columns. The cella measures 40×100 Ionic feet (1 Ionic foot = 0.294 m) and its interior length is 50 Ionic feet.

The Temple of Apollo at Didyma began in c. 330 or 313 BC, but work continued on the temple until Roman Imperial times (AD 41). Its plan was once again based on a grid, as in the case of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene (Biers 1996: figs. 10.4–6). It was a dipteral temple with 10×21 columns on its outer peristasis and 4×3 columns in the interior of its pronaos (Figure 17.1). An antechamber stood between the pronaos and the cella – an unroofed court housing a tetrastyle prostyle naiskos, which held the statue of the god. It is very difficult to realize the immense dimensions of the elements of this temple. The column height neared 10 times its lower diameter, the axial spacing was 18 Ionic feet, and the total measurements of the stylobate reached 51.13×109.34 m.

6.4 Other Buildings in Sanctuaries

A number of other buildings can be found in Greek sanctuaries (Berve and Gruben 1963; Bergquist 1967; Pedley 2005). An altar was the main focus of worship and actually preceded the temple. Even after temples were erected to house the image of the deity, the altar

remained an indispensable part of the sanctuary. Though an altar normally consists of a plain rectangular structure in front of the temple, decorated altars are often encountered in Greek sanctuaries, especially in the East. Their decoration varies, from plain triglyph friezes, such as those at Syracuse and Olympia, to lavish volute and palmette decoration, such as that at Miletos, to huge structures, such as the altar of Zeus and Athena at Pergamon.

A propylon, or gate building, often marked the entrance to a sanctuary. The best example is probably Mnesikles's Propylaia to the Athenian Acropolis, which was built as part of the Periklean building program (Biers 1996: [fig. 8.5](#)). It has an unusually complex plan, comprising a central gate building with a hexastyle Doric facade and two projecting wings.

Greek city-states first, and individuals later, frequently made dedications in prominent sanctuaries. Although most of these dedications are in the form of single sculptures or sculptural groups, there also exist a number of architectural structures which are recorded to have had a similar origin. Although the buildings known as treasuries are the most common type of architectural dedication, other structures, such as *tholoi* ([Figure 6.6](#)) and stoas, are known to have been dedicated in Greek sanctuaries. The function of these dedications is not always clear; it is reasonable to assume, however, that the dedication of a city would have been considered the point of reference for that city's inhabitants when visiting the sanctuary, especially during the large festivals.

Treasuries tend to conform – with few exceptions – to a specific architectural type, namely a small rectangular building, measuring on average 7×11 m, with a cella and a pronaos with two columns in antis. On the basis of this plan, treasury buildings have been identified in Delphi ([Figure 6.7](#)), Olympia, Delos, and other sanctuaries, where, however, topographical records are scarce.

Figure 6.7 Delphi, the Athenian Treasury (restored). c. 490–450 BC (photo: D. Plantzos).



One of the most impressive 6th c. Doric treasuries is the Treasury of Gela at Olympia. The treasury originally consisted of a single chamber (13.18 × 10.98 m), probably with a wooden bench along its interior walls. The treasury was a very simple stone construction with an extremely elaborate roof decoration. The architectural terracottas of the Geloan Treasury at Olympia form some of the best examples of Sicilian-type architectural terracottas found in Greece. The original construction dates to the middle of the 6th c. BC, while the porch seems to have been added on to it about 50 years later. The porch was hexastyle prostyle and had a gabled roof with very light inclination, so as to keep the terracotta revetments visible.

A typical Doric treasury of the 5th c. is that of the Athenians at Delphi ([Figure 6.7](#)). Enough blocks have survived to allow a full reconstruction of the building, which was rebuilt at the beginning of the 20th c. It has a cella and a pronaos with two columns in antis and is one of the earliest ancient buildings to have been constructed entirely of marble. The architrave and a frieze of sculpted metopes

continue around all four sides of the treasury; furthermore, the surviving pedimental sculptures and acroteria attest that sculptural decoration adorned all possible spaces. According to Pausanias (10.11.5), the Athenians dedicated their treasury after the victory at Marathon; that is, after 490. A number of scholars have at some point questioned this date based on stylistic evidence; however, their arguments are far from conclusive, while close inspection of building details – and their relation to other buildings at the site – tend to confirm Pausanias's date (Audiat 1933).

The Ionic treasuries at Delphi (those of Massalia, Klazomenai, Knidos, and Siphnos ([Figure 7.1](#)) are some of the most innovative examples of architecture in the Greek world. They were lavishly decorated structures with carved moldings and sculpture in every possible architectural element. Decorated door frames and wall bases, sculpted supports in the shape of maidens, and continuous sculpted friezes instead of dentils can all be found among these four structures. Their size allowed for ample experimentation, which led the way to the better-known innovations that appeared in the building program of the Athenian Acropolis (Dinsmoor 1913; Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928; Daux and Hansen 1987).

An architectural dedication in the form of a circular building is known in Delphi from the account of Pausanias, and in Olympia a circular building – the Philippeion – was dedicated by Philip in 339 BC (Biers 1996: fig. 9.11). However, the function of circular buildings or *tholoi* is not always clear. *Tholoi* have circular cellas with outer and inner colonnades, often of different orders (Seiler 1986; Lawrence 1996: ch. 17). The marble *tholos* in the precinct of Athena Pronaia in Delphi has twenty Doric columns on the exterior and nine Corinthian columns on the interior, standing close to the cella walls. Although its date has been questioned, the entablature and roof construction suggest the 4th c. (Charboneaux and Gottlob 1925). A similar plan and combination of orders is found in the impressive *tholos* at Epidauros (c. 350 BC). Unlike the abovementioned *tholoi*, its name – the *thymele* – and the existence of a crypt of concentric circles in the floor of its interior suggest a cult purpose (Lawrence 1983: 60–67).

Other types of buildings in sanctuaries addressed more practical matters, such as sleep and food. Their names, which specifically characterize their function, have survived from literary accounts. The most obvious such examples are the *Hestiatorion* ('dining club') of the Keans at Delos and the *Katagogion* ('inn') at Epidauros, while the *Lesche* ('clubhouse') of the Knidians in Delphi can also be considered in the same group.

6.5 City Planning

Both from the plans that survive and from the surviving literary record, it is apparent that town planning was quite important in the classical world, and had gained the attention of natural scientists and philosophers. The plan of a city is an image that reflects both its history, and its political, economic, and social situation. In addition, as in architecture and sculpture, the plan is not alien to the political, philosophical, and mathematical theories that developed at the time. It is apparent, for example, that a charming civic center would provoke the kind of public interest that was expected from the Classical city's population; it is not surprising that the plan of a Classical Greek city would demonstrate the priorities of its citizens.

Two types of plan co-exist in the Greek world: the irregular pattern, seen in most Greek towns of earlier periods, and the geometric regular pattern, which seems to bear Ionian influences. The pattern of a city plan, in general, seems to reflect the history or foundation of the city. In Athens, for example, the streets developed slowly, depending on the developing needs of the city, to form an irregular pattern. When the city was completely destroyed by the Persians, it was rebuilt on its old pre-Classical plan; Athens retained its old irregular pattern even though it was an architecturally revolutionary city-state and the regular plan was very much in fashion during the period – the latter was actually employed for its harbor, Piraeus (Camp 2001: 295, fig. 260).

A regular plan is apparent mainly on newly founded or rebuilt cities. This type of plan is also known as the 'Hippodamian' plan, named after an important town-planner, Hippodamos of Miletos, known from ancient sources to have worked on the plans of Piraeus, Rhodes, and probably Thourioi (Arist. *Pol.* 2.5; Strabo 14.2.9). The grid pattern was the most elementary of plans, with straight streets crossing at right angles. The combination of these parallel and perpendicular streets formed *insulae* – small basic units that were either subdivided for the use of residential accommodations or interconnected to form spaces for public areas and buildings. The actual laying out of this plan was not an act of originality; what made a difference is how this grid was placed to successfully use the terrain to create major and minor streets and to adapt to the original elements of the town (Wycherley 1962; Ward-Perkins 1974; Owens 1991; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994).

Although grid patterns existed earlier, especially in the western colonies, Miletos has generally been accepted as the first, most complete example of this plan. The city was destroyed by the Persians

in 494 BC and was entirely rebuilt after the Persian domination in 479 (or 466). Two grids of different alignment formed the residential areas, which surrounded an L-shaped civic center in the middle of the peninsula. Other characteristic examples of the plan are Olynthos, Priene, and Pella (Rumscheid and Koenigs 1998; Cahill 2002; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2004).

6.6 Public Structures in Greek Cities

At the center of the city was the agora, a civic center used for administrative and commercial gatherings. From the end of the 6th c. BC a variety of buildings appeared to house these functions. Separate buildings were raised as gathering places for the different political bodies: the *boule* (council) and the *demos* (assembly). Although the shape of such public spaces demonstrates ample diversity, the majority consist of a square or rectangular structure with widely spaced interior columns, and in the Hellenistic period with steps along three walls (see [Figure 2.5](#)).

The space of the agora was flanked or later surrounded by stoas (porticoes), a building type that was abundantly used in cities of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Stoas were halls fronted by a long row of columns; however, differentiations to this simple plan are numerous. L-shaped stoas were introduced during the 4th c. BC, as were second stories and mixing of orders (Coulton 1976). The best use of stoas can be seen in the city of Miletos, where, instead of standing as individual structures, they work as an architectural frame. Numerous other structures are known from Greek cities, though they cannot be described here in detail. Examples are structures for education and training such as the *gymnasia*, *lykeia*, *palaistra*i, and of course the stadiums; and defense structures, such as fortifications and arsenals.

Among the numerous public buildings found in Greek cities, the most impressive is the theater (Biers 1996: figs. 9.12, 9.13). Theater structures developed in or near cities using the natural slope of the terrain, which could be used as a seating space for spectators. Most theaters which survive today date from later periods, namely the Hellenistic and the Roman; however, the basic elements of the theater, though simpler in form, existed from earlier times, when theaters were also used for public gatherings. Early performances of choral dances in honor of Dionysos only required an orchestra, an – often circular –

dancing place. As actors were introduced in Greek plays, the necessity of a building structure gave rise to the skene, a rectangular structure behind the orchestra which allowed actors to move in and out of sight and change their costumes. Furthermore, to facilitate the entrance of the chorus on the orchestra, two corridors – the parodoi – were added on either side of the skene. The exact shape of the skene (or scene building) at early times, and its eventual transformation from a wooden structure to a more elaborate stone one, have been a matter of much discussion. From the surviving plays it is certain that by the middle of the 5th c. BC this building was also used as a *skenotheke*, a base for paintings that served as a set design (see Bieber 1961).

The theater at Epidauros is one of the best preserved in Greece (Plate 7). Its initial form has been attributed by Pausanias (2.27.5) to Polykleitos the Younger and dated in the late 4th c. BC. It consists of a circular orchestra, 9.77 m in diameter, and an auditorium divided into twelve sectors separated by staircases, which seem to radiate from the center of the orchestra. A second story of seats seems to have been added at a later period, separated from the lower story by a diazoma (or ambulatory). Only the foundations of the original skene survive; it appears to have consisted of a long hall with a small room at each end.

6.7 Residential Structures

The main factors that influence the shape of a Greek house are the type of city plan on which it is built and its location within that city plan (Biers 1996: figs. 9.15–18, 10.15). If the city does not have a regular plan, such as Delos or Kolophon, the houses tend to have irregular shapes. Regularly planned cities, such as Olynthos and Priene, exhibit rectangular-shaped houses; however, even in these cases, houses built outside the city grid tend to show a more original plan. Even in the cases where the exteriors present some kind of uniformity, interiors offer a greater individuality (Nevett 1999; Cahill 2002). A typical Greek house spreads around a court, which serves as the center of communication between its different spaces. The area of the court varies extensively, and in some cases it is surrounded by a peristyle (cf. Biers 1996: fig. 10.15). Apart from its function as a means of communication, the court also served as a main source of lighting and heating, as the rooms which surrounded it faced inwards, away from the street. Because of this particular source of lighting, the orientation of the rooms plays a significant role in Greek residential architecture; the main rooms were usually placed in the north part of

the dwelling, so that they could be protected from the north winds and receive the low winter sun from the south, while the secondary rooms were most likely found in the south.

Owing to the lack of surviving furniture, the identification of individual rooms within a Greek house is difficult. The main room of the house is usually identified as the *andron*, a space for men's banquets. Anterooms were often used to establish privacy, and in some cases took the form of a porch, with two columns in antis. The co-existence of two such structures (Priene) or two courts (Pella) within the same house has often been interpreted as indicating different spaces for men and women, the *andron* (men's residence), known from literary sources, and the women's quarters, often dubbed 'gynaikon' or 'gynaikonotis', after later practice (Camp 1986: 148–150).

Utilities are known to have occupied their own spaces within the dwellings. Ovens and hearths can support the existence of kitchens, while bathrooms, with bathtubs, are also found; however, spaces for utilities are not uniform throughout the Greek world. Spaces functioning as store-rooms and work-rooms can easily be identified due to certain finds, such as pithoi and terracotta jars. The processing of food and raw materials within the house can be suggested by certain finds, such as grain mills, olive presses, grape presses, and large masses of iron. The presence of terracotta loomweights indicates textile production. Evidence for rooms on upper stories has rarely been found. However, staircases suggest that more than one story existed at least over some parts of the house. In addition, the sloping terrain of some sites has also been used to create upper or lower levels within a house.

The Late Classical and Hellenistic periods saw the emergence of the palatial complexes of Macedonia and Asia Minor, which recall elaborate private dwellings but also served a variety of other functions. Around a central peristyle court are the various sectors housing administrative and social functions of the royal family and its court. Impressive palatial complexes are known in Pella, Vergina/Aigai, Pergamon, and Alexandria (Walter-Karydi 1998).

6.8 Tombs

The use of elaborate architecture to demarcate a tomb seems to have originated in the East. In Attica, the so-called peribolos tombs of the Classical period – set on a raised wall enclosure, or peribolos – although defined by architectural elaborate facade walls, are mainly

characterized by their sculptural adornment.

The 4th c. BC saw the appearance of distinct tomb types that closely echoed the needs of different regional elites. In Asia Minor, independent temple-like structures used as tombs are known as 'mausolea'. What is interesting in these structures is the eclectic employment of Greek architectural forms to promote the image of a non-Greek ruler. An early example of this type of architecture is the Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lycia (c. 390 BC), an Ionic temple-like structure raised upon a high podium (see Chapters 7 and 17). The best-known example is the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (c. 350 BC), whose reconstruction is far from conclusive (cf. [Figure 17.6](#)). It seems to have consisted of a nearly square, tall podium, containing the tomb chamber, superimposed by a temple-like structure with a cella and a peristasis of 9×11 Ionic columns. The top of the roof, which formed a pyramid of 24 steps, was adorned by a sculpted chariot group with four horses. Further sculptural decoration included three sculpted friezes and a large number of statues, which were probably positioned on the tall base.

In Macedonia, the second half of the 4th c. BC saw the emergence of the well-known Macedonian tombs. They consist of a built chamber tomb, built partially underground, roofed by a vault, often reached by a dromos, and covered by a mound of earth, a tumulus. The main burial chamber can take over the whole interior, while in most cases it shares the space with a smaller antechamber on the same axis. The body was deposited on a couch (*kline*) or in a sarcophagus in the burial chamber. Elaborate facades, decorated with architectural elements, have been found in a number of Macedonian tombs (see Chapter 8). These usually consist of engaged half columns supporting an entablature, which is crowned by a pediment or by a second continuous frieze with its own cornice; in rare cases, such as the 'Great Tomb' at Lefkadia, a second order is superimposed on the first. Decoration using architectural elements can also be found in the interior of the tomb, as in the case of the 'Eurydice Tomb', in which a complete Ionic order covers the rear wall of the burial chamber (Andronikos 1987; Fedak 1990; Miller 1993).

Finally, in the Hellenistic period, elaborate tomb complexes were used for multiple burials and gatherings for commemorative rites. Large rock-cut tombs are known from Rhodes and Alexandria. The '*kline* tombs' of Alexandria are, in their majority, hypogaea (underground rock-cut tombs) preceded by an open court, reminiscent of the plan of a Greek house (McKenzie 2007). They consist of numerous rooms, which are rarely placed on the same axis, and the anteroom is usually larger than the actual burial chamber, as it was used by mourners and relatives. Architectural details in these tombs

show a number of similarities with their Macedonian counterparts. For example, facades resembling a two-dimensional elevation of a temple or house with engaged half-columns of no structural use can be found on Alexandrian tombs; the use of architectural members can be detected inside the tomb, both decorating walls, such as the interior of the vestibule at Shatby, and demarcating doors. While these tombs also tend to be vaulted, some have segmental vaults, such as the tombs at Anfoushy. Much like the other architectural forms presented above, tombs contribute to our modern understanding of the ancient Greek built environment.

FURTHER READING

Dinsmoor (1950), Lawrence (1996; revised by Tomlinson), Robertson (1988), and Coulton (1977) are all essential to anyone who wants to study Greek architecture.

Other useful general texts include: Berve and Gruben (1963), Gruben (2007), Hellmann (2002–), Jenkins (2006), Scranton (1962), and Tzonis and Giannisi (2004). Spawforth's *The Complete Greek Temples* (2006) is well-illustrated in color and covers many of the basics, including a section on conservation.

Orlandos (1958; in Greek) and Martin (1965; in French) offer indispensable information on materials and building techniques. Winter (1993) is the most complete work on roof construction, and Shoe (1936) offers the most complete corpus of moldings.

Further reading on particular subjects such as different building types and city planning has been included in the text. Among others, see Bieber (1961) on theaters; Coulton (1974; 1977) and Yeroulanou (1998) on temple design; Coulton (1976) on stoas; Winter (1971) on fortifications; and Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) and Wycherley (1962) on urbanization.

CHAPTER 7

Architectural Sculpture

Olga Palagia

7.1 Introduction

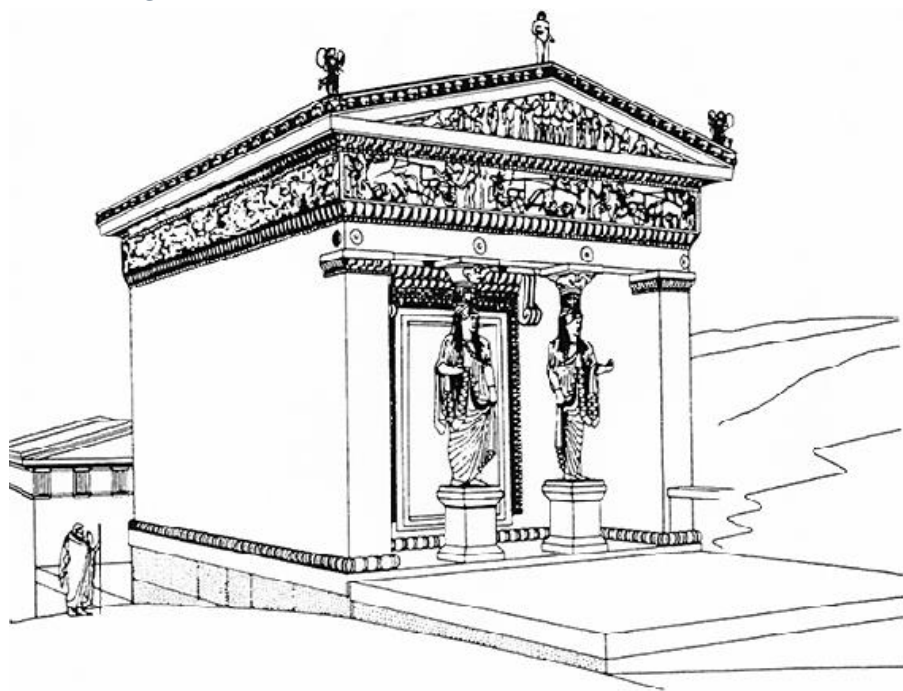
Greek sacred architecture was abundantly decorated with sculptures, which formed an integral part of its fabric. They invariably depicted gods and heroes, with the notable exception of the Parthenon frieze that shows gods with humans celebrating a local Athenian festival (see [Plate 5](#)). Architectural sculptures first appear in mid 7th c. BC Crete, inspired by prototypes from Egypt and the Near East. One-room temples at Prinias and Gortyn carry dado friezes with repetitive figures and seated goddesses over the doorways, all in limestone (Boardman 1978: figs. 31, 32). Such structures were a false dawn, swept away by the invention of the architectural orders, Doric and Ionic, which entailed a different distribution of sculptured ornaments and encouraged the development of narrative scenes.

Doric buildings were introduced on mainland Greece in the second half of the 7th c., while the Ionic order first appeared in East Greece around 600 BC. Temples in both orders had exterior colonnades and low pitched tiled roofs that left gable ends (pediments) ready to be filled with sculpture. Doric temples in stone have an entablature inspired by wooden prototypes, forming panels (metopes) between vertically ridged dividers (triglyphs). Metopes are ideal for closed compositions and do not encourage continuous narrative. Corinth and its colonies were the pioneers of architectural sculpture for the Doric order, introducing stone sculptures in the pediments and on the metopes above the porches, as well as free-standing figures (acroteria) on the three ridges of the triangular roofs. Early examples of architectural sculptures are in limestone, with emphasis on apotropaic facing figures. An interest in narrative scenes is exhibited in secondary

areas.

Ionic temples in East Greece are primarily in marble and can be decorated with sculptured relief friezes on the gutter or the architrave and high-relief figures on column drums and their pedestals, as on the Archaic Temples of Artemis at Ephesos and Apollo at Didyma (cf. Boardman 1996: fig. 67). Facing human or animal figures fill the spaces on the columns, with no attempt at any kind of narrative. Sculptured column drums can also be found in East Greece in the Hellenistic period, as in the Temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad (the region of ancient Troy). When the Ionic style was transplanted on the Greek mainland in the later part of the 6th c. (e.g. the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi from around 525 BC; [Figure 7.1](#)), a new canon was formed, with relief friezes replacing the architrave, and sculptures in the pediments. The Ionic style also allowed the replacement of porch columns with female figures (caryatids), a practice introduced by the Archaic treasuries of Delphi (e.g. Boardman 1978: figs. 209, 210; cf. [Figure 6.7](#)).

Figure 7.1 Reconstruction of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi. c. 525 BC (drawing after E. Hansen).



In addition to temples, sacred architecture includes stoas, which may be decorated with figural acroteria or, in the Hellenistic period, with relief friezes. It also includes treasuries, set up by Greek cities in Panhellenic sanctuaries in the Archaic and Classical periods and

embellished with an excess of architectural sculptures.

In the 6th and 5th c. Athens became the leader, creating the greatest number of architectural sculptures in an experimental spirit that has come to be regarded as canonical. The Periklean building program of the third quarter of the 5th c. on the Athenian Acropolis introduced architectural innovations, mixing the orders, replacing some columns with caryatids, and allowing sculptured Doric metopes and Ionic friezes on the same temple.

The island of Thasos stands apart from developments in architectural sculpture elsewhere on account of its pro-Persian stance. Gates in the city walls decorated with large relief figures from the 7th to the 4th c. betray inspiration from Assyrian and Achaemenid palaces. A Late Archaic anta capital from the sanctuary of Herakles bearing the free-standing forepart of a winged horse is akin to Achaemenid column design (Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 252, fig. 187). We can find similar anta capitals with animal foreparts (kneeling bulls) drawing on Persian models in the so-called Monument of the Bulls on Delos, which housed a votive ship, erected at the end of the 4th c. (Vlachou 2010: 79, fig. 7), after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire had triggered a new wave of Orientalizing art.

In the 4th c. BC East Greece regained the initiative, introducing new forms of architectural sculptures that were carried into the Hellenistic period. The architect Pytheos developed the idea of ceiling coffer lids with sculptured figural decoration for the peristyle of his Temple of Athena at Priene (Biers 1996: figs. 9.6, 9.7; Lawrence 1996: 144–145) and the funerary monument of the satrap Mausolos at Halikarnassos (Biers 1996: fig. 9.10; see [Figure 17.6](#)). His example was followed for both sacred architecture and monumental tombs throughout the Hellenistic period. Ionic altars were surrounded by colonnades carrying relief friezes and eventually free-standing figures in the intercolumniations, the altar of the Ephesos Artemision being the obvious example. Doric versions of such altars have been found at Epidauros and Tegea in the Peloponnese. In the 2nd c. the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon (see [Figure 7.2](#)), decorated with two friezes, statues in the intercolumniations, and acroteria all over the roof, is an example of the Ionic altar at its most ornate (Boardman 1996: figs. 219, 220).

Figure 7.2 West frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon. Detail showing Nereus and Oceanus fighting the Giants. c. 170 BC (Berlin, Pergamon Museum. © Ruggero Vanni/Corbis).



Architectural sculpture in Greece served the needs of by-and-large democratic societies. Beyond the confines of the Greek world, architectural sculpture designed and executed by Greeks and depicting mainly Greek myths was commissioned by local rulers in Caria and Lycia in the 5th and 4th c. to decorate their monumental tombs. The grandest of these tombs, like the Nereid Monument of Xanthos ([Figure 17.7](#)) and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos ([Figure 17.6](#)), were conceived as funerary pyres in marble, with a temple-like structure placed on a high podium, which contained the burial chamber (Boardman 1995: figs. 210–219; see Chapter 17). They introduced a new art patronized by the local satraps, glorifying the occupant of the tomb, which was to be found again in Macedonian tomb painting in the late 4th c., and which also reflected a nondemocratic society (see Chapter 8).

7.2 Polychromy

We have evidence that architectural sculptures were painted. Colors still cling to the stuccoed limestone pediments of the 6th c. BC from the Athenian Acropolis. The background of the limestone pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia is painted blue. Paint on marble surfaces is less easy to detect, but there are vestiges of color on the marble pediments of the Temples of Apollo at Eretria and Delphi, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and on the pediments, frieze, and metopes of the Parthenon. Shadows of painted patterns have been detected on

the pedimental statues of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, which were exceptionally painted on the rear, even though their backs would not have been visible (cf. Brinkmann and Wünsche 2007). The background to the high-relief figures on the Archaic column drums of the Artemision of Ephesos was painted red. Traces of blue background suggesting the sky survive on the friezes of the Siphnian Treasury, on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, and on the Amazonomachy frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. The Erechtheion frieze consisted of appliqué figures in Parian marble pinned on to a blue-black background of Eleusinian limestone.

7.3 Pediments

The triangular spaces above temple porches were awkward to fill with statues, favoring battle scenes with the dead and wounded reclining in the corners. Action themes, however, were usually relegated to the back (west) pediment; episodes from the Trojan War and the Battles of Gods and Giants, Greeks and Amazons, or Lapiths and Centaurs were generic themes frequently found in rear pediments, though local myths could also be depicted (e.g. the contest of Athena and Poseidon on the Parthenon). Some temples, like those of Aphaia on Aigina, of Asklepios at Epidauros, and of Athena Alea at Tegea, chose to depict action scenes in both pediments. Quiet, often divine, gatherings dominated the gable above the entrance (east). Pedimental statues were usually only finished in front, since their backs were not visible. Pedimental statuary is more common in Doric temples but there are exceptions, notably in Athens (Temple of Athena Nike).

The earliest known sculptured pediments are of limestone. The series begins with the colossal west pediment of the Temple of Artemis on the Corinthian colony of Korkyra (about 580 BC; Boardman 1978: fig. 187). It is dominated by a frontal gorgon flanked by her monstrous children Pegasos and Chrysaor and a pair of leopards. Gigantomachy scenes fill the two corners. The figures are not yet free-standing and there is no unity of scale or theme. This pattern, carrying monsters and animal combats in the center and figural scenes in the corners, is repeated in the colossal limestone pediments from the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis, which date from the early second quarter of the 6th c. (Boardman 1978: figs. 188–198). Contrary to the relief figures on Korkyra, the pedimental figures in Athens are free-standing. The Athena Temple also had sculptured metopes and acroteria in Hymettan marble. The employment of limestone and marble in different parts of the same temple can also be

found in the Archaic-period Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Whereas the west pediment depicted a Gigantomachy in limestone, the east pediment, showing Apollo on his chariot and relegating the animal combats to the corners, was in Parian marble, being perhaps the earliest extant marble pediment on mainland Greece (c. 510 BC; Boardman 1978: 203–204). This pediment was sponsored and executed by Athenians. It is therefore not surprising that a nearly contemporary pediment in Parian marble can be found in the renovated Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis, showing a Gigantomachy with Athena taking pride of place (Boardman 1978: fig. 199). Its boldness of design and composition heralds a new era of experimentation in Attic sculpture. Henceforth, pedimental statues tended to be in Parian marble, until the Parthenon sculptors chose to employ only local (Pentelic) marble.

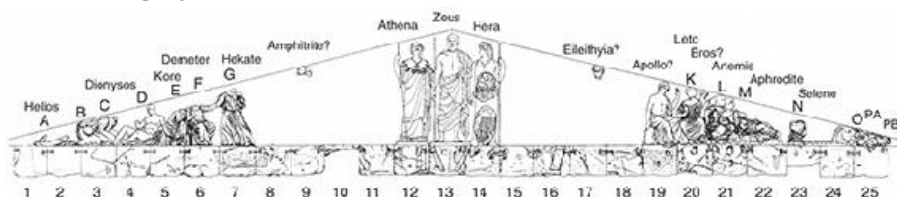
The small marble pediment from the east side of the Ionic Treasury of Siphnos at Delphi, on the other hand, is a regression, with the top halves of relief figures cut out of the background. The sculpture illustrates a myth relating to Apollo's oracle, but the action is awkward, more akin to line-drawing (Boardman 1978: fig. 211). Marble pediments carrying relief compositions recur in the Nereid Monument of the early 4th c. from Xanthos in Lycia (Boardman 1995: fig. 218; [Figure 17.7](#)), commissioned by a non-Greek dynast.

The marble pediments of the Doric Temple of Aphaia on Aigina probably date from just after the Persian Wars (shortly after 480 BC; Boardman 1978: fig. 206). They break the rules by depicting battles (Trojan War episodes) on both sides and tolerating great stylistic discrepancies between the two teams that carved them, the west still clinging to Archaic norms, the east introducing the Severe Style (see Chapter 5). They are remarkable for being painted all round and for their many metal attachments, an advertisement for the renowned Aiginetan metalworks. These pediments represent one of the last gasps of Aiginetan art, for Athens was destined to dominate the field in the Classical period.

A new canon was introduced by the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which the 2nd c. AD writer Pausanias attributes to Athenian workshops (460s BC). The colossal figures are flat at the back, stepped on a ledge to enhance their visibility, and carried metal attachments including body armor. The centers of both pediments are dominated by gods; the east pediment represents a quiet scene (preparation for the chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos), while the west is overwhelmed by tumultuous action (Centauromachy; Boardman 1985: figs. 20, 21). These pediments set the standards, which were surpassed only by the Parthenon, where the statues were even larger, liberally completed with metal attachments and finished

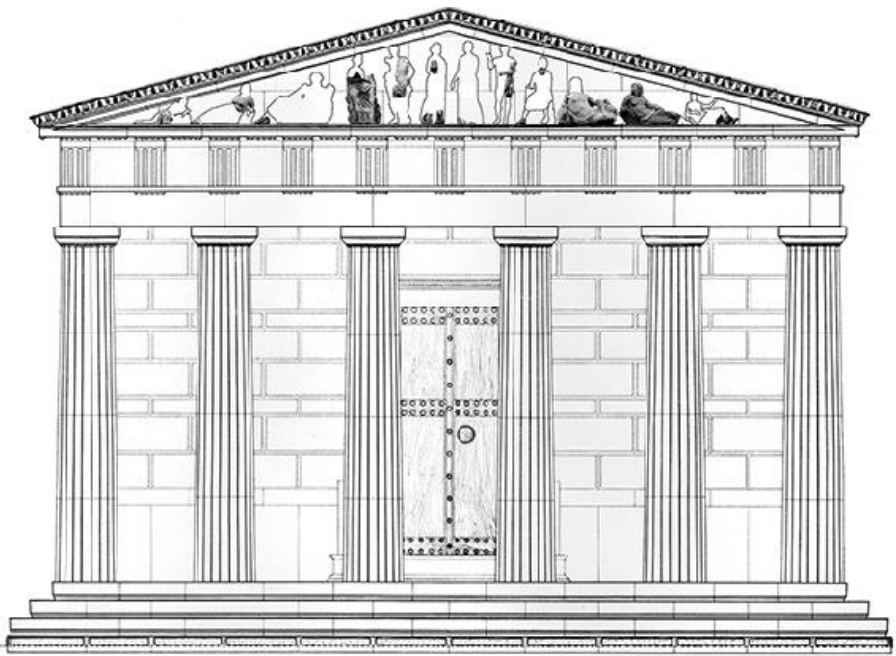
(possibly even painted) in the round. A revolutionary method of structural iron was employed to keep the central statues of the Parthenon pediments in place. They are precisely dated to 438–432 BC by building accounts. Pausanias mentions that the east showed the Birth of Athena (Figure 7.3), the west the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. The style of the pediments reaches beyond the Classical into the Baroque and was admired and imitated throughout antiquity.

Figure 7.3 Parthenon, reconstruction of the east pediment. 447–432 BC (drawing by K. Iliakis).



After the Parthenon, pedimental compositions tended to get smaller and less ambitious. The best-preserved pediments of the 4th c. BC are from the Peloponnese and belong to the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (Fall of Troy – *Ilioupersis* – on the east, Amazonomachy on the west; Boardman 1995: figs. 10, 11). We also have fragments from the pediments of Athena Alea at Tegea and of Apollo at Delphi, both mentioned by Pausanias (Boardman 1995: figs. 9, 14). Henceforth, exhaustion set in. One of the last known pediments comes from the north porch of the so-called Hieron in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace, from around 280 BC (Figure 7.4). The figures are small-scale and step on a ledge, like their colossal predecessors at Olympia. The temple has been attributed to Ptolemaic patronage and the scene may be populated with Alexandrine divinities and allegories.

Figure 7.4 Reconstruction of the north pediment of the Hieron of Samothrace. c. 280 BC (drawing by D. Scahill).



7.4 Friezes

Narrative friezes in low relief were characteristic of Ionic architecture, though they occasionally found their way on to Doric buildings as well. The sculptured frieze was by far the most popular type of architectural sculpture and could be variously positioned above or on architraves and gutters, around cella walls and podia, and on the upper-works of Hellenistic stoas. Some of the earliest friezes are found in East Greece. The Archaic Artemision of Ephesos carried a narrative frieze on the gutter, while the Temple of Apollo at Didyma had a frieze of lions and monsters on the architrave. The Archaic Doric Temple of Athena at Assos in the Troad bore an uncanonical sculptured frieze on the architrave under sculptured metopes.

On the mainland, we find sculptured friezes in Parian marble running around the exterior walls of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi ([Figure 7.1](#)). They are remarkably well preserved and of very high quality. The east frieze depicts the duel of Achilles and Memnon at Troy, with the gods arguing about the outcome; the north frieze has the Gigantomachy, the west frieze the Judgment of Paris, and the south frieze perhaps the Rape of the Leucippids (Boardman 1978: fig. 212). The friezes are attributed to two different workshops by reason of style.

Classical Athens boldly introduces Ionic friezes in Doric temples, variously positioned. The majority are in Parian marble, with the exception of the Parthenon. The series begins with the friezes inside the east porch of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, carved by an island workshop in the 440s. By far the most significant frieze in Greek architecture is that of the Parthenon (Plate 5). Even though it had little or no impact in antiquity, it has become one of the key monuments in understanding Greek art in the modern world. It forms one of the Ionic elements of a largely Doric temple and ran around the exterior wall of the cella. It depicts the procession of the Panathenaic festival in low relief and embodies the earliest manifestation of the High Classical style (c. 440 BC; Boardman 1985: figs. 92–96; Neils 2005b). It is exceptional in many ways, not least in introducing human figures in temple iconography. A second frieze inside the east porch of the Parthenon has also been postulated. The Doric Temple of Hephaistos in the Athenian Agora followed the example of the temple at Sounion by introducing Ionic friezes inside the porches (c. 430 BC). The west frieze shows a Centauromachy, while the east is very hard to interpret (Boardman 1985: figs. 112–114).

The twin Ionic temples on the river banks of the Ilissos and of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, both dating from the time of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), were decorated with sculptured friezes placed above the architrave all around the exterior walls (Boardman 1985: figs. 127, 128, 131). The Nike temple friezes depicted mostly battle scenes, suitable for a war monument. The east frieze carries a divine gathering that may be interpreted as the Birth of Athena. The Nike Temple friezes followed the example of the Parthenon by employing Pentelic marble, even though the pedimental statues of this temple were of Parian. Another Ionic temple on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion, introduced an innovation that was inspired by the monumental statue bases of Pheidias and his circle: appliqué figures in Parian marble were attached to a blue-black background of Eleusinian limestone (409–404 BC; Boardman 1985: fig. 126). The frieze was completed as Athens fell to the Spartans at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War. Athenian practice was carried to Arcadia by Iktinos (Paus. 8.41.7–9), architect of the Parthenon, fleeing the Peloponnesian War. He built the Doric Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (415 BC), which contained sculptured metopes on the outside and a marble frieze running around the interior wall of the cella. The scenes depicted on the friezes were an Amazonomachy and a Centauromachy (Boardman 1995: fig. 5).

In the 4th c. BC, Ionic friezes became scarce in Greece proper. In Athens, a miniature frieze on the Corinthian Choral Monument of Lysikrates of 334 BC (Figure 28.8) illustrates a choral poem of

Dionysos and his satyrs battling the Tyrrhenian pirates (Boardman 1995: fig. 16). The Ionic Hall of Choral Dancers in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace was decorated with one of the earliest-known archaistic friezes, showing female dancers and musicians (c. 340 BC). The enthusiasm for friezes, however, migrated to the dynastic funerary monuments of Caria and Lycia in western Asia Minor. The precinct of the heroon of Trysa carried superimposed friezes of Greek myth that must have appealed to the local elite. The heroon of Perikles at Limyra carried friezes of the dynast and his army in the middle of the side walls. The Nereid Monument of Xanthos (Figure 17.7) was decorated with friezes on the podium, on the architrave, and on the exterior wall of the Ionic naiskos, all illustrating the life and exploits of its owner. Friezes with funeral games (chariot race), an Amazonomachy (Figure 7.5), and a Centauromachy were to be found on the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, running around the top of the podium, the base of the chariot on top of the building, and possibly the exterior wall of the Ionic naiskos. A sculpted frieze depicting a chariot race was also placed around the exterior wall of the cella of the 3rd c. Ionic Ptolemaion at Limyra.

Figure 7.5 The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, slab from the Amazonomachy frieze. c. 360–350 (London, British Museum 1015. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



There is an abundance of sculptured friezes on a grand scale in the Ionic architecture of East Greece in the 2nd c. The Ionic Temples of Dionysos at Teos and of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maeander, both attributed to the architect Hermogenes, carried friezes illustrating the Dionysiac *thiasos* and an Amazonomachy respectively. The Corinthian Temple of Hekate at Lagina in Caria was also embellished with friezes, which are hard to interpret (Lawrence 1996: 164).

Sculptured friezes with military spoils decorated the upper-story balustrades of the propylon and stoas of the sanctuary of Athena at

Pergamon. Such friezes had a long future in Roman architectural sculpture. Pergamon, at any rate, was home to the two most famous friezes of the Hellenistic period: the Gigantomachy frieze (Figure 7.2) on the podium and the Telephos frieze on the back wall of the Ionic colonnades surrounding the Great Altar of Zeus (c. 170 BC). The Gigantomachy is arguably one of the greatest masterpieces of Greek sculpture, while the Telephos is one of the most original narrative friezes (Smith 1991: figs. 197–199). Inspired by the iconography of book rolls, it illustrates the life of an individual in consecutive scenes. The podia of the Ionic colonnades surrounding altars in Magnesia, Priene, and Kos were also decorated with high-quality friezes. Finally, in the 1st c. BC, an unusual sculptured frieze is formed by the personifications of eight winds running around the exterior walls of the octagonal Tower of the Winds (Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes) in Athens (Camp 2001: figs. 173, 174).

7.5 Metopes

Metopes are a feature of Doric architecture, designed to hold self-contained relief compositions. The earliest-known sculptured metopes come from the Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi, illustrating the seafaring adventures of heroes, including the Argonauts and Europa (Boardman 1978: fig. 208). They are in limestone and date from around 560 BC. In one case the action is carried across three metopes and two triglyphs, an unusual feature that found no imitators. Sculptured stone metopes are the commonest type of architectural sculpture found in the temples of South Italy and Sicily in the 6th and 5th c. (see Chapter 19). When they decorate treasuries (like the Athenian Treasury at Delphi), metopes can spread all around the building; otherwise they are usually confined to the narrow sides of temples. Once again the Temple of Zeus at Olympia sets the canon: its metopes decorate the porches, representing the first manifestation of the Twelve Labors of Herakles (Boardman 1985: figs. 22, 23).

In rare instances a Doric temple can be decorated with both metopes and an Ionic frieze, beginning with the 6th c. Temple of Athena at Assos on the Troad, and culminating with temples of the Periklean building program in Athens, like the Hephaisteion (Figure 6.4) and the Parthenon (Plate 6). The Parthenon has sculptured metopes all around the colonnade, representing four different myths: Gigantomachy in the east, Centauromachy in the south (Figure 7.6), Amazonomachy in the west, and the Fall of Troy in the north. This is Doric architectural sculpture at its most ambitious. Some figures were

in such high relief as to be virtually detached from the background. This technique was also followed in the (smaller) metopes of the exterior order of the early 4th c. Tholos at Delphi, perhaps created by Attic masons (Figure 6.7). Even smaller metopes decorated the top of its cella wall. Athenian artists were also responsible for the high-quality sculptured metopes in Parian marble from the porches of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, illustrating Dionysiac and Orphic themes (c. 415 BC).

Figure 7.6 Parthenon, south metope 27. Fight between a human Lapith and a centaur. 447–432 BC (London, British Museum. © Universal Images Group/SuperStock).



Doric architecture was less popular in the Hellenistic period, but we have fine sculptured metopes from the early 3rd c. Temple of Athena at Ilion. The 3rd c. Ionic heroon of the Ptolemies at Limyra carried sculptured metopes along the top of its podium (Smith 1991: 182).

7.6 Acroteria

Figural acroteria decorating gable ridges were introduced in the 6th c. BC. The temples of South Italy and Sicily were mainly decorated with clay acroteria, given the regional lack of marble, whereas the rest of Greece favored stone acroteria, with the exception of Kalapodi and Karditsa in central Greece, which featured clay horse heads on top of 6th c. temples. Flying figures like gorgons and victories (Nikai) were appropriate and became widespread. Sphinxes also frequently served as acroteria in Archaic architecture. One of the earliest known large-scale marble acroteria was found on the island of Paros, showing a flying gorgon (c. 560 BC), from an unknown temple. The Archaic schema of ‘kneeling-running’ (*Knielauf*) was frequently employed: the figure was arranged sideways to reduce projection into space, thus appearing flattened against the sky. A classic example is a Victory acroterion in Parian marble from the top ridge of the east pediment of the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Delphi (c. 510 BC; Boardman 1978: fig. 204). This schema was retained down to the High Classical period, to be used in an acroterion from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian Agora (Figure 7.7). A Severe Style Victory from Paros introduces an alternative design, hovering in mid-air, one foot stepping forward. A Parian-marble Victory by the sculptor Paionios, dedicated by the Messenians and Naupaktians to Zeus at Olympia (c. 425 BC), echoes this more realistic stance (Boardman 1985: fig. 139). Paionios’s Victory is generally thought to copy a bronze acroterion that he created for the Temple of Zeus, now lost. The most elaborate acroteria representing Victories in Pentelic marble come from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (c. 380–370 BC). They were carved by two masters, who achieved a supreme balancing act of wings and draperies projecting into space (Boardman 1995: fig. 11). In the 2nd c., colossal victories of elongated proportions holding ships’ masts were added as lateral acroteria to the south porch of the so-called Hieron of Samothrace.

Figure 7.7 Marble acroterion from a temple in the Athenian Agora. Nike. c. 420–400 BC (Athens, Agora Archaeological Museum S312. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).



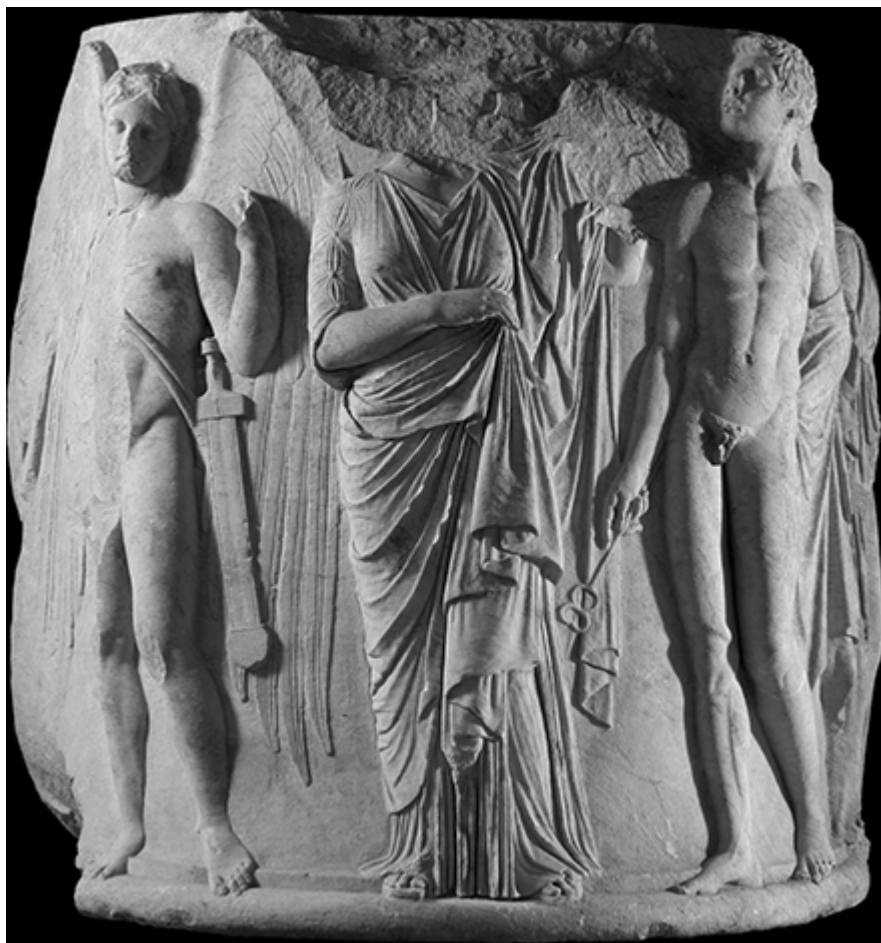
Other types of acroteria in the Classical period were Nereids riding dolphins, abduction scenes (Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous; of Hephaistos in the Athenian Agora; of Asklepios at Epidauros; and the Nereid Monument at Xanthos), and heroes slaying monsters (Tomb of Perikles at Limyra). A category of wingless female figures usually employed as lateral acroteria is generically described as 'Breezes' (Breeze on the Palatine; Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea; cf. Boardman 1995: figs. 11, 12).

Central acroteria sometimes adopted a floral design, for example those of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, of Poseidon at Sounion, of Hera at Argos, and the Parthenon in the 5th c. BC, of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in the 4th c., and of the so-called Hieron on Samothrace in the 3rd. In the 2nd c. a floral acroterion might contain an acanthus female figure inspired by Eastern prototypes, like that in the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maeander. In the Hellenistic period, horses, lions and lion-griffins could serve as acroteria of altars of dynastic funerary monuments (Great Altar of Pergamon;

7.7 Sculptured Column Drums

The bottom drums of the exterior columns of grand-scale Ionic temples in East Greece could be decorated with relief figures, perhaps inspired by Near Eastern and Anatolian prototypes. The columns of the Archaic temples of Artemis at Ephesos and Apollo at Didyma carried frontal figures in relief, perhaps suggesting processions. This pattern was repeated in the Artemision of Ephesos ([Figure 7.8](#)) when it was rebuilt in the third quarter of the 4th c., with the addition of sculptured rectangular pedestals under the columns. The iconography of the 4th c. columns and pedestals ranges from Underworld scenes to aspects of marine *thiasos* to victories to Herakles's exploits. In some columns, the Archaic scheme of standing figures is retained. In the 2nd c. BC, sculptured column drums can also be found in the Temple of Apollo.

Figure 7.8 Artemision of Ephesos, sculptured column drum. Hermes and Alcestis. c. 320 BC (London, British Museum 1206. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



7.8 Sculptured Ceiling Coffers

Marble ceiling coffer lids with figural scenes in relief were a feature of Late Classical and Hellenistic architecture in East Greece and the northern Aegean. They were probably invented for temple peristyles in the 4th c. BC (Temple of Athena at Priene, coffer lids with sculptured Gigantomachy and Amazonomachy probably executed in the 2nd c.) but became popular with monumental tombs like the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (Theseus's exploits) and the funerary monument at Belevi (Centauromachy and funeral games; Smith 1991: fig. 203). The Ionic Hall of Choral Dancers in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace carried coffers decorated with heads (third quarter of the 4th c.), while the Doric so-called Hieron nearby had an elaborate system of large and small relief coffers in the north porch

and pronaos (c. 280 BC).

7.9 Caryatids and Telamons

Human figures supporting the entablature in lieu of columns or pilasters were intended to liven up the architecture. The largest Doric temple ever constructed, that of Zeus Olympios at Akragas (begun c. 480 BC), carried relief men ('Telamons', from the mythical king of Salamis) supporting the epistyle, alternating with engaged columns all around the exterior walls. In some Ionic temple-like buildings 'in antis', the columns were replaced by marble girls (caryatids). This feature was adopted by several 6th c. treasuries at Delphi, the best preserved being that of Siphnos (Figure 7.1). The employment of girls instead of columns acquired a special significance in the north porch of the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis (c. 430 BC; cf. Figure 6.5). Six girls carrying phialai support a roof over a porch, which may have symbolized the cenotaph of Kekrops, mythical King of Athens (Boardman 1985: fig. 125). They are embodiments of the Classical peplos figure and were much admired and copied by the Romans. The idea of Caryatids decorating a tomb was taken up in the 4th c. by the Lycian dynast Perikles, who commissioned local adaptations of the Erechtheion caryatids for his tomb at Limyra.

7.10 Parapets

The best-preserved sculptured parapet (balustrade) comes from the sanctuary of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis (c. 425–420 BC). It is in Pentelic marble and was set around three sides of the Nike bastion. It is decorated with exquisitely carved figures of victories offering sacrifices to Athena and setting up trophies on battlefields (Boardman 1985: figs. 129, 130).

7.11 Medallion Busts

Marble busts depicting divinities or portraits and framed by medallions were created in imitation of metal shields hanging from walls. They first appear in the late 2nd c. BC on the island of Delos; the pediment of the Temple of Isis was decorated with a single

medallion bearing a divine bust. An Ionic structure on Delos dedicated in honor of Mithridates VI, King of Pontos, carried his portrait in a medallion bust in the pediment, while medallion busts with portraits of his friends and generals formed a frieze along the top of the interior walls. This form of architectural ornament had a significant future in Roman architecture.

7.12 Testimonia

Architectural sculptures are documented by a handful of expenditure and treasury accounts and literary sources. All architectural sculptures in bronze are now lost, but we hear about them from Pausanias and from accounts inscribed on marble stelai. For example, the interior walls of the Archaic Temple of Athena of the Bronze House (Chalkioikos) on the acropolis of Sparta were decorated with bronze reliefs carrying mythological narratives (Paus. 3.17.2–4). Lakonia may have had a tradition of bronze architectural reliefs in the Archaic period: the reliefs with mythological scenes decorating the altar (so-called throne) of Apollo at Amyklai (Paus. 3. 18.9–16) have disappeared without trace, suggesting that they were of perishable material, probably bronze. The 5th c. gilded bronze acroteria on the Temples of Zeus at Olympia and of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis are documented by Pausanias (5.10.4) and by treasury records (*IG II²* 1412, 1415, 1421, 1423, 1425, 1436) respectively. The central acroteria of the Temple of Zeus represented Nikai and formed the subject of a competition. The sculptor who received the commission, Paionios, proudly advertized his victory when he signed his name to a marble Nike, dedicated to Zeus by the Messenians and Naupaktians after the battle of Sphakteria in 425 BC (see above).

Architectural sculptures were rarely noticed by Pausanias, who was more interested in statuary; when he does mention them, he gives invaluable information on the subject matter of pediments, for example those of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (5.10.6–8), the Parthenon (1.24.5), the 5th c. Temple of Hera at Argos (2.17.3), and the 4th c. Temples of Apollo at Delphi (10.19.4) and of Athena Alea at Tegea (8.45.6–7). He only mentions the pediment of the Temple of Herakles at Thebes with the Labors of Herakles because it was attributed to Praxiteles (9.11.6). He was sufficiently interested in the authorship of the pediments of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi to note that they were begun by the Athenian Praxias, to be finished after his death by his compatriot Androsthenes (10.19.4). His attribution of the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia to Alkamenes and

Paionios remains controversial (5.10.8). Even though he usually bypasses friezes and metopes, he notes that the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia depicted Herakles's labors (5.10.9).

We learn from Herodotos (5.62) that one of the earliest-known pediments in Parian marble, the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi from around 510 BC, was sponsored by the Alcmaeonids, who were exiled from Athens and courted Spartan support. Nearly a century later, the west pediment and the metopes of this temple, all in limestone, were described by Euripides in his *Ion* (190–219). Herodotos (3.57–58) also provides information for dating the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi c. 525 BC.

The sculptured column drums of the Artemision of Ephesos, mentioned above, were remarkable enough to have caught the attention of ancient authors. Herodotos (1.92) informs us that those of the Archaic temple were funded by Croesus, King of Lydia, while Pliny the Elder (*NH* 36.95) remarks that the 4th c. Artemision had 36 sculptured column drums, one of them carved by Skopas. In addition, Strabo, the Greek geographer, claims (14.1.23) that Praxiteles was responsible for the sculptures decorating the altar.

Expenditure accounts from the 5th and 4th c. BC can provide insights into technical details, costs, and the division of labor. The Parthenon accounts (*IG* I³ 445–449) record the annual quarrying of blocks on Mt Pentelikon for the pedimental figures but remain silent on the question of workshops. The Erechtheion accounts (*IG* I³ 474–479) from the final years of the Peloponnesian War meticulously name the stonemasons who carved individual figures of the frieze, without preserving the name of the master sculptor who designed the whole. The carvers were paid on average 60 drachmas per figure, a considerable sum if we bear in mind that daily wages amounted to 1 drachma. By far the most informative expenditure accounts (*IG* IV² 102 AI–BI) come from the early 4th c. Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, imparting information on workshop practices and wages. A master sculptor, Timotheos, is paid 2240 drachmas for three marble acroteria. They happen to survive and are of exquisite workmanship. Hektoridas, on the other hand, was paid a total of 3220 drachmas for an entire pediment, which comprised about twenty underlife-size statues, no doubt executed by workshop hands. A third sculptor, whose name is mostly lost, was employed to provide the other pediment for 3010 drachmas and the three acroteria above Hektoridas's pediment for 2240 drachmas. All of these sculptures survive in fragmentary condition. It is remarkable that they were carved in a uniform style and no individual hands can be distinguished, even though three different workshops were involved. A similar case applies to the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. Pliny the

Elder's (*HN* 36.30–31) and Vitruvius's (7 Pr. 12) attribution of its sculptures to Skopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, Timotheos, Praxiteles, Satyros, and Pytheos has generated a lot of controversy, but the uniformity of their sculptural style does not favor attributions and the majority of the extant sculptures remain anonymous. The price of pedimental sculptures seems to have gone up toward the end of the 4th c. BC, when individual statues of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, albeit larger than those of Epidauros, cost 5000 drachmas.

Mythological figures in narrative scenes were labeled, their names often painted, and occasionally cut in the stone. There are painted names next to the figures on the metopes of the Sikyonian Treasury and on the east and north friezes of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, and cut names on the acroteria bases of the Archaic Temple of Athena at Karthaia on Keos and on the metopes of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. The artists of architectural sculptures rarely signed their work. We have the signature of the sculptor (now mostly lost) of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi inscribed on a shield (Stewart 1990: fig. 195), of the sculptors of the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon inscribed in the entablature above the figures, and of Damophon of Messene and his sons inscribed on the base of an acroterion dedicated by the artists on the Hellenistic Temple of Zeus at Messene.

FURTHER READING

Boardman (1978, 1985, and 1995) are well-illustrated, comprehensive accounts. Hurwitt (1999) and Camp (2001) cover the Acropolis and Attica, respectively. Jenkins (2006) is a good survey, while Palagia (1993) and Neils (2001, 2005a) study the architectural sculpture from the Parthenon. Essays on Greek architectural sculpture are offered in Palagia (2006) and Schultz (2001). Brinkmann (2003) offers great insights into the polychromy of Greek architectural sculpture. Rolley (1994 and 1999) remains an authoritative account of Greek sculpture in general, and the systematic research by Ridgway has produced important volumes (1970, 1981, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2000b, 2001, 2002). Webb (1996) is a good account of Hellenistic architectural sculpture.

CHAPTER 8

Wall- and Panel-painting

Dimitris Plantzos

8.1 Introduction

The art of painting was widely enjoyed and highly respected by the Greeks: painted images could be seen on vases, of course, as well as in other media, but nowhere else was painting perceived as ‘art’ proper as much as on wall-paintings or in panel pictures (which were pretty much like our own, in form and partially in subject). This notion is corroborated, and perhaps also reinforced, by Roman approaches to the painting of the Greeks, notably by authorities such as Pliny the Elder (AD 23/4–79), who left us, in Book 35 of his monumental *Natural History*, a good account of Greek painting as a historical phenomenon, dwelling on its masters and their oeuvre, as well as hinting at the reception of their work by their contemporaries and later, down to his own time.

Many other Greek and Latin authors wrote on painting, either on its aesthetics or on its historical development, thus partially compensating for the extremely low survival rate of the actual works: unlike sculpture and vase-painting, painted panels stood no chance of survival against time and the humid climates of Greece or Italy, and wall-paintings disintegrated as the buildings whose walls they once embellished fell into disrepair. It is only relatively recently, with the discovery and eventual publication of the wall-paintings from Macedonian tombs in northern Greece, that a severe gap in our knowledge of Greek monumental painting in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period has to some extent been filled.

8.2 Techniques and Pigments

Wall-paintings were mostly executed in fresco: a thick layer of plaster was applied on to the stone, which was subsequently coated with a fine layer of lime wash, and painted while still wet. Pigments were also normally applied on dry ground, recalling our own tempera. Wooden panels must also have been given the necessary ground; stone, on the other hand, was often merely polished, and not grounded. Ancient authorities (such as Pliny) offer extensive accounts of a much rarer technique known as *encaustic*, apparently involving mixing pigments with wax, either hot or cold, then applying the molten substance on to the surface (mostly marble or other stone) by means of a metal spatula, also heated. It seems however that the emphatic references to encaustic painting reflect the undue attention generated by a special, but rare, technique, which was thus given more notice than it actually deserved based on the extent of its use by ancient painters.

Preliminary sketches, either scratched on the surface of the wall or designed in coarse brushwork, are often detected underneath the finished works, in examples such as the Archaic clay metopes from Thermon in Greek Aitolia or the mural from the Persephone Tomb found at Vergina in Northern Greece ([Plate 8](#)).

Egg-yolk and different oils were the standard mixers for Greek (and Roman) pigments (Bruno 1977: 105–113). The latter were mostly produced by ground rocks and minerals such as azurite (for blue), malachite (for green), cinnabar (for red), calcium carbonate (for white), and various types of ochre (for yellow, red, and orange-red). Black was produced from iron oxides in the form of magnetite, and gray came from plain charcoal. Synthetic pigments were also used, the commonest being Egyptian blue (a compound made of lime, sand, and copper ore). ‘Pure’ pigments were mixed to produce other colors, such as violet (made of red, black, and white), various other greens (made of ochre, black, and white), and – in later periods – a whole range of intermediate tones.

8.3 Tetrachromy, Polychromy, Skiagraphia

Ancient authorities claim that Greek painting was first developed in either Corinth or Sikyon, both in the northeastern Peloponnese.

Corinthian styles have been detected in the painted metopes and other architectural fragments from Thermon, so much so that several modern scholars believe them to be the product of a Corinthian workshop. It is certainly no accident that the earliest surviving examples of wooden tableaux (pinakes) come from Pitsa, a village west of Sikyon. One whole panel and fragments of a further three were discovered in a cave shrine sacred to the nymphs. The paintings, dateable to c. 540–530 BC, although of a rather mediocre quality, display some typical traits of early Greek painting, also discernible on vases, such as the distinction of genders by color (white for women, ochre-brown for men), neutral shading, and flat composition ([Figure 8.1](#)). The Pitsa panels present strong affinities with wall-paintings surviving from ancient Lycia, today in southwest Turkey, in the vicinity of present-day Elmali. Two tumuli in the area (one at Kızılbel and one at Karaburun) feature painted friezes depicting mythological subjects or scenes related to life at the Persian court, such as hunting and banqueting. The two monuments, dating from the later 6th and early 5th c. BC respectively, show a markedly East Greek style, as well as a vivid resemblance to contemporary Etruscan painting, explained by the movement of itinerant Greek painters (Mellink 1976; Bingöl 1997: 33–48; Mellink 1998).

Figure 8.1 Wooden panel depicting a sacrifice scene. Pitsa Cave, Peloponnese. 540–530 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464. © Universal Images Group/SuperStock).



Early painting restricted itself to a four-color palette consisting of black, white, red, and ochre, a practice referred to as ‘tetrachromy’ (*tetrachromia*). The Pitsa panels seem to be following that rule. Tetrachromy survived in Greek painting for many centuries, using the four basic colors to create a limited repertoire of intermediate tones (Levidis 2002). The four fundamental colors were associated with the

four basic elements in the universe (earth, air, water, fire) and many pre-Socratic philosophers such as Empedokles and Demokritos, as well as the Pythagoreans, used this classification in their work.

Polygnotos of Thasos was reputed as one of the greatest masters of his time, the mid 5th c. BC, excelling in the use of tetrachromy, but mostly famous for his grand tableaux exhibited in Athens and Delphi. Although his work does not survive, we possess descriptions of his most famous pieces by the traveler Pausanias, who toured Greece in the 2nd c. AD (Paus. 10.25–31). Based on his descriptions of Polygnotos's Sack of Troy and Odysseus's Descent to the Underworld, commissioned by the people of Knidos for their 'clubhouse' (*Lesche*) at Delphi, we are able to recognize his distinctive influence on contemporary vase-painting (cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989). Both Pausanias's language and the indirect evidence we may gather from the vases suggest that Polygnotos was a great innovator in spatial composition, breaking away from the conventional depiction of figures along a single foreground, with no indication of depth of field or any elements of landscape. An Attic red-figure krater in the Louvre, showing the extermination of the children of Niobe by Artemis and Apollo (and with a scene presumed to feature the Argonauts at rest on the back), is usually thought to come close to lost Polygnotan originals, especially as it dates from the time of Polygnotos's peak (Boardman 1989a: fig. 4; and see Cover).

In terms of his palette, Polygnotos seems to have been faithful to tetrachromy, even though, according to Pliny, Lucian, and others, he perfected the art of mixing his pigments in order to achieve the best descriptions of his characters' *ethos* (cf. *HN* 35.58; Lucian *Im.* 7). Pliny mentions the half-open mouths of his heroes and Lucian refers to their reddened cheeks, thus suggesting that his work might actually resemble extant wall-paintings such as the banquet scene from the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum, dating from c. 470 BC (Figure 8.2). In the latter, the skin tone seems unvaried except on the cheeks, where flesh-tint is added, and the figures' half-open mouths seem to enhance their liveliness (Pontrandolfo et al. 2004; Holloway 2006).

Figure 8.2 Wall-painting depicting a banquet. Tomb of the Diver, Paestum. c. 470 BC (Paestum, National Archaeological Museum. © The Art Archive/SuperStock).



It was with the painter Apollodoros, however, Pliny claimed, that ‘true painting’ really started, as no painter before him had been able to create paintings that ‘attract the gaze’ (*HN* 35.60). Apollodoros the Athenian flourished in the last quarter of the 5th c. BC. He was later associated with *skiagraphia* (‘shading’); that is, the modulation of light and shade in order to achieve lifelike results. To do this, he broke conventional outlines and the hitherto powerful rule of tetrachromy; he was credited with the invention of the ‘mixing of the tones’ and ‘fading of shadow’ by Plutarch in his *de Gloria Atheniensium* (*Mor.* 346A). As Pliny contends, Apollodoros was the first painter ‘to attempt the representation of things as they appear’ (*HN* 35.60). *Skiagraphia* introduced a true revolution in Greek painting, as it allowed its practitioners to break the confines of their two-dimensional canvas and create the illusion of depth on the one hand and light-and-shadow play on the other, two requirements that were to become standard in painting of the Greek and Roman periods, and quite often became ends in themselves. Human figures, architectural forms, elements of scenery, and the landscape were, reportedly, now modeled through light and shadow: an achievement that was to change the face of Greek painting from then on.

Whether *skiagraphia* could rightfully be attributed to the genius of a single innovative mind, as the later literary tradition would have it, is beside the point. Rather than actually inventing it, Apollodoros more likely systematized and further explored a number of individual – and anonymous – devices related to the suggestion of perspective and chiaroscuro shading, to such an extent as to take full credit for them.

8.4 From *Mimesis* to Visual Trickery

It was commonly held by Greek philosophers, including Plato and Aristotle, that art is *mimesis*, 'imitation' of reality. If we are to believe the stories related by literary sources, Greek painters employed in their work a number of visual techniques, such as shading, in order to create the illusion of three-dimensional space.

According to Pliny (*HN* 35.61), it was the painter Zeuxis who made the best of Apollodoros's achievements in art. Zeuxis was born in the mid 5th c. BC in Heraklea, in South Italy, but lived and worked largely in Athens (c. 420–410 BC), Macedonia (c. 405 BC), and Ephesos in Asia Minor, where he died (c. 397 BC). An acquaintance of Socrates (cf. Pl. *Grg.* 453c–d; Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.3), Zeuxis perfected the art of shading, since, according to Quintilian, a 1st c. AD Roman rhetorician and art critic, 'he discovered the logical thread that connects light and shade' (*Inst.* 12.10.4).

A number of ancient anecdotes confirm that Zeuxis and many of his contemporaries were after the perfect imitation of reality, which very often bordered with visual trickery. The *trompe l'oeil* effect (from a phrase in French meaning 'trick the eye') was equated with a grand master's virtuosity. Zeuxis had to compete for this title against his near-contemporary Parrhasios from Ephesos (who also lived and worked in Athens c. 420–380 BC). It is alleged that during one of their competitions, Zeuxis painted grapes in a basket that fooled real birds, who flew around them pryingly; then Parrhasios painted a mere curtain, which fooled Zeuxis himself, who thought that the real painting was hidden behind it (Plin. *HN* 35.65–66). Even though these anecdotes repeat themselves to the extent of becoming unreliable, it seems certain that the quest for the ultimate *mimesis*, its essence and mechanisms, fueled the theoretical and practical pursuits of Zeuxis and Parrhasios at the juncture between the 5th and the 4th c. BC. *Skia-graphia* was essentially what these masters were practicing, despite their different techniques (it seems that while Parrhasios was still focusing on perfecting his outlines, Zeuxis was improving contours). A generalized interest in optics, from Aristotle to Euclid and the other post-Aristotelian peripatetics of the Late Classical period, meant that the physiology of vision was made more accessible to laymen, including artists. The trick behind good *trompe l'oeil* was the careful deployment of cast shadows in the painting in order to define shapes and textures more convincingly. Some such examples from the Classical period will be discussed below. It is, however, through their impact upon later periods (and often other crafts, such as mosaics) that the achievements of the artists of the 4th c. BC can be appreciated. Pliny again (*HN* 36.184) mentions a famous Greek mosaicist from Pergamon (3rd–2nd c. BC), named Sosos, who laid a mosaic floor called The Unswept Room showing all the leftovers from

a feast that had just been completed. The illusionistic effect of three-dimensional items (from empty sea-shells to fruit piths) was achieved through the use of attached shadows, grounding the objects to a plainly colored, monochromatic floor. Several later works, presumed copies of the famous original, have survived (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3 Mosaic pavement of an unswept floor, presumably copying a Hellenistic original by Sosos. From the Aventine Hill, Rome. 2nd c. AD. (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence).



Art criticism was also becoming a fully-fledged ideological and philosophical endeavor. An exchange between Parrhasios and Socrates, reconstructed (or perhaps completely improvised) by Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (3.10.1), has the two men conversing on the merits of *mimesis* and agreeing, at the lead of Socrates, that good painting ought to be able to represent ‘the soul’s *ethos*’ by imitating sentiments as they are mirrored on the subject’s face. It seems, however, that whereas philosophers in the 4th c. retained earlier approaches to painting – mainly expressed by Polygnotos in the previous century – a new generation of painters managed to drive the quest for *mimesis* in painting to its extreme, disappointing their critics. Aristotle, for one, was unimpressed by such visual trickery and criticized Zeuxis for lacking the Polygnotan *ethos* in his work (Arist. *Poet.* 1450a, 15–16). On the other hand, this new approach to *mimesis* seems to have paved the way forward, as it defined one of the major aims of painting in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, not to mention

the painters of the Renaissance and their clientele: absolute illusionism. By the time of Cicero, in the 1st c. BC, it was acknowledged that ‘painters see more things than the rest of us regarding shadows and bright spots’ (*Acad.* 2.20.86).

8.5 The Evidence from Macedonian Tombs

Murals surviving in Macedonian tombs, dating from the second half of the 4th to the 2nd c. BC, contribute greatly to our understanding of Late Classical painting. Macedonian tombs are monumental chamber-tombs native to Macedonia, consisting of a built chamber roofed with a barrel vault, often preceded by an antechamber. They are often embellished with monumental facades, imitating the exteriors of temples, houses, or gateways (see Chapter 6). Both the facades and the tombs’ interiors were given painted decoration, often in a simple ‘masonry style’ (imitating the lines and shapes of architectural structures), or else in a much more elaborate, fully illusionistic ‘architectural style’ mimicking real, three-dimensional domestic interiors. The technique of these murals is based on shading and contoured outlines, confirming what the literary sources have to tell us regarding *skiagraphia* and its development. Often, the result is that of fully-fledged architectural *trompe l’oeil*, especially in the later examples. The so-called Lyson and Kallikles Tomb in particular (near present-day Lefkadia in northern Greece), built c. 200 BC but used for successive burials until c. 125 BC, presents a striking decorative scheme, based on painterly illusion, that anticipates Roman Second-Style Painting of the 1st c. BC (see below). The development of this style, at least in its early forms, in western Macedonia in the beginning of the 3rd c. BC suggests a pattern of interrelationships between Greek and Roman painting styles and techniques in the Hellenistic period (Miller 1993).

Macedonian tombs have a lot more to offer, however, since many of them survive with their original wall-paintings intact to a greater or lesser extent. These are in the form of friezes, such as at the so-called Tomb of Philip at Vergina (attributed by its excavator to Philip II of Macedonia but quite likely housing the remains of one of his successors from c. 320–310 BC) and the Tomb at Agios Athanasios near Thessaloniki (c. 300 BC). The former bears a 5.6 m long frieze above its quasi-monumental entrance representing a royal hunt featuring Alexander of Macedon and his companions. The imposing

landscape, the schematic composition (presumably excerpted from a larger painting, hastily abridged to be used for the decoration of the tomb), and the attempts of its maker at shading within his four-color palette, do not suggest a first-rate work of its time, but do give us a valuable, if taunting, idea of what we are missing – what was presumably decorating Macedonian palaces and sanctuaries of that period (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2002). The Tomb at Agios Athanasios is more embellished, featuring two 1.5 m tall figures of guards – excellent painted studies of standing male figures dressed with typically Macedonian gear ([Figure 8.4](#)) – and a 3.75 m long frieze showing a funerary banquet with the occupant of the tomb (apparently a distinguished military figure of his time) amidst his circle of friends and comrades (Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2005). Studies of these paintings and of examples from other Macedonian tombs preserving their original painted decoration have enabled us to further our understanding of the choice of pigments available to their makers and the techniques they employed in their execution (cf. Rhomiopoulou and Brecolaki 2002).

Figure 8.4 Wall-painting depicting a guard in Macedonian military gear from the façade of the Tomb at Agios Athanasios, Thessaloniki. c. 300 BC (Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2005: table 39, Hellenic Ministry of Culture – Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Image not available in this digital edition.

It is the so-called Persephone Tomb from Vergina, however, not a Macedonian tomb as such but a plainer cist-grave of monumental proportions, that provides us with a work closer to a mid 4th c. BC masterpiece. Dating from c. 350–340 BC, the tomb was decorated with frescoes on three of its four side walls. The grandest composition ([Plate 8](#)) features Hades carrying off Persephone on his chariot in the presence of Hermes and a bewildered maiden (lesser compositions cover the other two walls). Presumably copying a monumental work to be seen elsewhere in 4th c. Greece – perhaps even in one of the palaces in Macedonia itself – the work provides a good example of a bold composition, despite its many structural and stylistic shortcomings. Executed in haste over a detailed preliminary sketch

still detectable underneath the finished mural, the work is marked by painterly dynamism, especially in the figures' draperies, rendered completely in brushwork, although its maker resorted to contoured or shaded outlines in order to denote naked flesh (Andronikos 1994). Similar techniques and styles may be observed in other cist-graves from Macedonia, such as the Late Classical tomb from Pella featuring the deceased male in what seems to be a gathering of philosophers (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2007: 128–132).

8.6 Painting at the Time of Alexander and Later

The later 4th c. BC seems to be the great moment of Greek painting, judging by the number of artists and schools flourishing during this period, their reported breakthroughs, and their fame among the generations that followed. Royal patronage, under Philip and Alexander of Macedon first and Alexander's successors later, seems to have played a significant role in the development of painting (ensuring enough commissions and artists' mobility to accelerate the advancement of the craft): Apelles from Kolophon, the period's most distinguished painter, was 'discovered' by Philip II some time before 336 BC, patronized by Alexander until 323 BC, and produced some of his most famous works under Antigonos Monophthalmos of Macedon and Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt in the last years of the 4th c. BC. According to Pliny (*HN* 7.125) and other authorities, Alexander allowed no painter but Apelles to paint his portrait (a privilege Apelles shared with the gem-cutter Pyrgoteles and the sculptor Lysippos). Alexander Holding the Thunderbolt, produced by Apelles for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, was reputed in antiquity for its extraordinary depiction of the thunderbolt, seemingly projecting out of the picture and towards the viewer (*HN* 35.92). Distant imitations of this work may survive in frescoes from Pompeii and elsewhere (cf. Pollitt 1986: fig. 9). Its descriptions by ancient critics suggest that Apelles, who also published theoretical essays on the principles of painting, capitalized on the use of foreshortening in his work, as well as on the use of tonal highlights (in Pliny's terminology: 'splendor') to achieve shading. It is through such devices that a new visual language was invented in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period, a system of visual routines and stylistic formulas employed to depict the visible world. As 'the Heritage of Apelles', to quote here a seminal paper by E.H. Gombrich (1976: 3–18), this empirical codification of

artistry was passed on from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (including Byzantium). His achievements secured Apelles a successful career and a splendid reputation, down to the days of Cicero, who classified him among the ‘perfect’ painters of his time, and Pliny himself, who claimed that Apelles ‘singly contributed almost more to painting than all the other artists put together’ (*HN* 35.79).

The lack of good-quality original painted works is to some extent remedied by surviving mosaics. Mosaics from the royal cities of Pella and Alexandria (cf. [Figure 9.3](#)) suggest the ways in which tetrachromy was used to illustrate myth or genre in order to supply sumptuous decoration of walls. One such example, the famous Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii, a late 2nd c. BC tessellated panel presumably copying a late 4th c. painted original, illustrates both the limitations of Early Hellenistic painting as well as its potentialities ([Figure 8.5](#)). Executed in strict tetrachromy, the Alexander Mosaic offers a splendid illustration of the way tonal renderings could be used to enhance the results of an otherwise limited palette. Highlights are used throughout to emphasize the outlook of the glaring metal and the glistening flesh, as is a developed system of foreshortening to suggest perspective in an otherwise ‘empty’ and flattish landscape. Although the original painting has been variously attributed to the painter Philoxenos from Eretria, Apelles himself, and other painters of the period named by the literary sources, little can be said, let alone proven, regarding the identity of its maker (Andreae 1977; Moreno 2001).

Figure 8.5 Mosaic panel depicting a battle of Alexander against Darius. From the House of the Faun, Pompeii. Late 2nd c. BC (Naples, National Archaeological Museum. © David Lees/Corbis).



Painted tombstones provide useful insights into the ways painting

developed in the Hellenistic period. Though their survival rate is also quite low, there are enough examples on which to base useful observations. The most extensive series comes from Hellenistic Demetrias in Thessaly, in the vicinity of present-day Volos in central Greece. The tombstones date from the city's foundation in the early 3rd c. BC to the early 1st c. BC, when many were built in the city's new fortification wall (von Graeve 1979). Though mostly unexceptional, the painted tombstones from Demetrias suggest the extent to which breakthroughs in wall- and panel-painting of the Late Classical period were received by the artists catering for a less distinguished clientele. Shading is widely used on the slabs to suggest volume, whereas the traditional outlines seem to remain a favorite when it comes to rendering drapery. On an exceptional surviving work from c. 200 BC, the tombstone of Hediste, who apparently died in childbirth, the unfortunate woman is depicted on her deathbed in the presence of her bereaved husband and two female onlookers, poised at different angles in a claustrophobic interior punctuated by high walls, deep corridors, and narrow skylights (Figure 8.6). The painterly qualities of the execution, as well as the compositional skills of the scene, suggest traceable links with the roughly contemporary Macedonian works (such as the Lyson and Kallikles Tomb) and emerging Italian painting workshops.

Figure 8.6 Painted gravestone of Hediste from Demetrias, Thessaly. c. 200 BC (Volos, Archaeological Museum L 1. © The Art Archive/Alamy).



8.7 *Skenographia* and the Invention of the Landscape

Greek painters of the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods were hardly ever interested in the rendering of landscapes, if we are to judge by what survives, or those works, such as the Alexander Mosaic, that are usually thought to copy earlier paintings. Architectural facades, on the other hand, and other built structures, seem to have become quite important in Greek painting of the advanced Hellenistic period. Our sources often mention *skenographia*; that is, the painting of stage sets on wooden panels in such a way as to give the impression of depth by employing some sort of perspective. Vitruvius, in his treatise on architecture written in the early 1st c. AD, attributes the invention

of *skenographia* to one Agatharchos, set designer for Aeschylus just before the mid 5th c. BC (7 Pr. 11). Although no remains of Agatharchos's work survive, it seems that *skenographia* employed a set of visual tricks, such as *trompe l'oeil*, in order to suggest depth and volume in a fashion pleasing to the eye. This bending of pure geometry was unacceptable to the essentialists, and Plato seems to have such visual plays in mind when, in his *Sophist*, he condemns the habit of the painters of his time of depicting 'symmetries' not as they *are*, but as they might *look* better (235e–236a). Since many authorities, such as some late lexicographers, tend to confuse *skenographia* with *skiagraphia* (some even call Apollodoros a *skenographos*), we might be right to assume that *skenographia* also employed a modulation of light and shade in order to achieve its results.

Classical *skenographia* seems to have evolved into the fully-fledged masonry styles of the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods in Roman painting, mostly evident in the frescoes surviving from Roman cities such as Pompeii or the Italian countryside, where they used to adorn the interiors of private homes. The so-called First Style, practiced between c. 200 and c. 60 BC, largely simulated marble of various colors on painted plaster in order to evoke the effect of a masonry wall (Ling 1991: 12–22). In the Second Style, which succeeded the First with a slight overlap (from c. 80 BC to c. 20 BC), the masonry facades break through their imaginary planes in *trompe l'oeil* foregrounds, teasing the eye with repeated recessions and varying depths of field, thus creating a grandiose, thoroughly imaginary cityscape (Ling 1991: 23–50). Elements of both styles are to be found in Hellenistic painting (such as the *trompe l'oeil* garlanded portico and niches from the Lyson and Kallikles Tomb) and we may be right to assume that Hellenistic Pella, Pergamon, and Alexandria, as well as Greco-Roman Delos, had a lot to contribute to such an interaction. One likely contributor is the Alexandrian painter known as Demetrios the *Topographos* ('painter of sites/landscapes'), who resided in Rome in 164 BC, when the exiled king of Egypt, Ptolemy VI Philometor, took refuge in his house, as we are told by the 1st c. BC historian Diodoros (31.18.2).

The emphasis on painted architectural landscapes seems to be exemplified by artists such as Serapion, who excelled in the rendering of *scaenas* (stage-like vistas) but 'could not paint a human being' (*HN* 35.113). Judging by the surviving monuments, like the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (c. 50–40 BC), artists of the advanced Second Style (and their clientele) enjoyed the creation of a fanciful pseudo-architectural interior based on visual ambiguity and cultural tongue-in-cheek (Anderson 1987; Ling 1991: 23–51). At the

same time, these elaborate interiors are furnished with copies of presumably once celebrated, but now sadly lost, Hellenistic paintings, thus creating a picture gallery of sorts. Sometimes collected under a unifying theme, but most often not, these panels preserve valuable echoes of what used to be the best (or best known) in Hellenistic painting. The so-called 'Room H' in the Villa at Boscoreale, for example, contained eight painted scenes framed by a *trompe l'oeil* peristyle. Some of these panels obviously refer to scenes from a royal court in Macedon or elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, the originals of which might date from as early as the Early Hellenistic period (Plate 9). Wall-paintings surviving from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome itself seem to be copying – to a greater or lesser extent – famous Greek works known only from Pliny and other authorities of the time. Others come to us without further recommendations, such as the Odyssey Landscapes, a mid 1st c. BC cycle of eleven panels depicting episodes from the adventures of Odysseus on his way home, found in a house on the Esquiline hill in Rome (Pollitt 1986: 185–190; Ling 1991: 108–112). Like so many other wall-painting cycles from Romano-Campanian houses, the Odyssey Landscapes also appear to have been excerpted from a larger composition.

By the time of Augustus, mural decoration reverts to unrealistic, monochrome backgrounds, structured with delicate pseudo-architectural elements, such as impossibly slender colonnades and vegetal-like candelabra (the so-called 'Third Style', c. 20 BC–AD 20). Needless to say, the purists were enraged by such conceit – and the excessive exhibition of wealth it came to signify (cf. Vitruvius *De Arch.* 7.5.1–2). Landscapes are now restricted to phantasmagorical *topiaria opera*, planted in the center of the red, black, or white wall, such as those attributed by Pliny to Studios, 'with gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals [...] and whatever anybody would desire' (*HN* 35.116).

8.8 Art Criticism

Owing to its poor rate of survival, Greek painting tends to be studied as a literary as well as an archaeological subject. Pliny's Book 35 of the *Natural History* is a comprehensive survey of Greek painters and their work, as well as the impact of painting on Greek and Roman society. Pliny names the sculptor Xenokrates (*HN* 34.83; 35.15), active in the early 3rd c. BC, as one of his sources, and it is usually assumed that Pliny's entire discussion of both Greek sculpture and painting is based on an anthology of Xenokrates's theoretical works now lost,

where the Greek master studied painting and ‘plastic art’, that is sculpture, in parallel. Xenokrates seems to have developed a theoretical scheme whereby arts evolved towards perfection through the singular contributions of great artists who developed particular techniques or styles based on the achievements of their predecessors in a strictly linear fashion. As it happens, in Xenokrates’s account, the history of sculpture culminates with Lysippos and that of painting with Apelles. His work greatly influenced Roman tastes in the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods.

Antigonos of Karystos, active in Pergamon in the second half of the 3rd c. BC, is quoted by Pliny (*HN* 35.68) as his source on the draughtsmanship skills of Parrhasios. A prolific writer on a variety of subjects, Antigonos is usually credited with the association of art criticism with rhetoric, a tendency evident in the later authorities Cicero (104–44 BC) and Quintilian (c. AD 30–100), who devoted portions of their work to art criticism and to discussions of painting in particular.

Generally speaking, for the Greeks, painting was perhaps the most highly regarded art form. Starting from the 4th c. BC, painting gradually acquired the status of a ‘fine art’ suitable for the education of the freeborn, whereas sculpture and other crafts based on physical labor were to a great extent frowned upon. On the other hand, the stories we hear about successful artists such as Zeuxis and Apelles, who became famous (if not notorious) for their wealth as much as their skills, should not mislead us into believing that all painters in the Greek and Roman world were superstars of their time. Much of what survives, accomplished or pedestrian as it may be, was undoubtedly produced by humble, low-paid, and not always appreciated artisans.

FURTHER READING

Robertson’s *Greek Painting* (1959) remains in many respects an essential study of Greek painting, even though it seems to pay too much attention to vase-painting (and is in need of serious updating). Lydakis (2004) is quite useful and well-illustrated (though primarily interested with the *afterlife* of Greek techniques and subject-matter); Ling (1991), finally, remains a good account of Roman painting, where Classical and Hellenistic survivals (or *revivals*) are most evident.

Andronikos (1994), Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2004), Tsimpidou-Avloniti (2005), and Miller (1993) are indispensable accounts on an important series of painted monuments. Bruno (1977) demonstrates a good approach to morphology and technique, supplemented by (1985), as well as by many of the studies in Tiverios and Tsiafakis

(2002).

Elsner (1995, 2007) and Summers (2007), though primarily focusing on post-classical painting, suggest novel ways of 'reading' Greek images.

CHAPTER 9

Mosaics

Ruth Westgate

9.1 Pebble Mosaics: Origins, Function, and Design

Decorated mosaics are a relatively late addition to the Greek artistic repertoire, in the late 5th c. BC. At first they are made not in the technique familiar from Roman and later mosaics, using artificially cut cubes (*tesserae*), but with small natural pebbles (Figure 9.1). Tessellated mosaic is a later development, of the Hellenistic period (see Figures 9.3 and 9.4). It is not clear where the technique came from, if anywhere. Various sources have been suggested – Mesopotamian wall incrustations of the 4th millennium BC, coarse, patterned pebble floors in Iron Age Anatolia and Syria, or pavements decorated with pebbles in the Bronze Age Aegean – but Classical pebble mosaics look very different from these supposed forerunners, and there is no indication of how the technique might have been transmitted across such large distances in space and time (Salzmann 1982: 4–8). It is more likely that decorated mosaics developed independently in Classical Greece, perhaps as an elaboration of plain pebble pavements, which were already in use.

Figure 9.1 Pebble mosaics, dining-room, and anteroom, ‘House of the Mosaics’ at Eretria. c. 375–350 BC (Photo courtesy of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece).



Figure 9.3 Tessellated mosaic, site of the new Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria. Crouching dog. Probably 2nd c. BC (© BA Antiquities Museum/M. Nafea).



Figure 9.4 Tessellated mosaic, House III S, Theater Quarter, Delos. Late 2nd or early 1st c. BC (Photo © Ruth Westgate).



It is perhaps easier to explain why the Greeks started to make

decorated mosaics. Most Greek pebble mosaics are in houses, and they form part of an escalation in domestic display in the Late Classical period, which is also manifested in the appearance of columns, wall-paintings, and sculptures (Westgate 1997–1998; Walter-Karydi 1998). Within the house, pebble mosaics are most commonly found in the dining-room (conventionally identified with the *andron*, or ‘men’s room’, mentioned by ancient authors), whose function is indicated by a plain, slightly raised border around the walls for couches to stand on; it sometimes has an anteroom, which might also have a mosaic (Figure 9.1; Westgate 1997–1998: 94–104). This was obviously the part of the house that visitors were most likely to see, and thus the most worthwhile to decorate; it has been suggested that the introduction of specialized dining-rooms with elaborate decoration in Late Classical houses was an attempt on the part of the elite to create a more exclusive environment for their *symposia*, as a way of maintaining their superiority at a time when sympotic practices were being adopted by a wider section of society (Lynch 2007: 246–248; see Chapter 27). Mosaics also had a practical function in the dining-room, as they provided a solid, waterproof surface from which slops and other debris could easily be washed away. Pebble mosaics were also used occasionally in public baths (where once again their practical qualities would have been advantageous) and in temples, though usually rather undistinguished ones.

The typical design of pebble mosaics is clearly shaped by their use in dining-rooms, and by the need to present a satisfying view to the diners reclining on the couches around the walls (Figure 9.1). The decoration is usually arranged in concentric bands around a central field, which sometimes contains a figured scene, but more often a symmetrical circular motif such as a star, rosette, or wheel; human or animal figures are also placed in broad friezes towards the edge of the floor, facing the couches. The entrance is usually marked by a small mosaic ‘doormat’ set in the raised border in front of the door. The choice of decorative motifs is also linked to the function of the room, as many are related to drinking and to Dionysos, the god of wine (Guimier-Sorbets 2004). Dionysos himself appears occasionally, mounted on a panther or cheetah at Eretria and Pella, and riding in a chariot drawn by panthers at Olynthos, surrounded by a frieze of dancing maenads and satyrs (Salzmann 1982: nos. 39, 87, 96), but his sphere of influence is also alluded to indirectly through motifs such as ivy or vine scrolls, and, uniquely, by a table set for a *symposion* in a mosaic at Sikyon (Salzmann 1982: no. 119). Dionysos was also a god of fertility and nature, and his presence has been seen in spiraling plant scrolls with a profusion of leaves and flowers, and in the many designs featuring wild and fabulous animals, such as panthers, griffins,

and lions. Marine creatures, especially dolphins, are another popular motif, and they too can be linked to the Dionysiac sphere, through the poetic and artistic association of wine with the sea (Lissarrague 1990b: 107–122).

From a different point of view, it may also be possible to read the designs as expressions of power and status, and as reflections of ideal masculine qualities, which would have been flattering to the predominantly male users of the dining-room (Westgate 2011). The lions, griffins, and sphinxes are borrowed from the royal iconography of the Near East, which Greek elites repeatedly appropriated – despite their professed disapproval of Persian luxury and despotism – as a means of expressing their own status (Miller 1997; Guimier-Sorbets 1999). Wild animals, especially lions, were also used as metaphors for male strength, courage, and aggression (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.161–63; 11.113–19; 172–76; 16.487–89), which may be reflected in the many images of predators stalking or killing their prey (Figure 9.1). Surprisingly few mosaics depict episodes from myth, but those that do typically focus on the exploits of heroes: Bellerophon spearing the Chimaira at Olynthos and Rhodes, Achilles receiving his new armor at Olynthos and Eretria, Theseus abducting Helen at Pella, and Herakles or a Lapith fighting a centaur in Athens, Olynthos, and Eretria. The few scenes of real life almost all depict hunting, a defining activity of high-status men (Barringer 2001: 10–69); two have been found at Pella (Plate 10), perhaps reflecting the special place of the hunt in Macedonian ideals of manhood.

Most decoration on pebble mosaics, however, is nonfigural, consisting of black-and-white geometric patterns such as waves, meanders, triangles, and checkerboards. The popularity of interlocking bichrome patterns and of motifs with a Near Eastern flavor has led to the widely accepted theory that early mosaics were imitations of oriental textiles – carpets translated into stone (von Lorentz 1937). This is difficult to prove, as very few textiles have survived, although some specimens from tombs in Macedonia and the Black Sea region do resemble mosaics, with bands of bichrome geometric, vegetal, and figured decoration (e.g. Richter 1966: fig. 591; Vickers 1999: figs. 4, 7), and there is also a clear resemblance to elaborately decorated clothing depicted on Late Classical red-figure pottery, which is often associated with Eastern characters such as Dionysos or Medea. However, the ‘oriental’ connotations of ornate textiles are less clear-cut than it seems at first glance: one of the surviving textiles that most closely resembles mosaics, from Kerch, shows figures from Greek myth, labeled with their names in Greek (Vickers 1999: fig. 4), and there is evidence for the manufacture of figured textiles in Greece, such as the peplos made for Athena in Athens every four years.

Moreover, the same repertoire of ‘oriental’ motifs appears in other Greek decorative arts, such as furniture, metalwork, and jewelry, which are less easily interpreted as imitations of carpets. It seems more likely that in all these media, ‘oriental’-looking motifs were intended to evoke the luxury of the East, and thus to create an appropriate ambience of pleasure and hospitality.

Other sources of inspiration for mosaic designs include architectural decoration, represented by the ubiquitous swastika-meander and representations of bead-and-reel, Lesbian kymation, and egg-and-dart moldings, which may have suggested the grandeur and prestige of monumental buildings, complementing the columns and faux-masonry wall-paintings that appear in houses at around the same time. It used to be thought that the light-on-dark designs and floral-scroll motifs on pebble mosaics were influenced by red-figure vase-painting (e.g. Robertson 1965: 74–76; Bruneau 1976: 20–21), but this seems less compelling now, in view of recent arguments that painted pottery was not a particularly prestigious medium in antiquity; the discovery in recent years of many painted tombs in Macedonia has given us a tantalizing glimpse of a more likely source of inspiration for both mosaics and pots, namely monumental painting. The influence of painting is particularly apparent in some late pebble mosaics, such as those at Pella, where the central picture is a more dominant element in the composition and there is greater use of perspective and shading (Plate 10). Whether the mosaics are copies of specific paintings is more debatable: the Pella stag hunt, for instance, has been interpreted as a copy of an unattested painting of Alexander the Great by Melanthios or Apelles, with a floral border by Pausias (Moreno 2001: 102–105), but on very slim evidence: Pausias’s reputation as a painter of flowers (Plin. *HN* 35.125), and the restricted color scheme, which corresponds to the four-color style of painting that ancient writers associate with Melanthios and Apelles (Plin. *HN* 35.50; see Chapter 8), but also reflects the limited range of colors available in pebbles. In fact, both the theme and the composition of the mosaic are generic (Westgate 1999: 21–23).

9.2 Style and Chronology of Pebble Mosaics

Almost all the known Greek pebble mosaics are from mainland Greece and the Aegean; only a handful have been found in Sicily and Magna Graecia, and a few scattered along the shores of the Black Sea

(Salzmann 1982: [map 1](#)). There are significant concentrations in Athens, Eretria, and Ambrakia, and along both sides of the Gulf of Corinth, especially at Corinth and Sikyon. Substantial numbers have also been found in Macedonia: the largest group known to date is at Olynthos, while the most spectacular examples are in the palaces and grand houses of the Macedonian capitals at Pella and Vergina.

Tracing the stylistic evolution of pebble mosaics in detail is difficult, as few are closely dated by external evidence. The earliest dated groups are at Olynthos, in houses that were built after 432 BC and abandoned after the sack of the city by Philip II in 348 BC (Salzmann 1982: nos. 76–93), and at Corinth, in various contexts around the forum, which were destroyed in the third quarter of the 4th c. (Williams and Fisher 1976: 115–116; Williams 1980: 114–116; Salzmann 1982: nos. 63, 65). In these mosaics, figures are represented as flat, white silhouettes, with internal details indicated by black lines, against a solid black ground; red, yellow or green pebbles are used occasionally for local color, but there is no shading, and little attempt to suggest depth or a spatial setting. A couple of generations later, the mosaics in two monumental houses at Pella are dated to the late 4th c. BC by pottery and coins in their foundations, none of which are later than the third quarter of the century ([Plate 10](#); Touratsoglou 1975; Makaronas and Yiouri 1989). The pebbles are finer and more closely set than at Olynthos, and carefully graded tones of gray, brown, red, and yellow are used for shading and modeling, creating a striking impression of depth, although the background remains a uniform black. In some of the mosaics, strips of terracotta or lead are used to emphasize the outlines of the figures, and to represent details such as hair and nails; this might suggest frustration at the limitations of the medium, perhaps also reflected in the use of artificial materials to obtain shades of blue and green that were not available in natural pebbles.

Most scholars, like Bruneau (1976) and Salzmann (1982: 21–41), have assumed a development from a flat, black-and-white style like the mosaics at Olynthos and Corinth, to the coloristic, three-dimensional style of the Pella mosaics, followed by a return to a flatter, more stylized mode of representation, exemplified by a slightly later floral mosaic at Pella, in which color is used purely for details, rather than for shading, and three black-and-white mosaics from Rhodes, dated to the end of the 4th or the early 3rd c. (Salzmann 1982: nos. 105, 112–114). Salzmann supported this scheme by comparing the development of floral scrolls in mosaics with similar motifs on red-figure pottery, and used it to date the mosaics very precisely, often to within a decade (1982: 14–20). But although the use of perspective and shading probably did increase in the course of

the 4th c., such a rigid chronological scheme takes little account of variations that might arise from differences in the cost of the mosaics, the skill of the mosaicists, or the preferences of their clients. Pfrommer (1982), for example, has suggested that different forms of vegetal scroll in mosaics and other media might reflect different regional styles, rather than simply a development over time. Some shading is used on a mosaic at Eretria (Figure 9.1), which was dated by its excavators to c. 360 and is thus possibly contemporary with those at Olynthos and Corinth; Salzmann (1982: 27) doubted this early date because of the shading, but the mosaic is in one of the largest and grandest houses known from the Classical period, and was probably more expensive than those in the more modest (though still relatively well-to-do) houses at Olynthos. The mosaics at Pella were in even grander houses, in huge rooms that could accommodate up to forty diners, much larger than the dining-rooms at Olynthos and elsewhere, which were typically designed for parties of no more than fourteen. Given their date, it is likely that they were financed from the spoils of Alexander the Great's eastern conquests, and were thus the product of the exceptional economic and social conditions in Macedonia at that time; the large figured scenes, simple gray shading, and spiraling scroll borders of the Rhodian mosaics could be seen as a less costly version of the same pictorial style, rather than a decline in quality. Moreover, a further floral mosaic at Pella, discovered in 1984 and dated to the 3rd c. by material sealed underneath it, still has the painterly effects, achieved partly by tinting the mortar between the pebbles, and shows that the illusionistic style remained in vogue for longer than was once thought (Lilimpaki-Akamati 1987).

Few pebble mosaics are dated much later than the 3rd c. BC by external evidence, and by the 2nd c. BC the technique was largely superseded by tessellated mosaic. There are a few Late Hellenistic specimens on Delos and at remote Ai Khanoum in Bactria, and pebble mosaic remained in use as a second- or third-rate flooring throughout the Roman period (Bruneau 1969; Salzmann 1982: nos. 2–4, 30–32).

9.3 Alternative Techniques, and the Development of Tessellated Mosaic

The desire to imitate painting is often seen as the driving force behind the invention of tessellated mosaic, which offered a greater range of

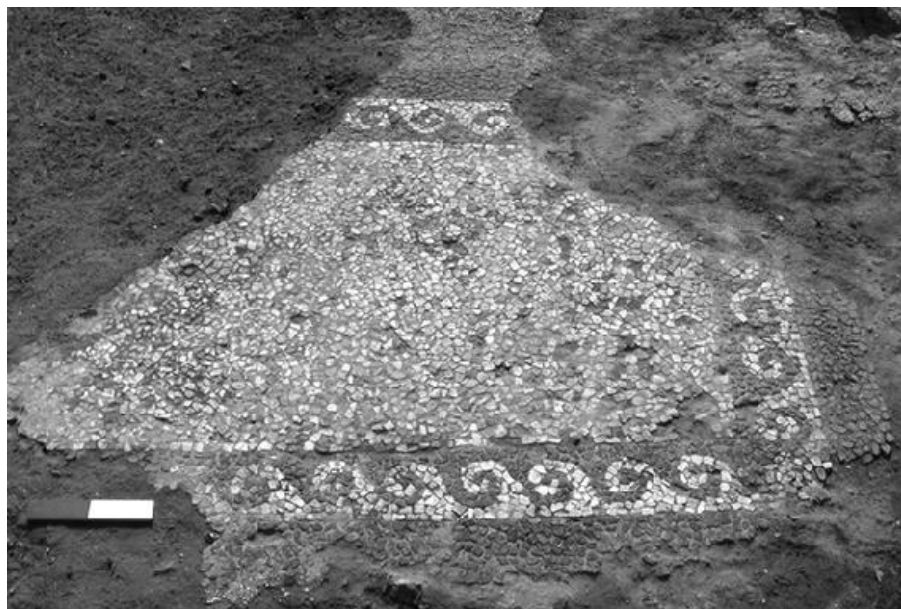
colors through the use of artificial materials such as terracotta, glass, and faience (Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 1992, 1995), and greater flexibility in cutting the pieces to the required shape and size. Certainly the small inset panels (*emblemata*) in some mosaics of the 2nd and 1st c. BC closely resemble paintings, and their extraordinarily fine technique, using tesserae of 5 mm or less (*opus vermiculatum*), often with the joints concealed by tinted mortar, is clearly designed to enhance this effect, even down to the reproduction of brushstrokes in some cases (cf. [Figure 9.3](#)). But most of the mosaics that are dated to the period between the pebble mosaics at Pella and these accomplished ‘paintings in stone’ are relatively simple in design and rough in technique, and do not fit easily into a scheme of development based on increasingly close imitation of painting.

The ‘missing link’ is often thought to be a mosaic in a house at Morgantina in Sicily, which depicts Ganymede being carried off by Zeus’s eagle (Phillips 1960; Dunbabin 1999: 21, fig. 19). It is made mostly of tesserae, but includes a few pieces of stone cut to shape for small elements such as Ganymede’s toes and testicles, and some solid geometric shapes in the border. The excavators believed that the house was abandoned after Morgantina was sacked by the Romans in 211 BC, and dated its construction to c. 260–250 on the basis of a coin found under a threshold (Sjöqvist 1960: 132). This made the Ganymede mosaic the earliest known tessellated mosaic, and its use of shaped pieces was explained as an early experiment with the new technique. However, the possible date range of the crucial coin is now thought to extend as late as 215 BC, and it is also accepted that the house was reoccupied, along with the rest of the city, in the 2nd c. BC; most of the mosaics at the site date from this later period of occupation. Tsakirgis (1989) has upheld a 3rd c. date for the Ganymede mosaic, though not necessarily as early as the middle of the century, but it now seems at least open to question (Salzmann 1982: 60–61; Westgate 2002: 226–227).

Instead, most recent explanations have identified pavements of stone chips or mixed pebbles and tesserae as an intermediate stage between pebble and tessellated mosaics. Salzmann (1982: 59–77) places this development in the Aegean, on the strength of early tessellated mosaics at Klazomenai and Phthiotic Thebes (destroyed in 217 BC), whereas Daszewski (1985: 74–77, 98) emphasizes the role of Alexandria, where several pavements combine pebbles and tesserae in various proportions; he sees these as steps in a gradual process of evolution from pebbles to tesserae, although none has been dated by external evidence and the logic could be entirely circular. Despite the recent discovery of another mixed mosaic at Alexandria, which preliminary reports indicate is archaeologically dated within the

relevant period, in the late 4th or early 3rd c. (Guimier-Sorbets 2001: 282–285, figs. 1–3; Empereur 2002a: 928–930, fig. 7), any model of development that focuses on a single region or assumes a straightforward progression from pebble mosaic through an intermediate technique (or techniques) to tessellated mosaic is probably an over-simplification. Early mixed and chip mosaics have been found all over the Greek world, and some are earlier than the supposed period of transition. Two pavements at Olynthos already combine irregular stone chips with a border in pebble mosaic (Robinson 1946: 193, pls. 158, 159.2; Salzmann 1982: no. 92), and dates in the late 4th or early 3rd c. have been proposed for decorated mosaics of stone chips or rough tesserae at Assos, Athens, Gela, Maroneia, Arpi, Elea, and Volcei, although in no case has the dating evidence been fully published (Salzmann 1982: nos. 150, 151, 157, 164; Mazzei 1995: 193, nos. 5, 6, figs. 113, 114; Johannowsky 1997). A group of mixed and irregular tessellated mosaics at Euesperides in Libya must have been laid before the city was abandoned in the mid 3rd c. (Figure 9.2; Salzmann 1982: no. 156; Lloyd et al. 1998: 150–157, figs. 5–9; Wootton 2003, 2004).

Figure 9.2 Mosaic of irregular tesserae and split pebbles at Euesperides, set in a surround of pebble mosaic. 261–c. 250 BC (Photo © John Lloyd, 1998).



No two of these pavements use quite the same technique (except at Arpi, where a single workshop was probably involved), and the reasons for making them are likely to be similarly diverse. Some may

have been devised as cheaper substitutes for pebble mosaic, or to make up for a shortage of suitable materials. Mosaics of stone chips, for example, were probably a way of recycling waste from stonemasons' or sculptors' workshops – one at Olynthos was actually found in a sculptor's house (Robinson 1930: 56–58, pls. 158–161, frontispiece) – and they could easily be elaborated with pebbles or fragments of tile or colored stone; they were still made in the Late Hellenistic period as cheap alternatives to tessellated mosaic (e.g. at Delos; Bruneau 1972: nos. 86, 135, 174, 221, 260). Another relatively economical option was to decorate a mortar floor with patterns outlined by pebbles pressed into the surface (e.g. Megara; Salzmann 1982: no. 70), or even with decorative nail-heads (at Larisa; Tziafalias 1980: fig. 3, pl. 129β); the new mosaic from Alexandria combines mortar with both pebbles and tesserae. Mixing materials also created contrasts in texture, which may have been appreciated in their own right: pebble mosaics sometimes have texture patterns formed by pebbles of different shapes or sizes, or set in different directions (e.g. Athens; Salzmann 1982: nos. 25, 26; and several floors at Piraeus, one with added decoration in paint; von Eickstedt 1991: nos. III/1.24, 1.108, 1.121, 1.151, figs. 46, 49, 50). Dunbabin (1979) has suggested, plausibly, that tessellated mosaic might have evolved from these experiments with alternative techniques, in the eastern Mediterranean at least. In the West, the process may have been different, as square tesserae were already in use in the Punic settlements of Sicily and North Africa in the early 3rd c. BC, and probably before, to decorate a type of red-mortar floor made with crushed terracotta (*opus signinum* or *cocciopesto*); sometimes the tesserae even form small areas of continuous mosaic (Baldassare 1994: 439; Dunbabin 1994: 30–38).

In fact, as Baldassare has pointed out, the invention of tessellation may not be the most significant step (1994: 449–450). The Carthaginians knew the technique for several centuries, probably well before the Greeks, but apparently never used it for anything more ambitious than simple checkerboard patterns: what led the Greeks to develop it into a medium for complex, illusionistic designs? This, however, is not much easier to explain, as few tessellated mosaics are closely dated by external evidence. Based on the survival of very fine and apparently relatively early pavements from the Royal Quarter of Alexandria (see [Figure 9.3](#); Guimier-Sorbets 1998) and the palace at Pergamon (Kawerau and Wiegand 1930: 53–65, figs. 39, 69–72, text pls. 26–39, pls. 8–19; Salzmann 1995), I have suggested that the technique was refined in the Hellenistic courts as a means of displaying the wealth and power of the kings, advertising not only their ability to expend enormous amounts of labor and skill, but also their command of natural resources (Westgate 2002: 230–236); the

effect was all the more impressive given that the resulting artifact was merely intended to be walked upon. But given the chronological problems, this is inevitably somewhat speculative.

The lack of independently dated examples means that it is also difficult to trace the later stylistic and technical development of tessellated mosaic. The pavements in the palaces at Pergamon are dated on archaeological and historical grounds to the reign of Eumenes II (197–159 BC) or his successor Attalos II (159–138 BC), whereas the largest surviving group, from Delos, is slightly later, dating from the period of the island's greatest prosperity, between 166 BC, when the Romans made it a free port, and two disastrous attacks, by Mithridates of Pontos in 88 BC and by pirates in 69 BC. But it is not possible to base a chronology on these two groups, because they are not comparable: the richly decorated and meticulously detailed Pergamene mosaics are royal commissions, whilst the Delian mosaics are in the modest houses and apartments of merchants or their agents, and are accordingly much simpler (Figure 9.4). A characteristic feature of both groups, and of Hellenistic tessellated mosaics in general, is that borders and motifs are often outlined with thin lead strips; this practice died out in the 1st c. BC.

9.4 Tessellated Mosaics: Function and Meaning

Hellenistic tessellated mosaics are more numerous than pebble mosaics, and are distributed far more widely, not only in Greece and the Aegean, but also in Asia Minor, the Levant, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Sicily, Magna Graecia, and Spain. This proliferation partly reflects the spread of Greek power and culture, but it was also the product of increased prosperity and social mobility, which encouraged displays of private wealth and emulation of the elite. The effects of social aspiration are especially clear on Delos, where traders' homes and clubs contain almost half the tessellated mosaics known from the entire Hellenistic world (Bruneau 1972; Westgate 2010: 504–517); the next largest group is from Rhodes, which was also an important trading hub.

Like pebble mosaics, most tessellated mosaics are in houses, with a few in temples, public buildings, and baths. They were used in rooms of various different shapes and sizes: the most typical location is a large rectangular room with a door in the middle of a long side (described by modern authors as a 'broad room' or '*oecus maior*');

Figure 9.4), but they are also commonly found in smaller rooms ('*oeci minores*'), and in open-fronted rooms facing on to a courtyard (exedras), as well as in the courtyard or peristyle itself (Westgate 1997–1998: 108–111). Within the house, different types of pavement seem to form a hierarchy, which marks out the importance of different spaces (Westgate 2000a). Tessellated mosaics were reserved for the best rooms, where they were typically combined with elaborate wall plaster imitating monumental masonry, sometimes with painted marbling and molded stucco architectural elements, and occasionally a figured frieze. Pavements of stone chips tend to appear in secondary rooms with less lavish wall plaster, or in the less prominent outer borders of tessellated mosaics, while service rooms such as latrines and bathrooms, where a waterproof floor was a practical necessity, often have rough floors of broken tile pieces. At Greek sites in the western Mediterranean, *opus signinum* was the standard second-rank type of flooring, often with patterns picked out in tesserae. A new and more luxurious option was *opus sectile*, colored stone pieces cut to shape to form a design – at this date usually a simple grid of black, white, and green lozenges arranged to look like *trompe l'oeil* cubes, but the technique was destined to become much more elaborate when combined with the Roman taste for exotic colored marbles.

Most Hellenistic tessellated mosaics follow the same basic design as pebble mosaics, with concentric borders framing a central field, which may contain one or more figured or floral panels, but is usually left plain or filled with a geometric pattern (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). The concentric composition may have been retained because rooms with mosaics were still used for dining at least some of the time. However, although there is often a plain outer border suitable for couches, it is usually not raised, and is often interrupted by doors and windows, which suggests that decorated rooms were no longer intended exclusively for dining; in smaller houses, like those on Delos, they probably had to be used for day-to-day living as well as for entertaining. The concentric design is also found in spaces like courtyards and vestibules, which were never used for dining.

Nevertheless, there is still often a Dionysiac flavor to mosaic designs: Dionysos appears at least four times on Delos alone (Bruneau 1972: nos. 169, 214, 293, 344), and at Salemi in Sicily a satyr raises a cup alongside the greeting 'Cheers!' (von Boeselager 1983: 31–34, fig. 7). More popular still are dramatic masks, which may evoke Dionysos as patron of the theater, although they probably also reflect enjoyment of drama; householders clearly preferred comedy to tragedy, or felt it was a more congenial subject for domestic decoration, as only one mosaic, at Pergamon, depicts a tragic mask. Masks sometimes appear in sets linked by a lavish garland of leaves,

fruit and flowers, which may reflect Dionysos' role as god of fertility and vegetation, as do other plant motifs, such as fantastic rosettes and scrolls with a profusion of flowers and leaves, populated by tiny birds, insects or erotes. These motifs are typical of Hellenistic interior decor in general, and were probably intended to present a general impression of prosperity, abundance, and hospitality. Architectural motifs also remain common, presumably because of the air of grandeur that they lent a room. The greater range of colors available in tessellated mosaic made it easier to represent them realistically: the swastika-meander, for example, is now usually shown in perspective, with shading in bright red, yellow, and blue, and illusionistic renderings of moldings such as guilloche, bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart, and dentils are also popular; one mosaic at Alexandria even has a border of lion-headed rainwater spouts (see [Figure 9.3](#)).

Tessellated mosaic also made it possible to represent the natural world more realistically. Several fine *emblemata* depict a variety of fish and crustaceans in extraordinary detail (Meyboom 1977), a fashion which may be explained by the Hellenistic interest in natural science, but perhaps also by the status of fish as a luxury food. Birds too are popular (Tammisto 1997); they were the subject of the only mosaic famous enough to be mentioned in ancient literature, a scene of doves perched on a basin by Sosos of Pergamon (Plin. *HN* 36.184), which may be echoed in a mosaic on Delos (Bruneau 1972: no. 168) and in *emblemata* from Pompeii and Tivoli (Tammisto 1997: pls. 31, 32). The endearing dog from Alexandria ([Figure 9.3](#)) perhaps represents a leisured gentleman's favorite pet, his companion in the hunt and at the banquet (Guimier-Sorbets 1998: 265–272).

The wild animals and mythological creatures that are so common in pebble mosaics, however, are almost totally absent from tessellated mosaics. This is partly because there are proportionately fewer figural motifs in tessellated mosaics – perhaps in consequence of the spread of mosaics down the social scale, to customers who could only afford geometric patterns (Westgate 1997–1998: 112–115) – but also because there is much less of the violent, masculine imagery that was characteristic of pebble mosaics (Westgate 2011: 308–313). The reason for this may be that rooms decorated with mosaics were now used by the whole family, but it may also be the product of a shift in ideals, away from the more aggressive, militaristic values of the Classical period. There are still a few scenes of hunting, for example, but it is characteristic that in a mosaic from Alexandria, which echoes the composition of the Pella stag hunt ([Plate 10](#)), the muscular hunters have been replaced by dainty erotes (Daszewski 1985: no. 2). Competitive pursuits are more commonly represented by athletics: another mosaic from Alexandria depicts a black and a white youth

wrestling (Guimier-Sorbets 1998: 272–274, figs. 7, 8), and one from nearby Thmuis a black athlete or bath attendant (Daszewski 1985: no. 42). Several mosaics have images connected with victory in athletic or other contests: one, on Delos, shows a Panathenaic amphora, along with a victor's crown and palm branch (Bruneau 1972: no. 234). Such motifs probably projected an aura of success and good fortune, but may also have implied that the owner frequented the *gymnasion*, which was an important marker of social status (Westgate 2012); similarly, themes such as drama and fish may be intended to suggest interests in literature and learning, the preserve of a leisured elite.

By the end of the Hellenistic period, many mosaicists were working for Roman patrons, and the surviving mosaics must reflect their tastes and values to some extent, though even on Delos, where there was a sizeable Italian community, it is difficult to identify their influence with any certainty (Westgate 2000b: 261–262; 2012; Tang 2005: 41–67). Many of the well-known pictorial *emblemata* from Pompeii were probably made by Greek craftsmen, responding to the Roman demand for copies and pastiches of Greek art; two are signed by Dioskourides, from Samos (Westgate 2000b: 262–272). This fashion for illusionistic pictures on the floor was relatively short-lived, but its influence continued to be felt in the diverse mosaic styles that evolved in the provinces of the Roman Empire, which combine, to varying degrees, the abstract, decorative aesthetic of Western paving techniques such as *opus signinum* with pictorial effects developed in the Hellenistic mosaic tradition.

FURTHER READING

For a general overview of Greek mosaics, there are good, up-to-date discussions in two recent surveys of ancient mosaics, Dunbabin (1999) and (more briefly) Ling (1998). Pollitt's (1986) study of Hellenistic art sets mosaics in their broader artistic context, though he is concerned mainly with the more impressive figural mosaics, including those from Pompeii. Robertson's (1965, 1967) two articles on pebble mosaics are still useful, but now rather dated. He considers the mosaics from a traditional art historical perspective; Westgate (2002) is a survey from a more social, contextual point of view, taking up where Robertson left off.

More specialized literature is mostly not in English, though well illustrated. All the pebble mosaics known up to c. 1980 are catalogued and studied by Salzmann (1982). There is as yet no published catalogue of Hellenistic tessellated mosaics, but there are regional studies of Delos (Bruneau 1972), Turkey (Bingöl 1997), Egypt

(Daszewski 1985, superseding Brown 1957), Cyrene (Baldassare 1976), Sicily (von Boeselager 1983, supplemented by Tsakirgis 1989 and Bell 2011 on Morgantina), and Pompeii (Pernice 1938). Andreae (2003) surveys Hellenistic and early Roman pictorial mosaics, with stunning color illustrations, many otherwise unpublished. Recent research has adopted a more archaeological approach, considering the relationship of mosaics to their architectural setting, and using them as evidence for social trends (e.g. Baldassare 1984; Walter-Karydi 1998; Westgate 1997–1998, 2000a, 2010, 2011, 2012; Tang 2005).

The Association International pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Antique (AIEMA) produces a regular bibliographic *Bulletin* listing new publications related to mosaics (1968–), and organizes a series of conferences covering every aspect of ancient mosaic (mostly published under the title *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine*, 1965–). It has also sponsored a two-volume lexicon of geometric and vegetal motifs on ancient mosaics, with standardized descriptions in five languages (Balmelle et al. 1985, 2002).

CHAPTER 10

Luxury Arts

John Boardman and Claudia Wagner

10.1 Introduction

Most luxury objects are small because their material is generally precious and their purpose is commonly, though not always, a personal matter for the owner. A dedicator might wish to make a luxury statement, like the silvergilt sacrificial bull dedicated at Delphi sometime in the 6th c. BC (Osborne 1996: 270–271, fig. 75), but much of this chapter is devoted to more personal things – jewelry and engraved gems. Since they are not public monuments, and the making of them requires considerable specialist techniques, they can be seen to follow their own standards, dictated by purpose, and so they present a range of iconography and even style not always in step with the ‘major arts’. They have a language of their own.

10.2 Jewelry

Silver was readily available in Greece. Gold and most precious stones, on the whole, were not, and were acquired generally from the East; ultimately, after Alexander’s conquests, from as far away as India. Gold was acquired from Egypt, the rivers of Asia Minor, and the Scythian mines of the Altai and Thracian mountains. Semi-precious stones of a wide variety were also readily available: carnelians, sardonyxes, agates, multicolored jaspers, amethyst, and later also the harder, more exotic stones from the East – including sapphires. After the Bronze Age, which offers very distinguished examples of jewelry and engraved gems, the luxury arts required a new impetus, as did

most of the higher arts of Greece, and in this case too this was provided from the East. The luxury arts can be seen as another product of the 'Orientalizing Revolution'.

Relations with the East, notably North Syria, were well established by the early 8th c. BC and both seals and objects of gold bearing Eastern iconography were arriving, especially in Crete. There they promoted production of similar objects in gold, also with figure decoration in the Eastern rather than any contemporary Greek Geometric style, and with an eye to color and the inclusion of at least semi-precious stones, mainly rock crystal. This, although not particularly precious, was difficult to work and helped promote the technology which would be useful once harder stones were being used for gem engraving. These minor orientalizing arts can be seen also to have been the source of the so-called 'Dedalic' style, more apparent in sculpture, offering figures with flat-topped heads, angular features, high waists, and little 'movement' (Higgins 1980: 94–120).

Ivory was another important 'new' material, notably for seals, combs, and decorative plaques, best attested on Peloponnesian sites, as at Sparta (Artemis Orthia sanctuary) and at Perachora. These also introduced a variety of floral patterns, which were equally influential, and foreign to Greek Geometric art, as well as, on combs, multi-figure narrative scenes better attested in vase-painting (Boardman 1996: 48–74).

Greek society was not a place for male regalia – crowns and scepters – and the history of Archaic and Classical jewelry is mainly concerned with female adornment – itself a comment on a society in which such display was commonplace. As a result, what we know of Greek jewelry, and indeed of engraved gems, comes principally from finds in graves, occasionally in sanctuaries. That they were widely admired may be judged also by the way in which minor jewelry forms could be readily copied in less costly materials – bronze, and even clay, which might be painted or gilt, for deposition in graves or dedication.

The techniques of gold-working were also a gift of the East, although they had been practiced long before in Greece. Generally, hammering sheet gold was preferred to casting: it was more economical, and required matrices cut in stone – many of which have survived – on which the gold was worked. The technique is particularly apparent for diadems with relief figures or rosettes. Additional decoration could be provided by filigree wire and granulation, once adequate techniques of soldering had been learned (Williams and Ogden, 1994: 17–33). Generally, a monochrome effect was sought, but from the later 5th c. BC on there is a growing appreciation of color in jewelry, achieved by the use of enamel and

the insertion of semi-precious stones – commonly red cornelian. In the execution of complicated and stylistically subtle figure and decorative motifs, the Greeks proved themselves no less successful in the miniature arts than they were in the monumental.

Jewelry of the 7th c. BC is mainly wedded to Eastern forms – earrings of spirals (Figure 10.1) and hanging loops, but decorated with the new Greek imagery, also derived from the East, of frontal goddesses, griffins, and various floral patterns. Small rectangular plaques are especially favored, with frontal relief figures on them, notably in the East Greek and island world, which is where the richest sanctuaries were to be found. They seem to have been designed to be worn in rows as pectorals or necklaces. They commonly carry small pendant pomegranates, and the attachment of such ornament remains long a feature of Greek jewelry (Higgins 1980: 94–120). Otherwise, bronze was much used, notably for safety-pins (*fibulae*), which are seldom of gold or silver. There were some elaborate bronze belts made in the East Greek world in imitation of Phrygian originals (Boardman 1999: 90–91). In the 7th c. too the Eastern form of bracelet, with a solid, open hoop, decorated at its ends with animal heads (commonly rams or lions), was introduced, and it would long remain the standard type. In time it would copy new oriental models – the Persian – where the hoop is slightly indented (*‘omega’*-shaped).

Figure 10.1 Gold earring, said to come from Rhodes. 7th c. BC (London, British Museum BM 1860.0404.107 (1174/75) © The Trustees of the British Museum).



The expansion of the Greek world, mainly through colonization in the West, as well as through even closer relations with the East (eventually hostile, with the new Persian Empire), accompanied by a general rise in prosperity and the wide use of coinage (initially only gold and silver), brought about a brisk market for jewelry. The Archaic period – otherwise notable in the arts mainly for some special interest in patterning and increasingly in figure motifs with more than decorative value, even narrative – is also well expressed in the plentiful production and intricate appearance of jewelry. Important sources are in Cyprus, the East Greek world (soon to be largely Persian, except for the islands, but in close touch with rich oriental societies, such as those of the Lydians and Phrygians), south Russia, where the Greek colonies were waxing rich on trade with the hinterland Scythians (cf. [Figure 10.2](#)) and the trade in corn was beginning to develop, and the western colonies in Sicily and South Italy. In the latter area, increasing trade with the Etruscans in central Italy provided a rich market and created what was to be a source of

some of the most elaborate jewelry of antiquity, produced under the strong influence and probable participation of Greek artists. These non-Greek-homeland areas were also well supplied with sources of gold, which was becoming less available in Greece itself, where bronze and silver were more readily in use (cf. Williams and Ogden 1994).

Figure 10.2 Gold pendant disc from Kul Oba (Crimea). Head of Athena. c. 400–350 BC (St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum KO5. Fine Art Images/Heritage-Images/TopFoto).



The Classical period further develops the jewelry forms of the Archaic, and is more prolific, from the same sources, to which can be added Thrace, north of Greece. Generally less granulation is apparent and there is more figure work, often in the more realistic styles of the major Classical arts. Some color begins to intrude: even in the 6th c., with some use of enamel, presented as patches set in filigree outlines (cloisons) – an Eastern technique – and in the 5th c. with insertion of

semi-precious stones.

Of the jewelry types, the old 'boat' type for earrings is the most popular – a bulbous horizontal crescent, with a variety of pendants, and often surmounted by a disc floral (Figure 10.3). These can be most elaborate. The spiral earring, a natural form, is not forgotten, with a variety of terminals, as well as ear-stud discs. Necklaces are generally formed of a string of small pendants, often in the shape of acorns or miniature vases (Figure 10.4). They may also have supported larger pendants, like pectorals, with figure subjects such as female heads. Overall there is a tendency towards the excessively fussy and ornate, but in all details the workmanship is precise and exquisite.

Figure 10.3 Pair of gold boat-shaped earrings, said to come from Eretria. c. 420–400 BC (London, British Museum BM 1893.11-3.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 10.4 Gold strap necklace with seed-like pendants, said to be



In the Hellenistic period, Greek craftsmen are more often called upon to serve a rich elite, both aristocracy and – in the North and Macedonia, and in Egypt with its new and influential capital at Alexandria – royalty. Scepters thus become a new subject for the goldsmith. The Egyptian element cannot be overestimated – there had been a long tradition of fine jewelry-making and handling of decorative stones in Egypt, and techniques and motifs were readily adopted by Greek craftsmen. There is much more polychromy too, from inset stones or glass and enamel. Alexandria was an important artistic center for luxury work and was highly influential in the way the crafts developed in the Mediterranean world and the Roman Empire (Higgins 1980: 153–172).

Wreaths represent a special new class for the jeweler. The prizes for athletic events were commonly simple wreaths, of oak, olive, or myrtle. The austerity was relaxed and precious metal wreaths, closely imitating the natural originals, were in use, not merely as athletic prizes, but also for other occasions marking some distinction of the recipient, and made especially for deposition in tombs, which is the main source (notably North Greece and the Black Sea sites), especially for the Hellenistic period. Many wreaths for such deposition are extremely flimsy and could not have been worn, but were simply rich tokens of wealth and distinction. For women, gold hairnets were a new addition for the coiffure, and appropriate long dress pins with elaborated heads. Diadems and bracelets are more ornate, and the old spiral form for bracelets has a new and elaborated life. A special new form – medallions – becomes popular for pectorals, while smaller medallions, solid and with elaborate relief decoration related to that of coinage, will have a distinguished Roman following as a medium

for propaganda.

10.3 Metal Vessels

The use of gold and silver for vessels, generally drinking cups and sometimes the larger kraters (wine-mixing bowls), has a long history, and the influence of metal vases on clay shapes and vice versa is apparent at various periods. Commonly, the metal vessels are left plain, but from the 5th c. BC on there may appear incised or relief decoration, for instance in the center of cups. Large vases wholly decorated in relief are exceptional, such as the later 4th c. Derveni Krater (Plate 11; Barr-Sharrar 2008). Otherwise, for a long time the precious-metal vases do not attract the variety of figure decoration that we see on clay vases from the 8th c. on. The use of vases in precious metal was an everyday one for the wealthy, and it is not only in their tombs that examples may be found. It is clear that they were probably more common in classical antiquity than the numbers found can suggest.

Through the Archaic period, plain metal cups, both open and beaker-shaped, are made, often decorated with no more than rilling. Eastern shapes current in the Persian Empire through the 6th to the 4th c. BC prove a major inspiration for both clay and silver or gold. They are generally handleless in their homeland, but the Greek vogue and drinking practice require handles and feet for their vessels, and this is the genesis of many Greek cup shapes – the open ‘kylikes’ and the higher ‘kotylai’. One shape in particular attracted attention: the phiale, an open bowl with a central boss – ‘mesomphalic’. This was not given handles or a base in Greece, as it was not used for drinking, but rather for religious purposes, especially libation, and it was a shape much employed for prizes and honorific gifts. The decoration of the phialai is generally no more than ribbing or lobes, sometimes relief figures. The earlier ones are deeper, near-semicircular. Another Eastern shape, the horn-shaped ‘rhyton’, often with an animal head or forepart at its mouth, was also much copied (Ebbinghaus 1999). In the later period, these types of elaborated vases were most common in Eastern countries, where they had once been at home – but in Eastern countries that were now Greek, and within the empires of Alexander’s successors – but the vogue spread rapidly to the western colonies and especially into North Greece and beyond, in Macedonia and Thrace. Spoons, ladles, and strainers help complete the luxury table-settings. The smaller vase shapes such as ‘aryballoi’ for perfumed oil were also sometimes made in metal and figure-decorated, from the Archaic

period on. They were, in their way, dressing-tableware for women. Mirrors – circular, with handles and sometimes on figure-stands – were copied from the East from an early date (cf. [Figure 28.2](#)). They are better represented in bronze than silver or gold. With the Hellenistic period, their circular backs become major fields for decoration in high figure relief. The mirror faces are highly polished bronze or silver (Strong 1979: 54–62).

From the 4th c. on, ordinary metal cups receive more elaborate decoration, with relief florals on their walls and handles, and eventually minor figure decoration. The decoration is hammered, but feet and handles may be cast. The deeper ‘skyphos’ is preferred to the open ‘kylix’. By this time, the elaborate figure decoration of clay vases in Attica and South Italy has declined to the point of extinction, and metal – silver or bronze, seldom gold – takes over. In the Hellenistic period, elaborate figure decoration is added to stemmed skyphoi, a type to be much developed in the early Roman Empire. The subjects, where not simply floral, are often Dionysiac, and some come to have more significant mythological and even Imperial subject matter. The shapes and decoration are much copied in the clay relief wares – eventually the Hellenistic ‘Megarian’ bowls ([Figure 1.1](#)) and, later, Roman Arretine wares (Strong 1979: 74–122; Boardman 1996: 178–192, 243–250).

10.4 Engraved Gems

In the study of jewelry, engraved stones have a special place – they had a real function and were used for sealing documents or objects, like a box containing valuable items, a wine amphora to prevent members of the household indulging in a tipples without the master’s knowledge, or even the door to the larder. Sealing is as old as civilization, certainly older than writing, and even today is considered by some a safer credential of identity than a signature. Wearing an intaglio was a statement of wealth and power. In addition, engraved gems were clearly treasured as items of adornment, as magic amulets, lucky charms, family heirlooms, badges of authority, and sentimental gifts (Boardman 1997).

Greek gem-engraving is rightly considered high art. Devices on engraved gems are comparable with the best of sculpture, and more painstakingly detailed than vase-painting or coinage. The finest carving on gems shows in miniature (an average gem would not exceed 2–3 cm in length) a quality as high as one could wish on any grounds of stylistic or technical judgment. For use as a seal, the stone

is not carved in relief but hollowed out, in intaglio, so that it can yield an impression in wax or clay.

Wear and tear hardly affects intaglios. Gems are almost always complete and in exactly the condition in which they left the engraver's hands, something which cannot be said of most Classical sculpture and coins. Moreover, each gem is a unique piece, not a mass-manufactured item, like a coin. The detail and depth possible in engraving hard stones are finer than on any coin die, and were achieved with nothing more complicated than a drill and abrasive powders. The durable material preserved minute detail perfectly through centuries.

Greek gems of the Bronze Age strongly depend on Minoan glyptics. The practice of sealing was ubiquitous in the palace cultures of Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete, as the great corpus of surviving seals, rings, and seal-impressions in clay testifies.

The devices on the earliest Greek intaglios were mainly of pure Geometric pattern or of animals. The materials used were mainly the softer stones, ivory, and very likely wood. All Minoan and Mycenaean seals were pierced and were suspended from a string or chain, which could be worn around the neck or wrist. Already during the Middle Minoan period, evidence for the use of the rotary drill and work in harder stones, such as chalcedony, is known. The Mycenaean engravers learned from the Minoans. The technique with hard stones was also spreading, and mainland artists were soon rivaling their Minoan masters, and the Mycenaean Greeks were soon to overrun Crete and put an end to Minoan civilization. The range of subjects on the Bronze Age seals includes animals and cult scenes with goddesses (Dickinson 1994: 190–193). The earliest have pre-Greek inscriptions. The most popular shapes for the later period were the lens-shaped lentoid and the almond-shaped amygdaloid.

The art of cutting hard-stone seals and gems disappeared with the palace cultures and was recovered only in the Geometric period, the 9th c. BC, with discs, rectangular stamps, half-spheres, and the occasional cylinder seal. The devices mirror contemporary 'Geometric' art and come to borrow style and motifs from the East in the general Greek 'Orientalizing' phase of the 7th c. BC. The more abstract patterns of many of the early seals probably gave rise to the Greek legend of the first seal: a piece of worm-eaten wood used by Herakles (Boardman 2001b: 378–379). The random image created by the insects indeed resembles the more simple designs, as on the tabloid, pierced vertically to allow the insertion of a handle (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 27). The materials used are the softer stones, ivory, and probably also wood, cut by hand.

The 'Island Gems' are a localized phenomenon of the Cyclades

islands of the 7th and 6th c. BC. Cut mostly in serpentine, which often appears white and has lost its original color (green, yellow, and brown) when burnt, they copy shapes and some devices (twisted animals) of the Bronze Age, while most have motifs in the new Archaic style. Towards the end of the 6th c., these island workshops decorate the new scarab shape. The hand-cut technique is distinctive in comparison with the more sophisticated drilled and wheel-cut techniques for scarabs that emerge early in the 6th c. This appears on hard stones – quartzes – probably first for Greeks in Cyprus. Workshops of Phoenician gem engravers active there are possibly as early as the 8th c. (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 33, 35–36). The influence of Phoenician art is apparent in the adoption of the more accomplished techniques for hard stones, alien iconography – such as the depiction of the god Bes (an Egyptian daemon) – and especially the new shape for the Greeks, the scarab. Rarer are some ‘pseudo-scarabs’, their backs cut with relief figures.

Early Archaic gems favor cornelian, and the family of transparent quartzes in all their colors becomes the preferred choice over the opaque, soft stones, which could be worked by hand. The new techniques and shapes of gem engraving began to flourish from the early 6th c. Symbols of wealth and power, such as livestock or lions, and individual gods or heroes who were admired or thought to offer protection, were common, but multi-figure compositions of storytelling also began to be admitted – although the limited space available restricted the engraver. The earliest group of Archaic scarabs was produced by the Gorgon-Horse workshop, named after the winged gorgon with joined human and horse body. The composition of the gorgon and its familiar, the lion, is set on a hatched ground-line and surrounded by a border, both distinctly orientalizing features. The monstrous gorgon head with its broad grimace, shown frontally, seems to have had a particular appeal for the engravers of Archaic scarabs.

In the middle of the 6th c. BC a more plastic style of depiction emerges, probably on the islands, the so-called Robust Style, with figures appearing more rounded. Maenads and satyrs are particularly popular subjects. The most remarkable example is a scarab in the British Museum in London, the name-piece of the Master of the London Satyr (Figure 10.5). The muscular body of the reclining figure has been cut deep into the stone and displays delicate patterns created by the fine globular drill, while the composition of the satyr with cup and jug fills the field expertly.

Figure 10.5 Agate sealstone in the form of a scarab. A satyr at the symposion. c. 550–500 BC (London, British Museum BM GR



The so-called Dry Style probably originates in Ionia. Figures are not cut very deeply, drill marks are left at the transitions between different areas, and many patterns are shallow and sketched in simple lines. Among the characteristic examples is a depiction of Herakles's fight with the river god Acheloos to rescue Deianeira (Boardman 1968: no. 75).

In the Late Archaic period of the later 6th and early 5th c., the craft flourished. The signatures of the engravers attest the esteem in which these masters held their own art, which surely must reflect the interest of their customers. Signatures, however, were never common on gems, and the quality of many of the unsigned pieces equals and surpasses that of the signed. The favored shapes are still the scarabs, but a new shape, the scaraboid, is appearing and will be dominant through the Classical period. It has a simple domed back and straight sides, with none of the elaboration of the scarabs. It too derives from the East – Babylonia – and not from the scarab which gives it its modern name. Now too the first ringstones appear for setting in metal bezels.

The engraver Epimenēs signs a fine study of a youth restraining his spirited horse on a chalcedony scaraboid. The three-quarter back-view of the youth, an excellent exploration of the depiction of the moving human body, can be compared to similar studies in Attic vase-painting by the Pioneer Group and contemporary relief sculpture (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 41).

The Semon Master is another distinctive engraver with a sizeable group of attributions (Boardman 2001b: 151). On his name-piece, 'Semon' is signed in the genitive and thus was probably the name of the owner, not of the artist. The image is a naked girl kneeling with her jug under the lion-head spout of a well. On the gems attributed to the master, the subjects are truly varied: winged monsters and deities, fights between a warrior and a sphinx, Herakles and the lion, a youth attacked by a griffin, Eros carrying off a girl, a winged human-headed bull. Detailed studies of the heads depicted, the eyes, hair, and profiles, and distinctive features in the anatomy, allow attributions to a single hand with considerable certainty.

Animal devices complement the repertoire of the Late Archaic period's many studies of the human body. Powerful wild animals such as lions and boars and farmyard animals such as bulls, cows, and calves are depicted alongside the more unusual, such as a monkey. Often the choice is not easily explained: a footprint was perhaps the engraver's personal fancy to carve in stone the seal nature has given to a man (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007: 43).

Greek gems of this period traveled widely. Many have been found in Italy, in particular in Etruria. It becomes evident that Greek engravers adapted to this market: the Etruscan taste for more elaborately worked backs of scarabs, alongside detailed work on the intaglio. It is probable that not only did the gems made their way to the Etruscan market but that gem engravers themselves migrated. East Greek influences on emerging Etruscan workshops can be traced in the 6th c. An exodus of Greek craftsmen at the time might be explained by the advancing Persian Empire and its occupation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where the arts of Archaic Greece had flourished.

Greek taste in the Early Classical period shifted away from the scarab towards the smooth-backed scaraboid. The curved backs come in a variety of heights, from a very modest flatter version to a high dome. Classical scaraboids can be substantially larger than their Archaic counterparts. Mounted on a swivel-hoop, they could be worn on a finger with the decorated side facing in, but many were larger and must have been set as pendants. Ringstones increased in number, poised to become the dominant shape from the 4th c. onwards and presaged by the few scaraboids cut on their convex backs. Pseudo-scarabs, although rare, appear in the form of a reclining lion and are joined by a variety of special and rare shapes, such as the sliced barrel and the faceted tablet, and even the oriental cylinder seal.

The most popular stone of the period is the pale blue or white chalcedony. Agates in a variety of colors, cornelian, rock-crystal, and finely mottled, multicolored jaspers are sought out, although they make the intaglio difficult to see. A few scarabs are still mostly cut in

cornelian.

The usage of and approach to engraved gems change noticeably at this time. Their primary function, the practical purpose of sealing, becomes more and more supplanted by a regard for them as objects of beauty, as jewelry. This can be seen particularly well in a new range of subjects, such as the naked or near-naked Aphrodite images, probably introduced for women customers and meant to flatter the wearer.

The style of the gem engraver mirrors that of other works of art of the period, although his repertoire remains his own. Classical art strives for greater realism and abandons much of the Archaic attention to pattern and detail, as well as the more complicated narrative scenes. The subjects are often single figures, poised freely in the field. Animal devices, long popular in the Archaic period, are slightly adjusted to a more naturalistic style. Some notable studies of heads appear on scarabs. Profiles now show the nose and forehead in one line, with a round, heavy chin, instead of the fine, protruding noses and delicate, pointed chins of the Archaic period. The new head type is complemented by new hairstyles. The zigzag folds on clothes are abandoned for parallel lines closely following the body contours, which achieve an almost transparent effect at times. Individual studies of gods and mythological subjects that can be told with not more than two figures are particularly popular. The iconography on gems often follows a very different type to that in the other arts. Thus, only on gems is Danae shown as a standing figure and not seated on her couch (Boardman 2001b: pl. 449).

The most significant gem engraver of the middle of the 5th c. BC is Dexamenos. He signs his name on four gems, and several gems have been attributed to him, on the strength of stylistic comparisons with these or the choice of material. On a light-blue chalcedony he proudly adds his place of origin, the island of Chios, to his signature. The device depicted on the scaraboid is a flying heron ([Figure 10.6](#)). The composition of the bird and the inscription is perfectly posed in the field, while the delicate patterns of the differently textured feathers of the wings and the body are rendered with great mastery. His signature appears on another gem with a heron, this time standing, a grasshopper under the raised claw (Boardman 2001b: pl. 469). Other animal studies have been thought to belong to his oeuvre because of their fine style and subtle composition, such as a spirited riderless horse (Boardman 2001b: pl. 473). Another signed piece bears the image of a bearded man, shown with thinning hair (Boardman 2001b: pl. 466). The details of the features, eyelashes, and hair are meticulously incised and evoke a strong impression of individuality. Whether this means that the head is indeed a portrait, intended to

depict a particular person, or is a more generic character study, is difficult to decide. The owner of the piece probably identified himself with the image in spite of this.

Figure 10.6 Impression of a chalcedony sealstone signed by Dexamenos of Chios. A flying heron. c. 450–430 BC (St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum Ju O. 24. Beazley Archive, Oxford University. Photo: C. Wagner).



The most meticulously executed idealized head of a woman is signed by Dexamenos's younger contemporary, Sosias (Boardman 2001b: pl. 480). The quality lies in the extraordinary detail of the features, such as the delicately incised hair, and the grace of the eyelid and nostrils. No other gems have been successfully attributed to this master engraver.

A fourth Dexamenos signature appears with the owner's name, a woman called Mike (Boardman 2001b: pl. 467). A mistress is shown seated on a stool and attended by her standing maid, who hands over a mirror and holds a wreath. The seat of the stool appears as a triangle, seen slightly from beneath, in a not entirely successful attempt at perspective. Both women wear the light, sleeveless chiton, with close parallel folds following the contours of their bodies. In addition to the dress, the mistress has a cloak pulled over the back of her head and around her legs. The seated mistress may be derived from a Penelope or Elektra type, but the scene also calls to mind

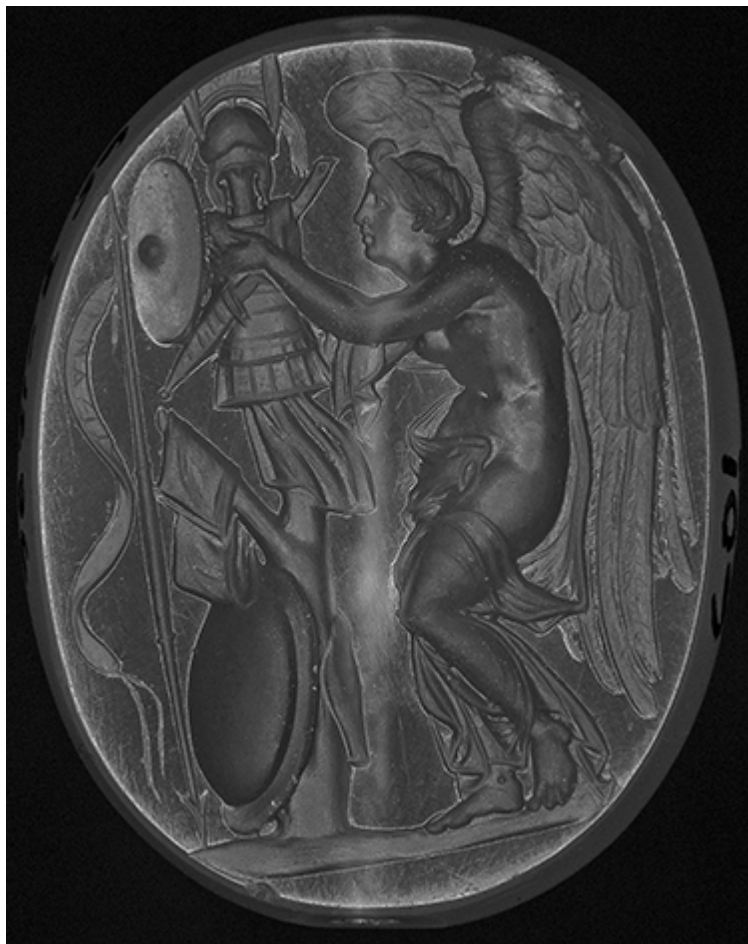
similar depictions on Attic grave reliefs.

The women's quarters again become the subject of a number of gems in a more advanced style. A seated woman is shown playing the triangular harp, a half-naked woman is seen juggling balls, and a reclining naked woman caresses a heron, while a whole series of crouching girls are probably undressing for the bath. Many of these women in various stages of undress are probably meant to depict not mere mortals but nymphs and goddesses. Figures more often appear now in three-quarter view.

Studies of male figures include Herakles and the hero Odysseus, wearing the characteristic felt hat, the pilos. Other figures seem to be ordinary mortals, such as a herdsman with his goat and the crouching slave with African features falling asleep. Still-life subjects include objects as diverse as sandals and double pipes. Careful studies of animals show a wide variety of species, from the noble deer, through detailed depictions of insects, to the ever-popular monsters.

The most spectacular Late Classical 4th c. gems are in the so-called Fine Style. The master Onatas's name is read 'with the eye of faith' on a large blue scaraboid with a Nike (Figure 10.7). The goddess is approaching a trophy, a tree stump, decorated with various pieces of armor and a spear with a pennant, on which the possible signature was deciphered. The sculptural image fills the field more neatly than can be observed on earlier Classical gems, a characteristic shared by other gems of the group and abandoned again soon afterwards.

Figure 10.7 Chalcedony sealstone. Nike erecting a trophy. c. 350 BC (London, British Museum GR 1865.7-12.86. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Gems of the Common Style share some characteristics with the more accomplished gems of the Fine Style, but subjects and style mostly look back to earlier gems. Figures tend to be depicted in the new languid poses, while details, such as folds of drapery or wings, are reduced to simply-executed patterns.

Glass appears as cheap material for gems in the 5th and 4th c. BC. Scaraboids in light green or clear glass, more rarely blue, might be mass-produced from molds. Sometimes only the shape is molded and the figures are then cut. Devices are mostly simple, such as animals or heads.

Greco-Persian gems are a class of gem engraved by Greeks within the Persian Empire and often for Persian customers. From the middle of the 6th c. BC, Cyrus extended the Persian Empire, eventually embracing the Greek cities of Asia Minor. These events herald the appearance of gems in a unique style combining the accomplished technique of Classical Greek engraving with Eastern subjects. They

first appear at around 500 BC and the style outlasts the Achaemenid Empire. The high-backed scaraboid is the favorite shape, the pale-blue or gray chalcedony the favorite material. Depicted are Persians, men hunting or fighting, women at leisure, and animals, both real and an astonishing array of monsters. The presence of Greek craftsmen at work in the Persian Empire is attested in inscriptions from the palaces of Susa and Persepolis, as well as in styles of sculpture and architecture. No such verification exists for the ethnicity of the gem engravers working in the Greco-Persian style. It is, however, distinct from the Court Style, which can adopt Greek traits in a variety of mixtures, and there is a general tendency to keep the patterns made by rounded drills rather than rendering detail in the lifelike Greek manner. Intimate knowledge of subjects appealing to the Persian upper class points to the creation of the 'Greek Style' in Greek workshops in Asia Minor.

In the Hellenistic period, the art of gem-engraving develops in several significant ways. The stones and ring bezels are often larger. Most popular is a long, oval stone with a convex face, not pierced but set in a ring. New materials, like amethyst, beryl, topaz, and zircons, become more available and appreciated, and production of engraved gems increases greatly, not only in the number of high-quality gems but also in the use of cheaper stones for wider sale in the population, often quite modest in size and repetitive in subject matter.

Several signatures of the period appear on high-quality works, often showing rulers of the Hellenistic courts. Royal patronage is also attested in literary sources. Pyrgoteles is known as the gem cutter favored by Alexander the Great. Signatures are more common at the beginning of the period, and special commissions from artists, such as Nikandros, who signs an intaglio with a portrait of the Ptolemaic Queen Berenike II (Plantzos 1999: no. 30), or Apollonios, who signs a portrait of Antiochos III (Plantzos 1999: 71), point to considerable social standing of the gem engravers and the value set on such portraits by royalty. Changes in patronage might be the cause of fewer signatures on later Hellenistic gems.

The cutting of portraits on gems appears as a major feature in the later 4th c. BC. The advent of real portraiture is sparked by the example of coinage. The continuity of a ruler type on coins suggested stability to subjects and ensured authenticity and value over generations. Heads are still somewhat idealized, with some realistic features and royal or divine attributes. Characteristics of Alexander's portrait (Figure 10.8), such as the youthful energy of his hairstyle and the emphatic forehead, are often emphasized. Not all portraits can be identified with rulers and some may have been commissioned to show the images of others with the necessary wealth or standing to justify

the commission.

Figure 10.8 Impression of a tourmaline sealstone. Portrait of Alexander the Great. c. 330–300 BC (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Beazley Archive, Oxford University. Photo: C. Wagner).



Narrative groups inspired by other arts or invented for the craft are rare. Dionysos and his circle, satyrs, and maenads are particularly popular motifs of the period and very common on gems. Many Hellenistic courts were closely associated with his cult. Royal patronage became even stronger when Ptolemy XII declared himself the 'New Dionysos'. Portrait features, in particular Ptolemaic family traits, can be seen on several images of the god. Eros appears with Dionysos's entourage and attending Aphrodite. In the Hellenistic period he is more often shown as a baby than a youth. The popular depictions of the old gods, such as Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo, Zeus, and Poseidon, are augmented by a new range, such as Zeus Sarapis, Isis, Zeus Ammon, and Tyche. The most popular hero of the period remains Herakles, much admired for his moral virtue and his strength.

Alexander identified himself with Herakles – like many before and after him. The hero appears in several of his adventures and on his own, adopting the Lysippan 4th c. sculptural type.

Standing figures are a particularly successful motif to fill the field of the long, oval ringstones popular in the period. Figures are shown leaning on a column or tree trunk and attributes identify them as gods or heroes. The quality of these is not always of the highest standard and figures can be very linear, abstracted, and often cut in cheaper materials, such as glass.

Animal studies display the Hellenistic engraver's fondness of closely observed detail. Domestic and wild animals, birds, and insects were chosen for their decorative function, or perhaps for a personal meaning to the owner, such as a star sign, identification of the virtue represented by the animal, or even a pun.

Probably originating in 3rd/2nd c. BC Alexandria, the cameo, usually cut in layered sardonyx, was an important introduction to the repertoire of Hellenistic engravers. Its purpose was entirely decorative since it was useless for impression or as a seal, which had been the original motive for the intaglio gems. Cameos do, however, derive directly from the tradition of making intaglio seals and are therefore rightly considered with them, being of the same size and setting, sharing their iconography, and sometimes being demonstrably by the same artists. The multicolored layers of the onyx allow the talented engraver to accentuate details; but plain light-on-dark layered cameos are the most frequent, with many in glass. A truly exceptional piece is the so-called 'Tazza Farnese', a sardonyx plate presumably made in Ptolemaic Alexandria in the later 2nd or early 1st c. BC, featuring Isis and her entourage alongside a personification of the Nile ([Plate 12](#); Plantzos 1999: 101–102).

The most common subject on cameos are portraits. Ruling families, in particular the Ptolemies, used portrait gems as a form of personal propaganda and patronage. They seem to have encouraged the reproduction of their portrait cameos in glass, which probably served as presents. Several monumental cameos might date to the Hellenistic period, even though their dates are much disputed. There is no abrupt transition to the styles of the Roman period and the distinction between Greek and Roman is often virtually impossible to make, since the artists of the earliest 'Roman' gems are demonstrably Greeks. Big cameos were probably kept as display pieces; the smaller cameos were set into diverse jewelry, such as rings, pendants, *fibulae*, and diadems.

In the Late Hellenistic period, and for the years of the early Roman Empire, Greek artists were increasingly producing works for 'Italic' customers. There are clear connections between styles in workshops

engraving in Etruscan and Italic-Hellenistic techniques. More gems proudly carry their artist's signatures and reflect in this the regard in which they were held by patrons. Gems became collectable art. This appreciation led to a renewed flourishing of the craft. The Greek ethnicity of the artists is revealed by their names and in the letter forms of the inscriptions. The signature of a famous engraver, such as Dioskourides (cf. Plantzos 1999: 97), must have enhanced the owner's pride in possession. Motifs often reflect Roman tastes, and myths connected to Rome and Romans. Signatures document the continued presence of the very best Greek engravers throughout the first century of the Roman Empire.

10.5 Finger Rings

At the end of the 7th c. BC Greek craftsmen begin to make all-metal rings with intaglios. The shapes of plain rings had survived from the Bronze Age, but were now worn on the finger and not as pendants. In Greece, bronze and silver, the more plentiful metals available, make up the majority of rings. Gold rings of Greek type appear in much greater number in Etruria, deposited in graves. Techniques for cutting devices into metals were much less difficult than those needed to engrave hard stones. Animals and pairs of animals make up the bulk of early images, with a few more complicated devices appearing in Etruria.

Shapes come in some variety. Inspired by Egyptian cartouche rings are the rings with long oval bezel in line with the hoop. The diamond-shaped bezel, created by flattening part of a simple hoop in its simple form or arrived at through different techniques, and the oval bezel, probably derived from the familiar shape of the stone scarab base, form the principal basic types. The experiments of the Archaic period soon turn into a more fixed canon of shapes and sizes, and provide characteristic types in the Classical period which only change slowly once introduced. Intaglios show mostly simple devices, such as lions, a sea-serpent, and a flying Eros.

The subjects of Classical engraved rings and their purpose are close to the engraved gemstones. Both techniques were probably mastered by the same artists. The fundamental differences between the two, however, make attributions with great certainty impossible. Many were clearly the work of major artists of the day, many probably working also in other media, not necessarily even miniaturist.

The value of the materials and the craftsmanship lavished upon engraved gems dictated their value. Gold and silver are the materials

chosen for fine rings. The alloy of gold and silver, electrum, rarely occurs. Silver rings were often pierced by gold studs. The principal shape of the Early Classical period was already introduced in the Late Archaic: a stirrup with slim hoop and with leaf-shaped bezel. The most popular shape by the end of the 4th c. was a heavy hoop shaped to the finger, with a large circular bezel. A variety of shapes fall in between these two extremes. Figure devices have a lesser range than those on engraved stones. Familiar subjects appear, such as a flying Nike, animals, and birds.

At the end of the 5th c. BC, heavy Classical rings appear (Figure 10.9). The bezels are often broad, some near-oval, showing devices such as seated women and maenads, heads of both men and women, and more complicated hunting scenes. Among the animal studies, lion fights are common. In the 4th c., large rings with round bezels herald a larger correspondence between devices on rings and coins. A fashion for these large all-metal rings can be traced at least into the 3rd c. BC, portraits appearing as the most common device. Local productions in the Greek style and regional Greek styles can be identified. However, groups working in a particular style can rarely be traced to a region with confidence. Western Greek finger rings can be grouped with more confidence than Western Greek engraved stones.

Figure 10.9 Gold finger ring. Herakles worshipping. Late 5th c. BC (Private collection. Beazley Archive, Oxford University. Photo: C. Wagner).



Bronze rings come in many of the simpler types known from rings in precious metals. The quality of the engraving tends to be poorer, although the range of subjects matches generally that of the rings in more expensive materials. Some bronze rings have been gilded or silvered. Rare occurrences are rings with devices cut in relief. These were entirely decorative and could not be used for sealing.

Taken as a whole, Greek 'luxury arts' offer to their modern student an opportunity to appreciate the ways in which their makers and users treated the valuable materials at their disposal. Gems, jewelry, metal vessels, and finger rings also have much to contribute to discussions of images and their functions and meanings.

FURTHER READING

Greek jewelry lacks a proper comprehensive survey, though Williams and Ogden (1994), originally an exhibition catalogue, fills this gap to

a great extent, including a very useful section on techniques. Deppert-Lippitz (1985) is a good update of Higgins (1980; first published in 1961), and Calinescu's (1996) volume of essays, *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, contains some significant contributions.

Greek gold and silver plate is still mostly covered by exhibition catalogues dedicated to specific regions or periods. Strong (1979; first published in 1966), a full guide to Greek and Roman metal vessels, remains a good starting point. Zimi's (2011) *Late Classical and Hellenistic Silver Plate from Macedonia* surveys a crucial period in the history of Greek metalwork. Barr-Sharrar (2008) deals with a truly exceptional monument worth studying in detail: the Derveni Krater.

Boardman (2001b) and Plantzos (1999) offer comprehensive accounts of Greek gems, Bronze Age to Hellenistic. A. Furtwängler's (1900) *Die antiken Gemmen* and G.M.A. Richter's (1968a) *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* are seminal studies on the subject, with more than just historical value. Individual collections are usually published in monumental *catalogues raisonnés* catering to the specialist. The *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* (AGDS) series has since 1968 offered a good number of such catalogues covering Munich, Berlin, Hamburg, and other collections; J.D. Beazley's *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, first published in 1920 and now re-edited by J. Boardman (2002), is important for the detail of its descriptions and attributions as well as comment; and the Ashmolean Museum gems were published in Boardman and Vollenweider (1978). Vollenweider (1966) explores the important work of Greeks for Romans in the 1st centuries BC/AD. The tendency in recent years has been to illustrate gems in originals rather than impressions, yet both are required ideally. Much is learnt from impressions made in the 18th/19th c. from old collections, notably Zwierlein-Diehl (2007), and for these see also the 'Gems' section at: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk.

CHAPTER 11

Terracottas

Lucilla Burn

11.1 Introduction

Modeling figures or small reliefs in clay is a very widespread phenomenon, one whose development might seem, with hindsight, to have had a certain inevitability in any society where clay was in common use for the production of pottery vessels. It is easy to imagine how in such circumstances the process of terracotta production could begin. A few pieces of clay might be trimmed off the body of a vessel, or be left over from rolling out a rim or handle: pressed together, these could be modeled by the potter or an assistant into some independent form, perhaps for the amusement of children or other onlookers. Left on one side in the work area, some of the models might dry and harden in the sun; others could be fired as testers in the pottery kilns. Gradually, as they were perceived to have a use and even a market, clay figurines would acquire an independent value and existence and their production would become a specialized industry in its own right. This type of scenario is likely to have been played out in many cultures at many times: so that in itself it may seem quite unremarkable for the Greeks to have made terracotta figures. But much less predictable are the developments in the types of terracottas that were produced, whether confined to particular regions or more widespread. The organization of the industry and the status of its practitioners, the so-called ‘coroplasts’, at various times and places is also of interest, as are the ways in which the uses or destinations of terracottas changed over time. These are some of the topics with which we shall be concerned here. But to appreciate terracottas as a class of object properly, it seems desirable to start with a brief discussion of the technology of Greek terracotta production, from its

11.2 Technology

Geometric-period terracottas are closely allied in technological terms with the contemporary pottery. From around 950 BC onwards in Athens, for example, figures of people, horses, and other animals were made from the same clay as the vases and decorated, with similar stripes and linear patterns, in the same clay slip, applied before firing. Many Geometric figures were handmade and therefore solid, like the handsome, stylized horses that line up on the lids of pyxides or enjoy an independent existence as figurines; other handmade animals and human figures, even chariot groups, are also found. But occasionally in the earlier Geometric period, and more commonly in the later, figures that were made on the potter's wheel, or figures that combine hollow, wheel-made elements with parts that are solid and made by hand, are also found, such as the fine models of mules carrying amphorae, similar to one found in the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens (Figure 11.1). This use of the potters's primary tool, the wheel, demonstrates the close connection between terracotta and vase production at this time and suggests there was probably little, if any, distinction between the practitioners of the two arts.

Figure 11.1 Terracotta model. Mule carrying amphorae. c. 780–720 BC (London, British Museum GR.1921.11–29.2. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



In the Early Archaic period, when Boeotia appears to have become a leader in the production of figurines, many continued to be made by hand. This is true of the distinctive plank-like seated and standing goddess figurines, made from thin slabs of clay; it is also the case with the numerous horsemen, which bear a strong resemblance to their Geometric predecessors, and the series of lively genre figures and groups, from barbers to bakers and cheese-grinders. However, the use of molds, introduced into Greece from Cyprus, North Syria, or Phoenicia soon after about 700 BC, soon became widespread and was hugely influential in terms of terracotta technology and stylistic and technological development. Some Early Archaic figurines combined molded with wheel-made elements, like the series of mourning women made in Boeotia with molded heads and wheel-made, neatly-waisted bodies (Jeammet 2003: 86–87). But the advantages of molds soon allowed terracotta makers to move away from the wheel. Molds enabled them to produce hollow items that were not necessarily cylindrical. And by making possible the production of large numbers of replicas of a single original, they introduced the feasibility of mass production.

The first step in producing a mold-made figurine is to make, by hand, a solid figurine, sometimes known as an archetype or patrix. From this, any number of sets of molds can be taken (for a straightforward account of this process, see Uhlenbrock 1990: 15–21;

for its consequences, see Nicholls 1952). The molds must be fired in a kiln until hard, and then, to make a figure, lined with a thin layer of clay. When dried to a leather-hard state, this layer is removed from the mold and fired. In the Classical period, most figures were made from a single mold, in which could be formed, in one piece, the front of a figure, including its head. The back of the figure would then simply be closed with a thin, flat slab of clay, trimmed to fit its contours. The bottom was often left open, but sometimes figures were provided with a flat, plaque-like base. If this was the case, a vent – rectangular, circular, or square – would be cut in the back to allow air to escape during firing. Without a vent there was a very real risk that as the air expanded as it grew hotter, the figure would explode.

Only fairly simple figures could be made with a single, frontal mold. They could be either seated or standing, but their heads needed to be strictly frontal, their legs pressed together, and their arms held rigidly at their sides – projecting limbs were not possible (see for example the East Greek seated goddess of [Figure 11.2](#)). Later in the Classical period, heads started to be molded separately, the neck elongated with a long, tenon-like stalk that could be pushed through the upper body before firing. Later still, as terracottas had to keep pace with the increasingly sophisticated poses achieved in other media, the number of molds needed to make a single figure expanded greatly. A typical standing female figure of the Hellenistic period, for example, would be made from one principal front mold, and one back mold, often less fully worked than the front: the front and back of the head would also be made separately in two more molds. Any projecting limbs, extra pieces of drapery, or wings would require additional molds. The individually molded pieces would be left to harden in their separate molds, then carefully removed at the leather-hard stage and joined together with wet clay. At this point, any necessary repairs to the figure might be made; if the mold were rather worn or broken in some area then details of drapery or hair might be ‘retouched’ or ‘touched up’. The joins between the separately molded elements needed to be smoothed over on the outside and reinforced, if necessary, on the inside, with more damp or liquid clay. It has been suggested that this is an additional function of the air vents, and a reason why they are often very large: cut when the figurine was taken from the mold, they would have allowed the coroplast to get a finger inside to smooth down the ‘seams’ and also to secure the head on its long tenon (Muller 1996: 38–39). The use of component molds to build up a figure had the advantage of allowing the coroplast to create subtly different-looking figures with minimum effort, simply by changing the head, or the angle at which it was attached to the body, or by varying the accessories – fans, hats, or wreaths.

Figure 11.2 Terracotta figurine. Goddess. c. 520–500 BC (London, British Museum 68. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figurines were most probably fired in kilns similar to those used for pottery (see Chapter 13). However, because they were not designed to hold liquids, they did not need to be as hard as most pots and so did not need to be fired for as long. We have seen that once molds entered the picture, terracotta production was more free to evolve separately from that of pottery. However, their common use of the same raw material – clay – and their common need for kilns and fuel to fire them may well have led to potters and coroplasts sharing premises or working side by side. In the Archaic period, methods of terracotta decoration remained close to those of vase-painting – brownish-black clay slip, along with the same reds and purples used on pottery, was applied before firing. Later too, at certain times and in some areas, including both 5th and 4th c. Athens and 3rd c. Crete, decorative molded terracotta elements could be added to enhance wheel-made vases. It has indeed been argued that the development of

the 'Tanagra' style was a consequence of the production of draped, female figures that were applied to the fronts of the large loutrophoroi found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph on the south slope of the Acropolis (Jeammet 2003: 125). But in terms of their decoration, from the Classical period onwards, terracotta figurines moved in a quite separate direction from vases, with the development of decorative techniques that more closely resemble those of larger-scale statues. Most of the decoration was carried out after firing: this is clear because the white coating which forms the 'ground' for the colored decoration of most figures is usually composed of kaolinite, a mineral that would be destroyed in the firing process (Burn and Higgins 2001: 307–312). Over the white ground, a variety of colors – minerals like ochre, hematite, or Egyptian blue, along with plant or vegetable colors such as rose madder – could be applied to delineate features, hair, or areas of drapery. Gilding was also used to highlight elements of drapery such as the border of a cloak, or for bracelets, necklaces, or earrings. It is noticeable that with very few exceptions, little trouble was taken to decorate the backs. Often they are not even coated in the white slip and they are rarely colored. This provides, perhaps, an intriguing clue as to their use – were they invariably laid on their backs or propped against a wall?

Because coroplasts, molds, and archetypes could all travel quite easily around the Greek world, it often happens that figurines very similar or even identical in type were made in places that were geographically and politically distant from one another. Sometimes it is possible to show how certain types of figure moved from one production center to another, occasionally adapted to suit local tastes: painstaking study has revealed, for example, how versions of one type of Aphrodite figure, originating in Athens, were made in both Cyrenaica and Cyprus (Jeammet 2003: 138–141). Identifying the clay from which a figurine is made is the best method of determining its production place. In terms of scientific tests, neutron activation analysis, which can identify the trace elements that make up the unique 'fingerprint' of a clay, is the most reliable method (Burn and Higgins 2001: 293–306). But close visual inspection of the clay can often reveal certain clues. The actual color of the clay is not usually a very helpful guide as this tends to vary a great deal according to the firing conditions, and often even different parts of the same figurine can be very different in color. But the texture of the clay and its inclusions can sometimes be very helpful. The figurines of Athens, for example, like Athenian vases, are generally made from fine clay that contains very few inclusions of any kind. Boeotian clay, on the other hand, is slightly coarser, with noticeable flecks of glittering silver particles (sometimes known as mica). Asia Minor clays are still more

micaceous, with flecks of gold as well as silver, while most distinctive of all are the clays of Cyrenaica, which are often very coarse and typically contain tiny fossilized sea creatures, like small pieces of shell. The production places of some of the high-quality terracottas found in huge numbers in the Greek cities of South Italy and Sicily (Magna Graecia) may also be identified by the appearance of their clay: at Morgantina in central Sicily, for example, distinctive clay types are one way by which locally produced terracottas can be distinguished from those imported from Syracuse or other production centers (Bell 1981: 116–118).

11.3 Types and Functions of Terracotta Figures

Terracottas could fulfill several different functions. These might vary according to period and place, and also, to some extent, their types. At all periods it is hard to avoid the rather obvious idea that surely some terracotta figures might have been children's toys. This is especially true of the numerous small and appealing little figures of birds and animals that are found in graves and sanctuaries; but that even some of the later figures of children or even older females might have had this function may perhaps be suggested by a few Athenian tombstones on which a young girl stands holding such a figure (e.g. Uhlenbrock 1990: 44, fig. 36), as though it is an emblem of the childhood that she is leaving behind in death. The function and destination of terracotta figures are likely to be related, and it seems clear that in most periods the principal find spots are tombs and sanctuaries, with houses entering the picture significantly in the Hellenistic period. But in each of these contexts they may have fulfilled a variety of roles, and the same type of figure, whether it is of a goddess or a little girl, might be found in all three.

Is there any development in use and consequently in function or significance over time? In the Geometric period, when terracottas were closely related to pottery and most of those that we know about were found in graves, they are likely to have played a similar role to the pots, emphasizing the status of the dead person and his or her family. In the Archaic period, goddess figurines, along with a variety of small animals, horsemen, and small genre figures, predominated. A typical East Greek example of a goddess ([Figure 11.2](#)) shows the figure seated frontally. The tall headdresses of the goddess figurines suggest they may be images of Demeter or Persephone, goddesses

associated with the Underworld. These figures have been found in both sanctuaries and tombs; in sanctuaries they would be offered as gifts to placate the local gods, while in tombs they may have served to protect the dead person on his or her journey to the Underworld. In the Classical period, most terracottas continued to be predominantly sacred in both subject and function. Large numbers of them have been found, for example, in the sanctuaries of Athens and Attica at this time. Goddesses predominate, but they are joined by images of Dionysos and, especially in the later 5th and 4th c. BC, by figures of women and youths, who sometimes hold offerings such as flowers or cockerels and who are best interpreted as worshippers, visitors to a sanctuary. Although there are naturally stylistic developments, these basic types of figure, and their use in sanctuaries, continue through the 4th c. and into the Hellenistic period. At certain sanctuaries or in connection with certain deities, particular types of figure seem to have become especially popular, being related to the presiding god or goddess. At many small sanctuaries and shrines in southern Italy, for example, images of the banqueting Dionysos were extremely popular, a reflection of his important role there as an Underworld deity. Demeter sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, on the other hand, are noted for their large quantities of *hydrophoroi*, or women carrying water jars on their heads (Burn and Higgins 2001: 175, 180). Their image evokes an episode in the myth of the goddess Demeter, who, when searching for her lost daughter Persephone, was welcomed at Eleusis by the kindly daughters of Keleos when they came with their water jars to draw water from the well and found her resting there (Figure 11.3). It is likely that women carried water jars in Demeter sanctuary rituals, and that by dedicating these figurines they left behind surrogates of themselves, worshippers who would keep their place in the sanctuary and continue to honor the goddess after they themselves, the dedicators, had returned home. Female figures carrying piglets, another popular offering to the Underworld deities, are also commonly found at sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone. At other sanctuaries, female figures wearing a particular or unusual style of dress, such as a peplos at a time when the chiton was in more general wear, as at the Thesmophorion on Thasos (Muller 1996), may be found. This trend may reflect the actual dress worn by the participants in a festival, or else it may be the effect of conservatism in terms of the offering tradition at a particular sanctuary. At Morgantina in central Sicily, the presence of the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone promoted the production of a wide range of high-quality terracotta figures from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. Here, as Bell has shown, the preferred types of terracotta, especially the numerous figures that show Persephone as a bride, suggest that

the emphasis of the cult was very much on Persephone and her sacred marriage to Hades, God of the Underworld (Bell 1981: esp. 99–103).

Figure 11.3 Terracotta figurine. Woman carrying water jar. c. 200 BC (London, British Museum 2518. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



In the Hellenistic period, while sanctuary dedications of terracottas continued, they also became very popular offerings for tombs. This may be reflected in what looks like an increasing secularization in terms of subject or type. The prime examples of this tendency are the ‘Tanagra’ figures, so-called from the city of Tanagra in Boeotia, central Greece, where thousands were discovered in largely illicit excavations in the 1870s and 1880s (Higgins 1996; Jeammet 2003). The ‘Tanagra’ style and type almost certainly originated in Athens in around 380 BC, perhaps in connection with ‘plastic’ vase developments, and from here it spread to Tanagra and elsewhere in the Greek world, but the name ‘Tanagra’ has stuck. Although figures of the goddess Aphrodite and

her son Eros are part of the Tanagra repertoire, the most common type of Tanagra is the elegantly draped, standing female figure who lacks any of the attributes that would mark her out as a goddess or a worshipper (Figure 11.4). There are also young men and children, both boys and girls, and a variety of ‘genre’ figures, especially actors and old nursemaids. Because of the circumstances in which these figures came to light, we have virtually no evidence for the age or sex of the occupants of the graves in which they were found. Research into the better-documented contemporary graves at Taranto in southern Italy, however, where similar ‘Tanagra’-style figures have been found, suggests that terracotta figures were generally thought most suitable for the graves of women and children, and were rarely found in those of adult males (Graepler 1997). Their function in the tomb is uncertain, but perhaps one way they might have been considered is as substitutes for the female family members who played a principal role in visiting and caring for the family tombs.

Figure 11.4 Terracotta ‘Tanagra’ figurine. Woman. c. 250–200 BC (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR66.1937. University of Cambridge/The Bridgeman Art Library).



While there are generally fewer terracotta deities in the Hellenistic period than before, Aphrodite's popularity in other media is paralleled in terracotta, and there is also a new fashion for winged figures – Eros, personification of Love, and Nike, winged Victory. The largest and finest of the Eros and Nike figures have been found at Myrina, a city in Asia Minor, not far from Smyrna, which, like Tanagra, is principally remarkable for the terracottas found in its cemeteries (Uhlenbrock 1990: 73–76). The Myrina workshops appear to have been at their most active from around 250 BC onwards, continuing into the Roman period. Many of the Myrina figures are highly accomplished in terms of both design and technique and the Nikai in particular are truly magnificent creations (Figure 11.5). They really do appear to fly, their tall, beautifully feathered wings extended, one leg pushing free of the drapery, which then presses back in windswept folds against the other leg and body. It is not clear what significance these winged figures would have had in the tombs where they are principally found – they should symbolize triumph or victory, so perhaps they represent the

escape of the dead person's spirit from the confines of the tomb. It is also worth noting that figures like these, with their projecting limbs and wings, are extremely fragile: they are difficult to accommodate in modern museum displays or storage but were surely just as difficult to transport or handle in antiquity. It seems very likely that most were made and purchased specifically for placing in the grave.

Figure 11.5 Terracotta figurine. Winged Victory (Nike). c. 180 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7690. Museum purchase/The Bridgeman Art Library).



Other new types of terracotta figure also become popular in the course of the Hellenistic period and were finely developed at Myrina. These include the actor figures, representing the characters of both Middle and New Comedy. The earlier figures are very like those that appear on South Italian vases of the 4th c. BC: they have short, padded costumes, an exaggeratedly large phallus, and a mask ([Figure 19.4](#)). The later figures are also masked but generally are fairly

normal in terms of their proportions and dress; many of them can be identified as stock characters of the comedies of such playwrights as Menander, such as the Procurer or the Blond Young Man. The boundary between the actor figures, with their caricature-like masks, and the so-called 'grotesques' is often blurred, perhaps because, it is believed, in real life one way for dwarfs and people with various physical disabilities to make a living was as dancers, mummers, or general entertainers. At all events, terracotta figures with realistic or exaggerated deformities, such as hunchbacks or twisted limbs and torsos, do become popular in the Hellenistic period, and a good proportion of them seem to be dancing or miming. Like the Nikai, it is not obvious why any of these figures were considered appropriate offerings or furnishings for the graves where most of them have been found. In the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery it seems that actor figures were sometimes placed in children's graves: it has been suggested that a child's first visit to the theater was a significant rite of passage, and that actor figures could have been buried with those who did not live long enough to experience it directly, but this seems very speculative. As for the 'grotesques', were they perhaps considered to be apotropaic – good-luck charms that would protect their purchasers – or those whose graves they ended up in – from suffering a similar fate? Or were they, rather, cheerful reminders of company and entertainment? Was the idea that the noise and jollity that these figures represented might ward off the evil spirits from the tomb (Uhlenbrock 1990: 159)?

The final context in which terracottas are found increasingly in the Hellenistic period is in private houses (Rumscheid 2006). Here they seem to have formed a cheap alternative to statuettes in more expensive materials such as marble or bronze. It is not always simple to determine how the figures were used or understood in a domestic context. At Priene, for example, a house near the theater where many masks and actor figures were excavated could be that of a theater-lover, but has more plausibly been interpreted as having had some cult function connected with Dionysos. Other figurines of gods or goddesses may have been used to furnish domestic shrines. But there is some evidence to suggest that some figures, especially the larger-scale examples, might have had a more purely decorative domestic function, placed on small tables or in niches against the walls. This sort of decorative use seems to have continued into the Roman period, with several examples of terracotta figures of various scales used in the gardens and courtyards of Pompeii and other Vesuvian cities.

11.4 Terracottas, Bronzes, and Other Sculpture

We know all too little about the coroplasts themselves and the organization of the terracotta industry. The term 'coroplast' occurs very rarely in Greek literature and when it does, it is usually a term of disparagement: Isocrates, for example, asks rhetorically whether anyone would imagine comparing Pheidias to a coroplast (*Antid.* 2). No individual is mentioned by name. But we do know some coroplasts' names because they appear on some of the terracotta figures made and found at Myrina (Kassab 1988). These names generally appear on the backs of the figures: some were incised into the molds, so that they appear in slightly raised relief on the figures. Most of them are found on figures that are dated stylistically to the 1st c. BC and AD and, though a few Roman names appear, most of them are Greek – Diphilos, Hieron, Sodamos, and Menophilos. We do not know whether the names are actually those of individual coroplasts, or rather the owners of workshops.

We have briefly noted the relationship between terracottas and pottery, terracotta makers and potters, and suggested that the developmental paths of the two types of artifact were able to diverge with the introduction of molds for figurines. But Greek cities and villages were too small for craftsmen to work in isolation from each other, and it seems most likely that the practitioners of various crafts mutually exchanged and absorbed useful information and technologies. The use of archetypes and molds, for example, was something that the terracotta makers had in common with bronze casters, and it seems highly likely that many figurine types that we know solely or principally in terracotta were also made in bronze: the maker of an archetype could have sold his product or allowed it to be used by either type of craftsman. The Baker Dancer, for example, a rare surviving, high-quality Hellenistic bronze figure now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pollitt 1986: fig. 292), finds several parallels in terracotta. The point is probably not that one material is imitating another but rather that bronze casters and coroplasts equally were responding to the same demand, moving in the same environment, and quite probably pooling their skills and their resources (Barr-Sharrar 1990). At times there are also observable links between sculpture in marble and terracotta figures. One group of 2nd c. BC terracottas from Myrina, for example, seems to echo the sculptural style of contemporary Pergamon (Uhlenbrock 1990: 75); and some of the fragmentary terracottas from Knidos and Halikarnassos now in the British Museum have strong links with

contemporary large-scale sculpture from Caria and the Dodecanese – not just in their poses and drapery styles but also in facial expressions and hairstyles (Burn 1997). Several ‘Tanagra’ types echo or are echoed by large-scale marble statues, such as the so-called ‘Sophoclean’ type (e.g. Jeammet 2003: 198–203). Clearly the basic technology of working in marble and clay is decidedly different, with the marble workers cutting away the surface to reveal the form beneath and the workers in clay building up their figures layer by layer. However, the polychromy of marble sculpture seems likely to have followed much the same method and used the same materials as that of terracottas. And it is perfectly possible that not just bronze casters, but even sculptors like Pheidias, whom we now celebrate for their surviving work in marble, actually carried out much of their original work in terracotta. There are references to sculptors working at Epidauros producing ‘typoi’, which may be models in clay, and it seems highly likely that for, say, a pedimental composition, a sculptor would produce a set of clay models to develop and plan the relative positions and groupings of the figures (Boardman 2006). It certainly seems plausible, too, that the proliferation and replication of large-scale copies of statue types in the Hellenistic period was facilitated by the export and migration across the Greek world of small-scale terracotta figures or molds taken from them.

Though terracotta figures were certainly cheap and ubiquitous in antiquity, they are still well worth studying today. Some, like the Myrina victories, are small-scale masterpieces of sculpture; all are a tangible link with the past, and even when we cannot be certain of their significance, they serve to bring us closer to those who made and used them.

FURTHER READING

The most comprehensive general introduction to the subject in English remains Higgins (1967), which covers the subject chronologically from about 7000 BC to AD 100, in terms of technology, typology, and regional development. It is, however, considerably out of date, and badly needs replacing. Full of valuable insights, especially for the Hellenistic period, and including much more recent bibliography and finds, are two excellent books produced to accompany exhibitions of terracotta figurines: Uhlenbrock (1990) and Jeammet (2003). Uhlenbrock includes insightful essays by a number of scholars, who make invaluable contributions to our understanding of regional styles and workshop practices in the Hellenistic period. It also underlines the pioneering work undertaken by Dorothy Burr Thompson in terms of

outlining the Athenian origins of the Tanagra style. Jeammet is the most beautiful terracotta book yet produced, elegantly designed with magnificent, full-color images of numerous figures; the author focuses on the products of Tanagra from the Archaic period onwards, and as well as demonstrating the stylistic and typological development at Tanagra, provides illuminating case studies on the diffusion of the Tanagra style. Like Higgins (1986), Jeanmet also introduces the story of the discovery and reception of Tanagra figures in the 1870s and 1880s. The bibliography is extremely complete and suggests numerous avenues to pursue.

Otherwise, the most useful material on this subject is to be found in museum catalogues and excavation reports. Of the former, W. Schürmann's (1989) *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe* is an excellent example. Of the latter, Merker (2000), with her masterful analysis of the terracotta figures from the sanctuary of Demeter and Corinth, not only organizes the material clearly and concisely but is also a mine of information on everything from clays to technology, typology, and function. And Rumscheid (2006), besides presenting the figurines from Priene, offers invaluable discussions of context and superbly referenced summaries of terracotta finds in domestic contexts from Ephesos to Pompeii. On Sicily, see Bell (1981), detailing the finds from Morgantina; and for Boeotian in various time periods, see Szabo (1994).

CHAPTER 12

Coinages

François de Callataÿ

12.1 Availability

Greek coins were produced literally by the billions and at least a couple of million still exist in private and public hands. More than 400,000 belong to the four major coin cabinets: Berlin, London, Paris, and New York. To venture some numbers which provide a far better illustration than orders of magnitude: that totals about 50,000 for coins in gold or electrum; about 1 million in silver; and several million at least in bronze. Moreover, it has been estimated that more than 50,000 Greek coins are officially sold every year through organized sales (de Callataÿ 1997c: 21–94). These numbers are enough to remind us that ancient coins were truly mass-produced items.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that, even before the onset of art history as a discipline, coins were indeed the most discussed pieces of tangible evidence surviving from the ancient Greek world. At a time when travelling through the Ottoman Empire was a risky enterprise, Greek coins were not as commonly known as Roman coins. Yet they were frantically collected and published. The first Greek numismatic monograph (Goltz 1576) appeared about two centuries before its equivalent volume on Greek vases (Passeri 1767–1775). Before the beginning of the 18th c., approximately 100 books exclusively or partly devoted to Greek coins were already published, and many more concerned with Roman coins. There were 509 books specifically devoted to coins and medals, ancient and modern, out of a total of 3035 18th c. listed works with an interest in numismatic studies (cf. Dekesel 2003: XXXIII).

Coins are probably the most sizeable category of visual art we may study nowadays as they were the most widespread medium in their

time, when put into circulation. Although we may discuss the level of monetization reached by different societies forming the Greek world, it seems beyond a reasonable doubt that any single citizen, wherever he or she lived, in a city or in the country, had many more chances to be in contact with a coin than with a statue or a painted vase, not to speak of a mosaic or a cameo.

12.2 Iconography

Although trust lies at the very center of the monetary phenomenon, which means a certain reluctance to modify a well-accepted iconographical type, the Greek world has produced thousands of different types for its coinages. No extrapolated calculation has so far been made, but the total must certainly be over 25,000. Despite how incomplete it may be, Sear's 1978–79 collector's catalogue offers a numbered list of 7957 different entries, which can be multiplied by two since each coin issue carries an obverse and a reverse type.

This richness of coin imagery is in itself of prime value since it often provides the only or best evidence we have for artifacts no longer in existence. Famous buildings and sculptures, such as the Colossus of Rhodes, both chryselephantine sculptures by Pheidias (Zeus at Olympia and Athena Parthenos at Athens), the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, and the Pharos of Alexandria – to choose only among the canonical 'Seven Wonders' – are here particularly relevant (Clayton and Price 1988 (Wonders); Trell 1942, 1976 and Price and Trell 1977 (architecture); Lacroix 1946, 1949a, 1949b, 1974, 1975 (sculpture)). This provides an interesting contrast with decorated vases, for example, whose interest chiefly lies in daily *realia* and mythological episodes. Coins are definitely the go-to place for heads, either divine or royal. As noticed by many commentators, the proportion of heads represented on coins is higher than in any other medium, including gems. A large majority of monetary issues display a head, generally on the obverse, and an overwhelming proportion is devoted to gods and goddesses (Figure 12.1). Monetary types seem to evolve through time: an animal or an object linked to a cult in the Archaic period; the head of the god on the obverse during the Classical period (standing gods only appear on reverses), replaced by the head of the king on many Hellenistic issues; later more mythological scenes, especially under Roman rule (Vorreiter 1976; Picard 1991: 223–233).

Figure 12.1 Silver stater of Elis/Olympia. Head of Zeus (obverse). c.



A calculated comparison of types between coins and gems has never been attempted, but databases available on the Internet make it easy to propose some numbers. The British volumes of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* have been digitalized: with 3022 occurrences (whether as principal or secondary type, on the obverse or the reverse), rough statistics put Athena well beyond any other representation (Figure 12.2). Then comes a trio of male divinities: Zeus (2223 occurrences), Herakles (1881), and Apollo (1820). Others follow: Artemis (848), Dionysos (617), Demeter (481), Poseidon (324), Aphrodite (159), and Ares (123). The charming Eros is recorded only 25 times and there is no known representation of a maenad on Greek coins. These numbers are clearly at odds with what gems, discussed by Boardman and Wagner (Chapter 10), have to offer.

Figure 12.2 Silver tetradrachm of Syracuse. Head of Athena (reverse). c. 410 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



Iconographical interpretations may prove tricky. Although much desired and often sought, historical references are very rare, and most connections made between a specific type and a particular event have proved unconvincing. One must also not take for granted the many subtle stories built upon allusive puns on a name or some religious feature of the issuing power. It is not even certain that we should postulate a local cult for every representation of a god or a goddess on a coin (Florenzano 1999). The list of posited reasons why a particular type was chosen is not short. It includes 'canting badges' (e.g. a goat for Aigai, an apple for Melos, a wild parsley leaf for Selinus, all place names recalling – even merely phonetically – the fruit, vegetable, or animal they supposedly derive from) and fashion, as exemplified by the three-quarters heads of Syracusan nymph Arethusa (copied in Larissa, Tarsus, and Lagaba).

Systematic attempts to explain the diversity of iconographic types exist. For Thomas Burgon, writing towards the middle of the 19th c. AD, the reason behind every Greek monetary device was religious (Burgon 1837). Maria Caltabiano and the Messina school around her

have recently launched a new program entitled *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae* (Caltabiano et al. 2004; Caltabiano 1998, 2000, 2007), where, using linguistics as their paradigm, they courageously try to define the grammar and the syntax for each of these types.

12.3 Opportunities

In addition to being abundant and highly informative, coins offer three unique opportunities for the historian of Greek art:

First, we may claim to possess a specimen of all types ever struck in the Greek world. But this is not absolutely true: each year brings new and previously unknown types. At the same time, it is difficult to challenge the idea that our record is mostly complete, making it truly unique among the ancient visual arts. Let us remember that the average productivity for Greek monetary dies is likely to have been in the range of 20,000 pieces per die, and certainly above 10,000. With coins, we may follow the sequence as it was in ancient times, without introducing biases that are subject to the current conditions of available evidence.

Second, it is traditionally thought that coins are the most ‘official’ form of artistic expression, since they were submitted to political control. Less artistic liberty on the one hand, but more intentionality on the other: such would have been the fate of ancient coinages. In a way, coins help us reconstruct the official identities of cities and kingdoms. Abundant and intentional, coins were the most important medium for the Hellenistic royal image. It should be noted, however, that coins are not the only category for which we may suppose a strict official control; consider also weights and measures, or tiles and bricks; and, if not privately operated, amphora stamps and clay stamps may be added to the list.

Third, with coins, there is internal diversity, since most monetary types were engraved in many versions – hundreds of versions in some cases – through individual dies. This basic fact, long neglected by specialists of sculpture and other arts, offers us a rare opportunity to examine the spectrum of possibilities for a single type. Every die was cut individually. The existence of hubs, postulated by some but never accepted as a likely hypothesis, has recently been dismissed beyond any hope of recovery (Stannard 2011). These dies, similar yet different, witness engravers’ styles or skills, as well as specifications ordered to the mint. Temples may not always have the same number of columns; royal portraits may show significant differences. What could, at first sight, embarrass the historian of ancient art, proves on

the contrary to be a chance to move beyond a rigid catalogue of attributions, given the range of what was considered acceptable or not. This is particularly true for portraits, such as royal portraits in the Hellenistic period (Smith 1989). Specialists of Greek sculpture have recently been convinced to abandon the unhelpful practice of illustrating a piece of sculpture alongside the coin it most resembles, creating the illusion of a reinforced attribution. It would perhaps be better to proceed in the opposite way: first starting with the numismatic material, taking into account all the existing dies, establishing next the spectrum of physiognomic possibilities for the ruler under consideration, and then turning to the piece of sculpture we would like to attribute.

There is no shortage of books about Greek art, addressing a large audience. Unfortunately, coinages are not well represented in most of them. An exception is J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs, and M. Hirmer's *L'art grec* (Paris, 1966), whose photographs were taken by Max Hirmer (1893–1981), the famous art photographer who developed a thorough interest for coins and wrote several numismatic passages. Some books altogether ignore this category of archaeological evidence (e.g. Woodford 1986). With such abundant material offering such opportunities, we may wonder why coins have been so frequently left aside by modern scholars of Greek art. This general neglect has not always been the case. In earlier times, Johan Joachim Winckelmann, the 'father of art history' himself, made good use of numismatic evidence, and not only for iconographical reasons. He insisted on associating ultimate beauty with the heads of 'Proserpina' (in fact: Arethusa) engraved by Kimon and Evainetos on Syracusan coins from c. 405 to 400 BC (Figures 12.3 and 12.4; de Callatay 2007). (It's true that he preferred gems, perhaps because of his personal involvement with their collection and publication.)

Figure 12.3 Silver decadrachm of Syracuse. Head of Arethusa (reverse). Signed by Kimon. c. 405–400 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



Figure 12.4 Silver decadrachm of Syracuse. Head of Arethusa (reverse). Signed by Evainetos. c. 400–390 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



We may wonder why decorated vases received such substantial scholarly attention during the second half of the 20th c. (e.g. in Cook 1972: 171–172 there is hardly a page and a half for coins, compared with more than four for mosaics, five for gems, eleven for paintings, twenty-five for vases, seventy-four for architecture, and eighty-six for sculpture). For this, at least, there is apparently a simple answer: a tribute to the classical idea of fine arts, with the established trio of architecture, sculpture, painting. This is the order given by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) in his *Aesthetics* (Part III), going from the more material and less emotional form (architecture) to the opposite, with poetry listed as the sixth art. As original Greek painting is nearly completely lost, vases have served as a substitution medium – which they are surely not – for a more monumental and public form of expression. Many handbooks of Greek art have relied on this highly traditional way of organizing chapters: architecture, sculpture, and vases for painting (e.g. Charbonneaux et al. 1970). More thematic approaches have lately been gaining momentum (e.g. Pollitt 1986; Burn 2004).

12.4 Weaknesses

The reasons why coins have featured so little in recent manuals of Greek art are several. Here we list and elaborate on five of them: absence of references in ancient literature, size, overall artistic level, lack of artistic innovation, and current research in numismatics.

12.4.1 Absence of references in ancient literature

In contrast with other forms of visual art (but not with Greek vases), ancient literature has not preserved the name of a single die-engraver. Even Pliny is mute about them. Alexander the Great, we are informed, only allowed three artists to reproduce his image: Apelles for painting, Pyrgoteles for glyptic, and Lysippos for sculpture (in that order) (*HN* 7.125: ‘*Idem hic imperator edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalpteret, quae Lysippos in aere duceret, quae artes pluribus inclaruere exemplis*’). As argued by Andrew Stewart, Pyrgoteles, a little-known sculptor, is likely to have been instrumental in finding a noble origin for a Roman contemporary passion (1993: 36). The suggestion that Pyrgoteles also engraved monetary dies conflicts with the fact that, as far as we know, Alexander was portrayed on coinage only posthumously, by his successors; the youthful heads traditionally appearing on Macedonian coinage belong to Herakles ([Figure 12.5](#)).

Figure 12.5 Silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, possibly struck in Memphis. Head of Herakles (obverse). c. 321 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



12.4.2 Size

Coins are small and round. These constraints restrict considerably the possibilities and forbid ambitious compositions. However, although we have been trained to appreciate size in art, there is no clear relationship between size or value and craftsmanship. For many Greek coinages, we are fortunate to possess a full die-study. We do not detect any difference of 'artistic level' between gold and silver, large silver and small silver, or silver and bronze. Facing heads of Apollo in three-quarters view, a sophisticated and spectacular device, may appear on small bronzes, as was the case in Gryneion (Asia Minor, 3rd c. BC).

12.4.3 Overall artistic level

It may be tempting to expect that, since coins (especially royal coinages) were mostly struck to pay soldiers, their art was proportioned to these harsh beneficiaries. As with their food, soldiers

had to satisfy themselves with what was on offer, namely a rather coarse artistic medium characterized by a lack of flexibility. In contrast, royal-court glyptic flourished at the best and most sophisticated level. There is no question of denying gem-engravers under royal patronage the first rank of excellence in terms of craftsmanship, but the idea that they or other engravers were less careful as a result of working for soldiers is clearly hazardous.

The idea that Greek coins, as a mass-produced medium of small format, had a rather coarse mean artistic level is, at the very least, highly debatable. Because they were circulated in antiquity, most coins in our modern coin-cabinets are worn. But we may easily argue that the mean artistic level of monetary dies, as they were cut, is higher than that reached for contemporary gems. The idea that every gem is a unique creation and thus the result of an artistic process, while coins rest more in an industrial category, has nothing to recommend it. First, it confuses dies and coins. Second, it misses what is likely to have been a basic reality: monetary issuing powers, cities, or kings, were in a better position to attract the most skilled craftsmen than private individuals commissioning intaglios for themselves (for a start, cameos have always been rare). This is not a plea for coins only. Hellenistic clay seals, produced by intaglios, also display a high mean quality, inasmuch as they are official by nature (Plantzos 1999: 18–32).

12.4.4 Lack of artistic innovation

Trust, it has been said, is essential for monetary matters; and, as a consequence, monetary art does not tend to be very innovative, all the more so since it appears as a highly controlled medium. Not surprisingly, submitted to these formal (small and round), political, and economic-psychological constraints, coinage was only very rarely the place for ‘revolutionary’ expressions of reality (Kousser 2008). As best illustrated by the well-known Athenian owls, unchanging types were a reality, especially for important coinages open to circulation abroad ([Figure 12.6](#)). The Athenian tetradrachms struck at the end of the 5th c. display a style distinctive of at least one century earlier, struck on blanks of noticeably irregular shapes. The same kind of pattern (Archaic style and rough fabric, in contrast with what really matters: constancy in good weight and alloy) characterizes also the large 7th c. silver pieces produced from the mines of the Potosi, as a privilege allowed to international currencies exclusively. To interpret it as lack of skill, or as a proof that authorities did not particularly care about what was considered as a medium without artistic

significance, would be unfortunate hypotheses. It should be mentioned as well that the few cases for which devices were constantly renewed (the electrum coinage of Kyzikos; the first Athenian coinage, wrongly termed ‘Wappenmünzen’; or the Roman Republican *denarii* after c. 150 BC) point to a particular context with a monopoly of circulation wherein no risk of confusion exists. Again, it is important not to interpret in terms of special artistic creativity what is largely due to political opportunities.

Figure 12.6 Silver tetradrachm of Athens. (a) Head of Athena (obverse). (b) Owl (reverse) c. 450–431 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



12.4.5 Current research in numismatics

I would argue that those truly responsible for coins being so easily overlooked by classical art historians and archaeologists are the numismatists themselves, as made clear by the straight and ingenuous opinion of the vase specialist R.M. Cook: ‘Numismatics is in practice a separate and often self-sufficient branch of Classical Archaeology’ (1972: 172). Long considered highly technical (die-studies appeared on the eve of the 20th c.), numismatics has the not entirely unearned reputation of being a difficult topic reserved for specialists – an area where some scholars and students prefer not to venture. Numismatics, after emerging centuries ago as a discipline devoted to iconography, identification, and establishing a corpus, in recent decades has focused on different themes. Much attention has been directed to historical issues, especially economic ones, with very few contributions dealing with art-historical ones (Cahn 1999: 106). Thus, as the denounced gap with history has slowly been filling, the gap with art history has

increased. Indeed, just as coins are poorly used in recent literature on Greek art, historians of that same art have been ignored by most recent general books concerned with ancient coins (an exception is Carradice and Price 1988: 61–63). Long after the now outdated works by Gardner (1883, using chronological terms such as ‘period of finest art’, ‘period of decline’), MacDonald (1905), and Hill (1927), there is little doubt that some research will be again ‘à nouveaux frais’ in that direction.

12.5 The Die-engravers

Who were the die-engravers, known as *scalptores* in Latin? How did they work? We are extremely poorly informed on these questions. For the Greek world, we do not even possess an ancient term for the craft. *Argurokopos*, literally ‘the one who cuts silver’, is vague and better refers to the silversmith or, in a minting context, to the moneyer – the *malleator* in Latin, the one who strikes coins with his hammer, as in the famous Amphictionic decree in Delphi where the salary of Dexios argur[okopos?] is evoked (*CID* II 75 = *FD* III 5, 49, l. 52 – for an English translation, see Melville Jones 1993: 142–143, no. 212, who translates ‘argur[...]’ as ‘mint master’). To be sure, they were skilled craftsmen who were likely to have been trained from a young age, just as was Doros, who died at the age of 18 and whose tombstone mentions that he was *daktylokoiloglyphos*, a cutter of intaglios (Plantzos 1999: 40; from Roman Philadelphia in Asia Minor). In the absence of magnifying tools, good eyesight was required (Plantzos 1999: 40–41).

Very few Greek dies are preserved and none for which we may be sure of their use as official tools (official dies were normally destroyed when no longer in use). The well-known Athenian reverse die found at Tell el-Athrib in the Egyptian Delta and now kept in the Numismatic Museum of Athens has been analyzed: its composition reveals a proportionally high percentage of tin (25% (well above the average 10/15%), with 67% of copper and 8% of lead), which is not surprising considering that tin increases in hardness. For bronze coins, being more difficult to strike than silver and gold, iron dies are likely to have been engraved. Monetary dies are reported in inventories, such as in Athens (Parthenon) and Delos (Temple of Apollo). Obverse dies were called *akmones* (or *akmoniskoi*, little anvils), while reverse dies were called *charakteres*. In Athens, they were kept together with hammers (*sphurai*), and it is sometimes specified that obverses were made out of iron (*akmones sideroi*).

Were these engravers artists or artisans, assuming that a clear difference could be discerned? Specialists of gems and coins both recognize that engraving a stone and engraving a metallic die are very similar processes. Die-engravers must have taken up the techniques invented for gems. But specialists of gems have been more tempted than numismatists to look for artistry.

Signatures on coins have been avidly collected and commented upon. In 1724, the illustrious Philipp von Stosch published a catalogue of 70 gems on which he thought artists put their names (Stosch 1724), while numismatists, after the pioneering works of the Duke of Luynes, Raoul Rochette, and Sir Arthur Evans, continued to quote the monograph of L.O.Th. Tudeer devoted to Syracusan tetradrachms of the 'signing artists' period; that is, the last quarter of the 5th c. BC (Raoul-Rochette 1831; Tudeer 1913; Forrer 1906; de Callataÿ 1995). This interest, and the rather abundant (although not recent) literature, must not disguise the fact that our evidence is actually rather meager for the Greek world. Not even two dozen signatures exist for gems, now that the several illegitimate ones have been identified, and a few dozen signed monetary dies (c. 80–100?) out of the several hundreds of thousands which were produced, and for which one specimen at least survives (Figure 12.7).

Figure 12.7 Silver tetradrachm of Syracuse. (a) Quadriga (obverse). Signed by Euth[...]. (b) Head of Arethusa (reverse). Signed by Eum[...]. c. 410 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



Most of these signed monetary dies come from Sicily during the last quarter of the 5th c. BC and, to a lesser extent, from South Italy during the same period and the first half of the 4th c. (Lavva 2002: pl. 22–29). Cases elsewhere are truly exceptional. Even more exceptional

are cases of personal names followed by ‘*epoiei*’ (‘made it’), which is a guarantee that we are dealing with an ‘artist’s signature’. Only two dies may be quoted for sure: one for tetradrachms of Kos (‘*Theodotos epoiei*’) and one for didrachms of Kydonia (‘*Neuantos epoiei*’) (for two other cases subject to interpretation, see Leschhorn and Franke 2002: 114). In Aspendos (Pamphylia), a few dies (two?) carry the legend ‘*elupsa Menetos*’ or ‘*Menetos elupsa*’, which must be understood as ‘Menetos, I have engraved’ (‘*elupsa*’ for ‘*eglupsa*’). This once-debatable reading is now accepted, since another stater struck at Soloi (Cilicia) appears with the legend ‘*Apatorios eglupsen*’ (‘Apatorios has engraved’). The name of Apatorios may be found in minute but perfectly legible letters in another die of Soloi and in one at the nearby mint of Issos (Masson 1992: 6–9).

Besides these truly exceptional cases, there is no obvious association of names with engravers. After all, most of the thousands of names we see on Greek coins, especially on Hellenistic ones, are of mint controllers, rather than magistrates. These names generally appear on the reverse in large letters in the field. By contrast, we tend to recognize engravers’ signatures when names are cut in tiny letters in unusual locations, as under the truncation of the neck on the obverse (for which there is a clear parallel with the classical tradition in modern times). But this connection remains somewhat tenuous, and can be disproven in some cases, as with the full legend ‘*Nikokleous*’ appearing in minute letters hidden in the lion’s scalp of Herakles on tetradrachms struck at Paphos (Cyprus), and surely referring to the king Nikokles ruling at that time (Newell 1919: 64–65; [Figure 12.8](#)).

Figure 12.8 Silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, struck by Nikokles of Paphos. Head of Herakles (obverse). c. 320 BC (after E.T. Newell 1919) (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



I know of no figure for the total number of preserved Greek gems, but we may propose extrapolations for the total number of monetary dies. Knowing that 21,973 obverse dies are attested by the 608 die-studies gathered in the *Recueils quantitativs* (for a total of 92,550 coins), and that these 608 coinages cover c. 12% of the total number of issues ever struck, we will estimate the total of obverse dies to c. 180,000, to which we have to add the more numerous reverse dies (c. 400,000?) (de Callataj 1997b, 2003). It is thus likely that the total number of Greek monetary dies was between 500,000 and 1,000,000. As a result, it turns out that signed dies are of the utmost rarity (1 out of 5000 or 10,000?).

For Syracusan tetradrachms, Tudeer listed 45 signed dies (including those with only two letters): 12 obverses and 33 reverses (Tudeer 1913: 79–80). This is all that we have for Euainetos, Euarchidas, Euklaidas, Eumenos, Kimon, Parme(-n[i]on or -niskos?), Phrygillos, and Sosion, to quote only names given with more than three letters. Actually, the signatures of the much-celebrated Kimon (Figure 12.9) and Evainetos are not attested on more than three dies for each of them. It cannot be doubted that such skillful engravers cut

many more dies during their lives. Only a few were signed, and it would be hard to argue that these were only the most successful or the most prestigious for their authors or for modern critics. Unsigned dies of the same period do not look less artistic, and names appear on tiny *litrae* in silver or even in *hemilitra* in bronze (as for Phry[gillos]). As a matter of fact, there are more dies signed by 'Phry' for bronzes than for silver, and an examination of these does not lead to the sure conclusion that all were cut by the same hand.

Figure 12.9 Silver tetradrachm of Syracuse. (a) Quadriga (obverse). Signed by Kimon. (b) Head of Arethusa (reverse). c. 410 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



How long did it take to engrave a 'beautiful' die? Commissioned modern artists ask for a long time (sometimes months), but such a comparison is irrelevant and may have influenced our views. The famous forger Karl Wilhelm Becker (1772–1830) noted in his diary, without special pride, that it took him 18 hours to achieve one of his largest and most spectacular forgeries: the reverse of the Akragas decadrachm (Hill 1924: 47–48). The notoriously boastful and swanky Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) reported that he made two steel dies for the pope in 'almost no time at all' (Cellini 1998: 83). It took Jean Blanchpain two days to engrave seven pairs of Medieval dies in Bruges, though, admittedly, these types would have been easier to produce than Greek ones (Bompaire and Dumas 2000: 502). For the Late Roman Empire, some numismatists, taking advantage of very short reigns abundantly documented, claim that several dies were produced daily by each engraver (at that time, for more schematic types). But the best evidence is provided by well-dated Greek coinages, such as the late Athenian tetradrachms called *stephanephoroi* or the tetradrachms of Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontos (Figure 12.10). In

both cases, coins are dated by month, and we do not detect several hands at work at the same time. It turns out that in both cases, in times of heavy production, we do have four or five obverse dies (and many more reverse dies) cut by the same engraver used within a month (de Callataÿ 1997a: 40, 47–48). We do not know whether these numbers are dependent on the maximal capacities of the mint (which is likely) or of the engraver (which is less likely). In any case, they seem to indicate that, at a strict minimum, engravers were able to produce monetary dies in one week each, and possibly in one day, if we attribute all the reverses as well as the obverses to the same artisan.

Figure 12.10 Silver tetradrachm of Mithridates Eupator of Pontos. (a) Head of Mithridates (obverse). (b) Pegasos (reverse). 89 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).



The immediate consequence of all this is that engravers could not earn a living working only for one specific mint. With a calculated average of c. 23 new dies every year (both obverses and reverses for all known denominations) for the period c. 485–450 BC, even the large coinage of Syracuse, the most prolific mint of that time for Sicily, is likely to not have been substantial enough to provide constant work for a single engraver (de Callataÿ 2004: 43–45). Most averages we may estimate for Greek monetary mints, including large Hellenistic ones, fall well below the Syracusan case. Minting was a discontinuous process in the Greek world and it cannot be doubted that, apart from in exceptional circumstances, engravers could not have been regularly employed by any specific mint. The two basic scenarios are either that die-cutters worked in other media (primarily, in most cases) or that they travelled from one mint to another. A combination of both seems most likely.

That die-cutters were also gem-cutters has been postulated by

many, but thus far the evidence remains scanty in the extreme. Attempts to associate or identify the rare same individuals with the products of both materials have proved unconvincing (Casson 1936; cf. de Callataÿ 1997d and Plantzos 1999: 64–65). Certainly the absence of proof is no proof of the absence. This is especially true considering how difficult it is to identify the same hand behind different monetary types, not to mention between media as different as gemstones and metallic dies.

Traveling engravers are, it seems, more than a simple working hypothesis: they appear to have been a necessity. Sicilian mints of the 5th c. have received particular attention from numismatists. Die-studies exist for most of them: Messina, Naxos, Syracuse, Kamarina, Gela, Selinus, and Himera. Taking into account the results of these seven die-studies and the chronologies they propose, it turns out that the addition of all these data gives c. 2400 dies for c. 281 years, which means a yearly average per mint of c. 8.5 dies and a mean yearly production for all seven mints taken together of c. 60 dies. It is doubtful that the missing mints (Akragas, Katane, and Leontinoi) would have contributed to more than c. 40 additional dies a year. In other words, we may be confident that no more than 100 dies, whatever the denomination, were engraved in Classical Sicily every year. Even with the possibly high figure of two weeks per die, this does not leave room for more than four engravers to be kept constantly busy at work. While these calculations should not be taken to imply that all Sicilian coin dies were cut by such a limited number of die-cutters (though it is doubtful that the number was very large), they should encourage us not to be too reluctant to recognize the same hands at different mints well beyond attested die-links (de Callataÿ 2004: 44–46).

Issues with the same types may have been produced in different mints. Die-links between these different places are indeed not a rare phenomenon, as best exemplified by Hellenistic royal coinages. Coins of Alexander the Great or Lysimachos; coins struck in Asia Minor under Antiochos II or *cistophori*: they all provide several examples of these dies' transfers between one mint and another (for an illustrative list of these die-links, see the index Le Rider 1999: 1397, s.v. '*Coins (liaison de -)*').

A simple but embarrassing question is whether the die-engraver was also responsible for the monetary type, in the sense of a true artist. The answer is likely to be negative. When the Seleucid king Antiochos VII (138–129 BC) granted the right to strike coins to Simon Maccabeus, he wrote: 'I give you leave also to coin money for your country with your own stamp' (*First Book of Maccabees*: 1.15). Even if recent numismatic research has played down the pivotal role

traditionally attributed to coins as the best medium to convey official propaganda, it does not look realistic that the choice of the civic or royal device could have been left to an artisan, however skillful he might have been.

Despite the abundance of Greek monetary types, we do not possess any preparatory designs made on another material. We do have some pieces in lead which have been seen as test-pieces by several scholars (Houghton 1997; Fischer-Bossert 2002; Meyer 2006), just like those used by modern medalists. A close examination of this material, however, shows it is more likely that most of these lead pieces were cast from actual coins.

The so-called ‘Master of Aitna’ provides a good case study (for Greek coins, it does not seem that any new ‘master’ was created in scholarly literature after World War II). Two highlights of Greek monetary art are attributed to him: the unique tetradrachm of Aitna ([Figure 12.11](#)), considered by many the most precious surviving ancient coin (once in the collection of Lucien de Hirsch and now kept at the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels), and the spectacular tetradrachms struck in the nearby Naxos at about the same time (c. 465–450 BC) (de Callataÿ and Gitler 2004) ([Figure 12.12](#)). Beyond a general similarity of types, two features are especially noteworthy, since they appear to be true innovations which break with the artistic conventions of the time: first, in both cases, the head’s beard on the obverse seems to expand beyond the circle of border dots; second, the truncation of the neck is not a straight or slightly curved cut, as found on all other contemporary coins, but a more sophisticated line with two angles. An audacious rule-breaker, the Master of Aitna fulfills the criteria of a great artist under modern standards. But who cut the dies? A close examination of the engravings shows both similarities (the rendering of border dots and of the lines of the beard) and dissimilarities (the rendering of eyes and letters). Based on the careful study of technical know-how, this analytical approach, rarely attempted in Greek numismatics, clearly deserves to be expanded in order to reach general conclusions. Still, the case of the Master of Aitna lends no firm support to the idea that engravers were also responsible for the device.

Figure 12.11 Silver tetradrachm of Aitna. (a) Head of Silenos (obverse). (b) Zeus (reverse). c. 465 BC (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).

(a)



(b)



Figure 12.12 Silver tetradrachm of Naxos. (a) Head of Dionysos (obverse). (b) Silenos (reverse). c. 460 BC. (All rights reserved. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium).

(a)



(b)



12.6 Conclusion

Greek coins were the widest-spread medium for visual arts of their times, and they certainly continued to play that role from the Renaissance onwards. As such, and despite the silence about them in ancient literature, they have been instrumental in shaping our modern ideas about what Greek art was. By specializing in portraying the heads of deities, for example, they promote by nature a form of serene classicism which has so enchanted art historians in modern times. More hieratic, less emotional, and more rigid than those found on

gems, monetary devices fit very well, and for a long time, the ideal and embellished image of the 'Greek miracle', the 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur' advocated by Winckelmann. The special attention recently paid to Hellenistic 'peripheral' portraiture (Ptolemy Soter, Philetairos, kings of Pontos, or Greco-Bactrian rulers), clearly departing from this tradition, is in itself symptomatic of the ever-changing ways we opt to approach Greek art.

FURTHER READING

There is a serious lack of recent literature dealing with Greek coins from an artistic perspective (or books on Greek art taking real advantage of coins). This is all the more unfortunate since the old literature, such as Gardner (1883), MacDonald (1905), and Hill (1927), is now unsatisfactory. To understand how Greek coins were masterly engraved, the most celebrated book remains Kraay and Hirmer (1966); though see also www.coinarchives.com. Otherwise, interested readers will need to combine several sources, such as de Callataÿ (2004) and Fischer-Bossert (2002). Meadows and Shipton's (2001) *Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World* focuses on the social and economic use of coins (and money) in the Greek world, whereas Howgego's (1995) *Ancient History from Coins* demonstrates the ways in which coins may be used in the study of ancient history.

CHAPTER 13

Workshops and Technology

Eleni Hasaki

13.1 Craft Workshops and the Community in the Greek World

Within the bursting artisan quarters of ancient cities, skilled workers turned metal, stone, clay, textiles, leather, ivory, and other materials into a variety of objects to be used in the house, worn at the battlefield, dedicated in the sanctuary, or offered in burials or at tombs. The tools, techniques, technology, workshop organization, and spatial layout required have changed little over the millennia, especially before the use of electricity. A modern potter, and for that matter most other artisans, could have operated and collaborated with his craft associates around an ancient workshop rather comfortably. But despite the ease of the modern craft practitioner, the modern archaeologist could not face more challenges in the correct identification and interpretation of craft installations and techniques. Our archaeological inquiries have approached the world of production in a somewhat fragmentary manner: from iconography of objects to microscopic analysis of the raw materials themselves. When archaeologists turn their attention to the human agents, the workmen who transformed raw materials into finished products, there are two sets of evidence to confront: (i) representations of (mainly) craftsmen at work on Athenian vases and Corinthian plaques; and (ii) references in ancient texts (e.g. philosophers of the 4th c. BC, encyclopedists and travelers of the first two centuries AD). Both the pictorial evidence (Ziomecki 1975; Zimmer 1982a; Jockey 1998; Hasaki 2002; Vidale 2002; Papadopoulos 2003; Hadjidimitriou 2005; Ulrich 2008; Williams 2009b) and textual references (Müller 1974; Neesen 1989;

Roochnik 1996) have been discussed in great detail. A burgeoning scholarship on ancient technology from Prehistoric to Byzantine times is also available (e.g. Burford 1972; Humphrey et al. 1998; Ling 2000; Evely 2002; Oleson 2008).

For the purposes of this chapter, we will focus on three locales – namely, the workshops of a potter, a bronze-sculptor, and a marble-sculptor. For each of these areas of ancient craft, we will attempt to understand better, on the one hand, the technology itself and, on the other, the people and locations involved. We will also emphasize the common body of knowledge on techniques and materials that many craft practitioners share and their interdependence, an aspect sometimes forgotten in focused surveys of specific crafts. Two representations of an Athenian pottery workshop can serve both as anchoring points for our discussion on workshops and technology and as cautionary tales on how to reconstruct fully-functioning workshop contexts from the existing lacunose evidence: a depiction of potters at work on a black-figured Attic hydria of the later 6th c. BC attributed to the Leagros Group and now in Munich (Boardman 2001a: fig. 174) and an imaginary reconstruction of an Athenian pottery workshop by a French artist from the early 20th c. AD (Vidale 1998). The sharp contrast of the composition, style, and character of these two artistic renditions makes them hardly comparable, but they represent satisfactorily some of our scholarly attitudes to ancient craft workshops and their technologies: some approaches deal heavily with what evidence (textual, archaeometric, archaeological) we have from the past, and others tend to augment the existing evidence with some imaginary and even idealizing notions. As a result, our reconstruction of ancient technologies, workers, and workshops can be at least as likely and believable as the one drawn in the early 20th c., unless we use all available and relevant evidence and methods to recreate the world of ancient crafts. Our interests in the customers of these vases both at home and abroad, and in connoisseurship (Beazley 1956, 1963), although important in their own way, detract us from considering the everyday life of the workshop itself.

13.2 The Potter's Workshop

Once inside any craft workshop, the composition of the crew becomes an important issue. From the surviving artisans' signatures and the depictions of craftsmen at work, it seems that the vast majority of ancient workshops were 'manned' by males (cf. [Figure 13.1](#)). Only one woman decorating the handles of a volute-krater on the 5th c. BC

Athenian red-figure Caputi hydria (ARV 376.61) indicates that women may have played a role in the decoration of vessels, or even in the production of mold-made objects; it is possible they worked from home and transferred their products to a family workshop to be fired. Painting, whether on vases or on panels and walls, seems to have been popular with women, and ancient authors do mention a few female artists, all daughters of established painters (e.g. Plin. *HN* 35.136).

Figure 13.1 Athenian red-figure calyx-krater (Caltagirone, Museo Regionale della Ceramica 961. Drawing by D. Weiss).



The potter who fashioned the vase and the painter who painted it often left signatures of their respective tasks. What about the rest of the crew, who did not sign the vases in any capacity, but greatly contributed to their production? No potter, to our current knowledge, left behind a handbook of how to run his establishment. Instead, it is the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, the Roman encyclopedist Pliny the Elder, and the Greek traveler Pausanias who refer

occasionally (and always with admiration) to craft apprenticeship (Burford 1972; Hasaki forthcoming, b). But their attitudes towards the subject are not equally lofty. Aristotle states, 'Crafts are teachable; otherwise, good craftsmen would be born, not made' (*Eth. Nic.* 2.1). The potter's learning curve, especially, was paradigmatic for the Greek philosophers, who used it as a metaphor for the steady, methodical, and patient acquisition of knowledge they sought to inculcate in their own students. As Plato (*Grg.* 514E; *Lach.* 187) warns us, 'You should not learn the potter's craft by first forming a very large vessel, the pithos.' Similarly, a student of any field (mechanical or intellectual) should acquire skills in a structured sequence and not skip to the most difficult task with no prior experience. The qualities of hard work, patience, perseverance, learning from errors, and gradual acquisition of skills, critical for a successful artisan, were equally essential for a craftsman, orator, or statesman.

The iconographic evidence shows primarily artisans in major roles (masters) and others in subsidiary roles, where it is not always easy to differentiate younger skilled assistants from apprentices, from unskilled laborers. One representation is particularly helpful. On the shoulder of the Caputi hydria mentioned above are two younger, beardless painters, who must be at the beginning of their artistic careers and appear to be responsible for the palmette ornamental zones on two kraters. The apprentice vase-painter would have needed to learn the spatial division of a vessel, what visual element to use as a boundary marker, and how to choose the appropriate design configuration within each spatial division. Learning the decoration syntax of a vessel would have been a long process. Templates were often used to make border designs such as ivy leaves on the Caeretan hydriai of the Archaic period (Hemelrijk 1984). From pattern-work, one could move up to animals, to secondary figures (or 'mantle figures' as they are often called in vase-painting), to rendering a known theme masterfully in all its components from pattern work to figural scenes (Beazley 1989: 53). Apprenticeship was not always a relaxed, lofty, and pleasant phase as the Caputi hydria suggests. Punishment associated with apprenticeship may be detected in a highly unusual scene on a Boeotian skyphos dated to c. 400–390 BC (Daumas 2000). It would be a usual workshop scene, with two potters working on the wheel and two workmen transporting vessels to stack them, were it not for a figure literally hung horizontally from the ceiling. Is this a true depiction, or a visualization of a verbal threat that the master potter repeated endlessly to young apprentices?

The potter, both during his apprenticeship and later, spent most of his time around the wheel (Gr. *trohos*). This is where he threw, built, and fashioned his objects, and when he was the one decorating them,

he also used the wheel as a turn-table. No complete potter's wheel has survived from Greek antiquity. Illustrations of potters working at the wheel and excavated parts of a wheel fill the gap (Vidale 1998; Vidale 2002). Its appearance and operation is reconstructed from paintings on Corinthian plaques and Athenian vessels from the Archaic and Classical periods. On both the Corinthian and Athenian depictions, the potter is usually shown seated next to the wheel, with the wheel head either above or below his knees. Only in the Athenian representations is there also an assistant who helps turn the wheel, while the potter shapes the vessel upon it. It has been suggested that the extant depictions of potters' wheels, few though they are, represent two different types: a lighter wheel and a heavier wheel (Vidale 2002). The lighter wheel had smaller dimensions and could spin faster for the throwing of delicate vessels, such as kylikes; the heavier, larger wheel was slower, but could sustain a stable momentum longer, thereby enabling the potter to throw larger, more time-consuming vessels. The wheel was therefore a highly specialized piece of equipment and was configured specifically for certain sizes and shapes of vessels.

Extensive experimental studies of throwing on a replica of an ancient wheel and of decorating different shapes can provide another point of reference for the output of Athenian potters and painters, the organization of the workshop, and the overall scale of production. Already in the 1940s, Beazley urged scholars to study the potters of the Attic vases, after an intensive study of the painters, so that the entire craft could be better understood. So far we have trained our eyes better than our hands: vases of widely different dimensions have been illustrated in books in equal size, in order to place emphasis on the scene depicted on them. Scholars of ancient Greek pottery tend to publish studies on the chronological development and the function of a certain shape, or on icono-graphical themes that appear on different shapes. By looking at the Greek vase-paintings with a magnifying glass for mythological, political, and social messages, sometimes we forget that a miniature frieze of figures (less than 0.04 m) on an Athenian Little Master cup requires different skills and speed than a megalographic scene with figures taller than 0.2 m on a red-figured krater or hydria (Williams 1985). Similarly, the special demands placed on the potter for throwing a kylix (c. 0.16 m in height and sometimes with a diameter of 0.33 m) or a volute-krater (c. 0.7 m in height), as well as the time investment for producing these two distinct shapes, have not been fully explored. Juxtaposition of sizes of shapes and scenes in their respective scales allows the different suites of skills required by potter and painter to become more distinct and pronounced.

In this light, the phenomenon of specialized signatures by the

potter and the painter of a vase acquires a more practical significance in addition to the artistic. In the vase-painting of the Archaic period (both in Athens and much less at Corinth), we find a further division of labor reflected in the signatures: the maker of the vase and its painter, indicated by *epoiesen* ('made') and *egraphsen* ('painted') signatures (Cohen 2001; see Chapter 30). These two processes were considered quite distinct in the skill required and time involved; when the same person executed both stages, this was clearly indicated by their signature, as in the case of the Athenian black-figure artist Exekias, who sometimes signs: 'Exekias made me and decorated me' (Boardman 1974: 57). Pottery is the only craft where a third verb, specific to the working of clay, *ekerameusen* ('potted'), is occasionally used. Beazley estimated that approximately 140 names of potters and painters are known (1989: 54), and while for some of them, like Nikosthenes, we have over 100 signatures preserved, almost half are known by only one surviving signature (Tosto 1999). The standardized signature 'so-and-so *epoiesen*' ('so-and-so made'), and the less common variant '*autopoiea*' ('own work'), is popular in many crafts (Williams 1995). At the same time, it should be remembered that master craftsmen in antiquity opted to create masterpieces in clay, metal, stone, or ivory, rather than write about them or about their craft secrets. In most representational arts, such as sculpture, gem-carving, mosaics, and paintings, the makers' signatures, from their first appearance in the 7th c. BC, would simply showcase the main intellectual authorship that 'so-and-so made'. Even in their signatures, they briefly celebrated the mastery of their craft without listing any apprenticeship credentials.

The firing of pottery, be it decorated or undecorated, can be understood based on both ancient and modern considerations. An ancient Greek kiln, whether of circular or rectangular footprint, consisted of six major structural parts, proceeding from bottom to top: the stoking channel, the combustion chamber, the intermediate perforated floor with its vertical support in the combustion chamber, the pot-firing chamber, the loading door, the dome, and the chimney. One of the ancient names for a potter's kiln was *kaminos*, and both potters and poets used that term. A kiln is labeled as such on one of the plaques (pinakes) from Penteskouphia (Cuomo Di Caprio 1984; Hasaki 2002). In an ancient poem called *Kaminos*, a group of potters have an encounter with Athena during a firing. Athena proceeds to remind the potters of the all-too-well-known destructive forces of the five kiln daemons (Faraone 2001b).

The excavated remains of more than 500 kilns have given us much information about their internal construction, the kiln equipment for stacking vessels, and the type of fuel consumed (Hasaki 2002, 2006).

The Penteskouphia plaques and a few Athenian scenes on vases provide us with precious and rare information about the upper parts of a Greek kiln, such as the pot-firing chamber, loading door, spyhole, dome, and chimney, all of which rarely survive archaeologically (Hasaki forthcoming, a; see [Figures 13.2](#) and [13.3](#)). A kiln is one of many methods of firing pottery. Other techniques include bonfires or open firings, simple depressions, and pit firings (Rice 1987). Compared to all of them, a kiln structure combines simplicity in design with maximum efficiency in fuel consumption and larger stacking capacity per unit area.

Figure 13.2 Black-figure plaque. A potter by his kiln. 6th c. BC (Paris, Louvre MNB 2858; drawing after Hoffmann and Boehm 1965: fig. 147).



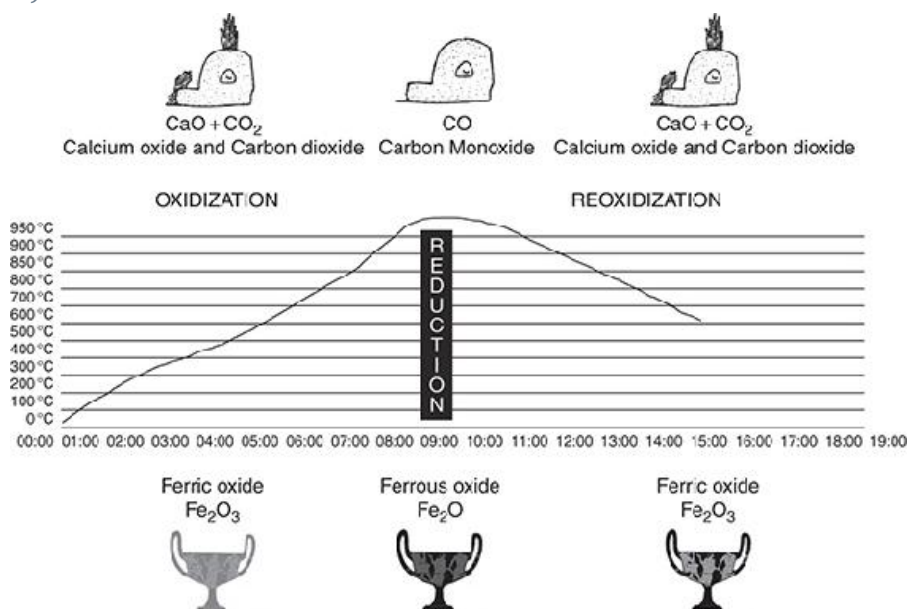
Figure 13.3 Black-figure plaque. A potter working at a kiln loaded with pottery wares. 6th c. BC. (Berlin, Antikensammlung F893; drawing after Hoffmann and Boehm 1965: fig. 147).



A recent experimental attempt by the author to construct a replica (at a 1 : 1 scale) of a typical ancient Greek kiln has shed light on some interesting issues (www.aiatucson.arizona.edu). Despite the extensive use of modern construction materials (over 2000 bricks), the size and design of this kiln faithfully replicate excavated remains and illustrations. In terms of capacity, even the smallest ceramic kiln (1.0 m internal diameter of firing chamber) can easily hold up to 150 medium-sized vessels (c. 0.2–0.3 m in height, e.g. oinochoai). Regarding the total duration, the pots can be safely removed after the firing is over and the kiln has sufficiently cooled down (approx. 48 hours total). A refined control of temperature and atmosphere is ultimately what accounts for the characteristic ancient Greek slipped wares, since the kiln structure itself is very basic, and the type was and still is omnipresent in the Mediterranean basin. As has been described elsewhere, there was a single firing with three distinct phases of unequal duration and temperature range (Noble 1988; see [Figure 13.4](#)). The most critical period was the middle phase of reduction, where all air outlets of the kiln were closed for 30–40 minutes while the temperature remained strong above 800 °C. Such a firing technique ultimately results in the fine black- and red-figure vases that have become hallmarks of the modern study of ancient Greek art. The average kiln-load produced only a few, if any, masterpieces, and a close look at museum showcases will easily convince us that many ‘defective’ vases (i.e. uneven firing, lime spalls, etc.) were still marketable and sellable in their day. Black-and-white photographs of vases and detailed shots for iconographical details mask these all-too-frequent firing accidents.

Figure 13.4 Suggested diagram of the three stages (oxidization,

reduction, reoxidization) in a single firing of Athenian gloss-covered pottery (drawing by E. Hasaki, adapted from Clark et al. 2002: 92, fig. 88).



13.3 The Smith's Workshop

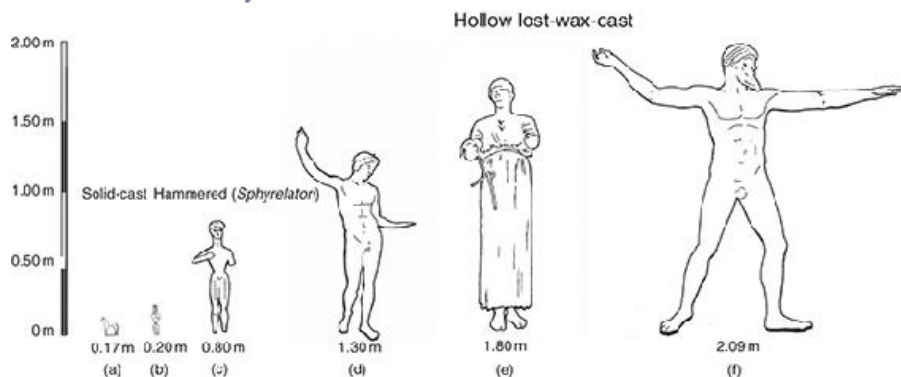
The techniques and workshop installations of the ancient Greek metalworker follow logically from our discussion of pottery, since clay was important to both, and since the kilns/furnaces (Gr. *kaminos*) used in both crafts, albeit of different form and function, still manage to confuse archaeologists. The techniques of a bronzesmith, just like a potter's, were few but highly efficient and appropriate. The techniques of hammering (*sphyrelaton*), lost-wax-casting, solid-casting, and hollow-casting served them well for centuries. For small-size figure or animal statuettes, the solid bronze-casting was the favorite method. Not many examples of the *sphyrelaton* technique have survived, except for the triad of supposed 'cult figures' found at the Temple of Apollo at Dreros, Crete, dated to the 7th c. BC (Boardman 1978: fig. 16; Romano 2000). But the steps of the solid- and indirect and direct lost-wax hollow-casting have by now been well understood (Mattusch 1996a, 1996b; Hemingway 2004; Mattusch 2008). In the solid-cast method, the object is first modeled in solid wax and encased in a clay investment. After the pouring of the bronze, both mold and model are destroyed; for each new casting, a new model and a new mold have to be fashioned. These figurines, as independently standing votives, or as

attachments to impressive bronze tripods, were the most dominant dedications in major sanctuaries such as Olympia, especially in the Geometric period. Even in the early 7th c. BC, the votive Apollo of Mantiklos is a solid-cast bronze (Boardman 1978: fig. 10).

The artist roughly models his work in clay over a wooden armature. Then he applies a layer of wax over the clay core and renders all final details on this wax layer. He also applies a gate system, which will later facilitate the pouring of molten bronze. He encloses the clay core, the wax layer of details, and the gate system with a clay investment. The piece is placed in an oven to melt away the wax. Later, the sculptor pours the molten bronze from the top, and it reaches all parts of the piece through the gate system. The bronze can lose its fluidity quite fast, so the caster tries to prevent any accidents by adding lead to the bronze alloy in order to prolong its fluidity, and by casting sculptures in smaller pieces. In the lost-wax direct hollow cast, once the model has been created and encased, it is lost and the sculptor has to repeat each of the steps for any duplicates of the particular piece. The lost-wax indirect hollow cast, with its additional step in the early phase of the process, allows the bronze-casters to keep permanent clay molds of their finished models. By reusing these molds, the sculptors are not only able to make numerous copies of the original, but by altering facial or anatomical details in the wax layer, to produce individualized creations which mask the fact that they are products of the same molds. Recent scientific analyses using X-rays have shown that many bronze statues must have originated from the same molds, but with additional details in the wax final layer (Mattusch 2008). Hollow-casting, whether in its direct or indirect version, truly enabled bronze sculptors to cast larger figures with daring poses while at the same time economizing on material.

By taking a closer look at the dimensions of bronze sculptures, it becomes clearer why smiths were forced to develop different techniques to make the material match their artistic aspirations. For small figurines up to 0.3 m, solid casting is feasible both technically and financially. The large amount of bronze required for solid-cast sculptures and its resulting heavy weight (a solid-cast bull figurine of 0.09 m height weighs c. 120–150 g) were limiting factors when larger, more elaborate compositions had to be cast. Hammering thin metal sheets over a wooden core – the *sphyrelaton* technique – allowed the bronzesmiths to produce taller figures, like the Dreros Apollo, measuring 0.8 m. Although the hammered technique could (and must) have been used for taller sculptures, it is the hollow-casting that allowed the sculptors to cast (in parts which they later assembled) under- and over-life-sized statues (e.g. the Marathon Boy, Delphi Charioteer, god from Artemision; see [Figure 13.5](#)).

Figure 13.5 Techniques of bronze-working and select examples of each (illustration by E. Hasaki and D. Weiss).



The potter's kiln, as mentioned above, allows us to widen our perspective and to consider the technical equipment of a related craft, such as bronze-casting. A closer look at the depictions and remains of ceramic kilns and metallurgical furnaces highlights their differences. In antiquity, both were called *kaminos*, the generic name for most pyrotechnological structures, from the potter's kiln to glass or bath furnaces. The Penteskouphia plaques presented above are not only the best ancient evidence for recreating the appearance of an ancient potter's kiln, they are also the culprits for lingering misinterpretations of the same scenes as depictions of metallurgical furnaces. The mine-like depictions in scenes of clay collection, the misinterpretation of the name of a kiln attendant from 'Sodris' into 'sideros' (iron) on a plaque in the Louvre (Figure 13.2), and the ancient fame of the Corinthian Bronze (Mattusch 2003), which still remains elusive for archaeologists, misled some scholars in the past to identify the entire series of the Penteskouphia plaques with metalworking and ore-extraction (White 1984: 114).

The potter's kiln, with its externally projecting stoking channel and its internal division, had nothing in common with the simple, internally- and externally-undifferentiated cylinder of a metal furnace. A simple juxtaposition of a potter's kiln as depicted on a Penteskouphia pinax (Figure 13.2) and the metalworking furnace on the Foundry Painter's cup (Figure 13.6) highlights these differences. The maximum temperature and the duration and control of firing are quite different: clay vessels need a maximum of 900 °C, whereas metal alloys start melting above 1000 °C. Higher temperatures dictated a smaller size for a metallurgical furnace, often less than 1 m in diameter. Firing is slow and gradual in a potter's kiln (totaling three days, including the cooling), while the intense firing of a furnace lasts 4–6 hours. Charcoal fuel, despite its cost, is required.

Figure 13.6 Athenian red-figure kylix (Foundry Cup). c. 490–480 BC (Berlin, Antikensammlungen F 2294. bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB/Johannes Laurentius).



13.4 The Sculptor's Workshop

Sculptures can be made from almost all types of stone, but not all stone can produce the entire range of sculptured objects, from gemstones, to stone vessels, to reliefs, to free-standing sculptures of various heights. Hard stones such as amethyst and cornelian lend themselves well to the carving of gemstones; others, such as the green *lapis lacedaemonius*, can be fashioned into vessels with mostly uncomplicated profiles. Among the softer stones, limestone, a sedimentary type of rock, and marble, a metamorphic type of rock (crystalline compact form of limestone), were the most versatile raw materials for producing reliefs, three-dimensional fully-carved sculptures, and containers to adorn cemeteries, temples, or houses. Both marble and limestone contain minerals whose hardness measures 2–3 on the Mohs scale (where 10 is reserved for diamond). A firm understanding of their relative softness makes us appreciate better the tools the Greeks used, and also how their toolkit, techniques, and resulting styles must have been quite different from those of cultures

that used hard rocks (e.g. granite was used for Egyptian sculpture; granite contains hard minerals, such as quartz, whose hardness ranges c. 8 in the Mohs scale (Penny 1993; Rockwell 1993)).

Most marbles from the quarries in Athens and in the Cyclades were of whitish hue, but a few quarries had veins of colored marble, the best known being perhaps the greenish marble from Euboea (*cipollino verde*). Quarrying in Greece was done mostly above ground, as in Penteli in Attica, but some famous marble quarrying was done underground, as on Paros (Korres 2000). Some marbles were better for architectural blocks and others for sculpture. Subtle differentiation and intimate knowledge of a quarry and its variation of veins were part of the training of both the ancient mason and the sculptor.

The toolkit of the ancient sculptor consisted mainly of his mallet, with which he struck the point chisel, an assortment of other chisels (flat, tooth, roundel), and rasps (Palagia 2006b). Most of the tools have undergone little change over the centuries, and even the modern pneumatic ones differ from their ancient counterparts only insofar as their power source (compressed gas vs. human muscle). Iron was used for the metal component of the sculptor's tools. Even nowadays on Tenos, the center for modern Greek traditional sculpture, ironsmiths specialize in producing high-quality tools for their neighbors, the master sculptors, underscoring once again the interdependence of crafts, as mentioned above.

The toolkit for working on marble must have been different from that used for working on granite, as the two types of stone require distinct techniques of quarrying and working (oblique blows on marble, vertical blows on granite). Intimate knowledge of the potential and limitations of the available raw materials should be taken into account when scholars envision an easy transfer of styles from one culture to another. The often-postulated Egyptian influence on Archaic Greek sculpture should perhaps be sought on the level of monumentality in sculpture (Boardman 2006), rather than on any transfer of technical expertise.

For efficient polishing, Greeks used emery (Mohs 8) from the rich deposits of the Cycladic island of Naxos. Then the statues were painted with bright colors. Extensive scientific analyses and computer reconstructions have convincingly argued that the austere white ancient Greek sculpture is a cultural product of modern times and not a true reflection of ancient realities (Brinkmann and Wünsche 2007). Their preliminary results confirm beyond doubt that ancient cities were not only cities 'of image', as the title of an influential work stated (Bérard et al. 1989), but also cities of color.

The method of working on a three-dimensional statue until the

Hellenistic period was to peel away a layer all around a statue, whereas from the Hellenistic onwards the sculptors proceeded with removing stone from the front to the back. Besides unfinished pieces, different information about the apprenticeship stages of a Roman sculptor can be gained by the group of apprentice practice pieces from Aphrodisias: single feet, double-sided pieces (with one foot on each side), and two right or left feet placed together on the same plinth (van Voorhis 1998, 2009). Many of the pieces still preserve measuring points, which guided the beginner sculptors in their training. Some further specialization is also detected in the sculptures from Aphrodisias, as some practiced on bodywork and others (presumably the more advanced) on headwork.

The workshop of a sculptor does not require permanent installations/features like those of a potter (e.g. levigation basins or kilns). As the stone blocks receive most of their shaping at the quarry site (to detect any hidden defects, as well as to reduce weight, cost, and time of transportation), what remains to be completed at the sculptor's workshop is the removal of the final few centimeters of stone and the highly intensive stage of polishing. Large quantities of marble chips are therefore what indicate the location of a workshop. A cluster of sculptors' workshops (later occupied by terracotta workshops) is known from the 'Industrial Quarter' in the Athenian Agora (Young 1951). A concentration of unfinished sculptures, mostly reliefs and small statuettes in varying states of finish, have pinpointed the location of workshops on many sites, as found primarily on Delos (Jockey 2001). The ease of recycling marble pieces into smaller objects or even transforming them into plaster (in a lime kiln) makes it difficult to rely on unworked pieces for detecting sculptors' workshops.

Public and private commissions often forced ancient (and modern) sculptors to travel away from their home city. Although the work of a master sculptor is usually a solitary endeavor, many master sculptors and other specialists often collaborated on public commissions of large scale, as the building accounts tell us. Detailed accounts of the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, their styles, locations, and artisans, are given elsewhere in this volume, and need not concern us here. At the same time, stone-working is perhaps the best documented of all ancient Greek crafts. The building accounts for the Erechtheion in Athens mention groups of laborers specializing in certain tasks (Randall 1953). Once the apprenticeship for one craft (and its relationship with others) was successfully completed, the talented artist could easily acquire the necessary skills in many other related crafts (e.g. Pheidias; Lapatin 1997), becoming a multicraftsman, a *polytechnos*, in order to be able to envision and carry

out (or direct) the execution of a masterpiece on his own. Division of labor and task specialization (either preexisting or adopted for a specific project) was a *sine qua non* condition, so that large crews could work effectively on large projects and finish temples in a period of 10–15 years. Younger (2004) has convincingly argued how repetitive scenes (such as the sandal-binding youth, horseback rider) on the Parthenon significantly reduced the time spent by having many smaller crews working simultaneously both on ground and on the monument, and assembling the finished blocks.

13.5 Workshops

Three scenes of craft workshops perhaps best summarize our brief visits to these places: (i) the Munich hydria, where pots are formed, shaped, and fired); (ii) the Foundry Painter's cup (490–480 BC; [Figure 13.6](#); Mattusch 1986; Neils 2000b), where bronzesmiths work at the furnace and assemble or polish cast statues); and (iii) a slab from a Roman sarcophagus from Ephesos ([Figure 13.7](#); Smith 2009). We have already noted the shared pyrotechnological knowledge mastered by a potter and a bronzesmith. The similarities in the size of workforce also become noticeable. Since most crafts were family-based operations (males related by blood or marriage), it is not surprising that most multi-figure scenes show crews of similar size. Six workers on the Foundry Painter's cup attend the furnace and work on two statues of different sizes and styles. On the Roman sarcophagus a total of six sculptors work on statues at different stages. Similarly, on the Munich hydria, seven workmen are involved in the shaping, decorating, and firing of pots. As stated above, artisanal quarters in ancient Greek cities housed a number of crafts. Although notoriously known for the secrecy of their masters, these neighboring workshops were also characterized by a strong sense of interdependence and mutual influence. The shared forms of ceramic and metallic vessels need to be seen rather in this context of the artisans' daily interactions and proximity in artisanal quarters, and not by degrading or upgrading one craft versus another.

Figure 13.7 Relief on a sarcophagus, from Ephesos. A sculptor's workshop 2nd c. AD (inv. 775 T. DAI neg. no. 1055-D-DAI-IST-R16453/Mendel Foto).



13.6 Borrowings and Breakthroughs

The artisans' quarters demonstrate a dynamic symbiosis of many craft communities (e.g. the Athenian Agora), which developed strategies of recycling other crafts' leftovers, or perhaps gathered fuel in a more systematic way. The bronze-casters (and marble-sculptors for that matter) worked extensively with clay to produce an original smaller model and a later 1 : 1 scale working model, to make ceramic molds from this model, and when the lost-wax technique was discovered, to envelop and fill the wax models with clay (clay investment); therefore, the bronze-casters handled clay and had to be familiar with its qualities (Haynes 1992; Mattusch 1996a, 1996b; Mattusch et al. 2000; Hemingway 2004; Mattusch 2008). The same artisans also had briefly to use a low-temperature furnace (such as a potter's kiln or at least a sizeable oven) to bake their molds, so that the wax would melt and leave the area empty to receive the bronze. For the establishments producing metal vessels, again clay molds were necessary for the forming of handles or other decoration. The metal tools to model stone for sculpture or architecture were invaluable to stone carvers, so the physical proximity of metalsmiths presented important advantages. Potters occasionally had to purchase or produce in the workshop lead clamps to fix broken pieces of valuable vessels. A technological koine is further noted in the decorative motifs that potters and metalsmiths shared with one another, as with weavers, or in the shared forms that craftsmen working in clay and metal produced. The correct rendering of tools and equipment of various crafts (bronze casters, shoemakers, marble-carvers) on decorated vases strongly suggests that the workshops in the quarters were welcoming places. Although intimate knowledge of a craft was shared cautiously

(then as now), craftsmen of different trades were in daily contact with each other in the streets of their quarters, and despite their busy lives could have cast furtive looks into the workshops and activities of their neighbors.

In terms of technology, all crafts, from pottery, to bronze-making, to ivory-carving, are very stable, and little to no radical breakthroughs are noticed from the Bronze Age to the end of Classical times. The major technical steps were always the same, yet the craftsmen refined the traditional techniques with small details (the clay paste, the wheel, the control of firing, the lost-wax bronze-casting, a different type of chisel, the anvil, the tongue, the tubes) – tools mostly the same as those of a 20th c. traditional potter.

Despite this apparent slow technological progress, ancient Greeks loved to celebrate significant moments of innovation, or invention, no matter how big or small the break with the preexisting tradition. Ancient Greeks celebrated the ‘*protos eures*’, the first inventor (a figure more imaginary than real), of a technique (Kleingunther 1974). Corinth and its greater region have been credited with many technological breakthroughs, including in architecture, pottery, and painting; and 5th c. BC Athens was celebrated as the birthplace of the potter’s wheel (Kritias, *Elegies* 1.12–13). But these details lie more in the realm of poetic fiction and civic/regional exaggerated pride than in reality. In an interesting period, with a fervor for experimentation in vase-painting (c. 530–510 BC), the Athenian vase-painters tried coral-red, white-ground, and the ‘Six technique’, but these were all short-lived (Cohen 2006; Lapatin 2008). Only the simple inversion of the established black-figure technique to red-figure grew roots. When unique projects or advances were accomplished in architecture, sculpture, or painting, their creators wrote treatises on them (e.g. on the Parthenon by Iktinos and Kallikrates; the *Kanon* by Polykleitos; *De Architectura* by Vitruvius), but these again were celebrations of achieved mastery rather than basic craft handbooks and neither aimed to nor did incite younger generations to replicate these projects. Paradoxically perhaps for the archaeologists, nothing remains in the archaeological or literary record about a potter’s treatise, a classical counterpart of Piccolpasso’s three-volume treatise about pottery-making (*Li Tre Libre Dell’Arte Del Vasaio*), written in the 16th c. AD.

13.7 Social Standing and Appreciation

The social standing and appreciation of the craftsman (or better, lack thereof) has been well-researched in the literature. The topoi remain passages from Aristotle, Plato, and occasionally Plutarch, who seem to have high appreciation of the artisans' products but hold their producers in very low esteem (Burford 1972; Greene 2008). The Greek words *techne* (way to solve a problem, whether medical, architectural, or technical) and *banausoi* are the best descriptive terms that survive in literature. Although the philosophers did not mention a single craftsman by name (with the exception of Pheidias), we must look to craft training as providing a solid model of perseverance, gradual skill learning, and ultimate test of capacity: either you can do it or not! There is a more general absence of ancient names, especially in the area of pottery production (apart from the potter's and vase-painter's own signatures), and there are no craft handbooks. As mentioned above, there are only treatises of unique, successfully completed projects, or major breakthroughs in technique. Indeed, the Parthenon was the culmination of the intellectual and the political, but Pheidias should not be regarded as a role model (Plut. *Vit. Per.* 2).

The late 6th and 5th c. BC showed a different stance towards the crafts: Herodotos claims that Corinthians held their artisans in high esteem, and Athenian craftsmen offered high-priced dedications on the Acropolis, celebrating their mastery and reputation, even if some of them could not enjoy full-scale citizen rights (as their slave or metic status would not allow it). The building records of major construction projects on the Acropolis, like the Erechtheion, list the names of artisans and assistants, and their work was a legacy for all the Athenians (citizens, metics, and slaves) to admire (Randall 1953). Combining the philosophers' etic way of addressing the artisans' world and the artisans' emic ways of portraying themselves during the 7th–5th c. BC does not necessarily result in a true understanding of the social status of the artisans (Verbanck-Pierard 2008). Social status itself is both assigned and assumed. On the part of the artisans, there is certainly a pride in their craft, as evidenced by their few, but present, signatures and their dedications in the material they worked or in other material in sanctuaries and in tombs. In the 4th c., after a series of wars, the artisans' pride and their contribution to the welfare of their *polis* may have subsided, at which point the philosophers' comments became more intense and numerous, and dominated the discussion of the artisan's status. Most craft celebrations of Greek artisans took place during their lifetimes, in sanctuaries or agoras. Roman craftsmen, by contrast, very often chose their final resting place to proudly display their craft for eternity (Zimmer 1982b).

FURTHER READING

The best introductions to workshop organization and craft technology for a variety of ancient Greek (and Roman) crafts are the recently-edited volumes of Oleson (2008) and Ling (2000). Depictions of craftsmen are well-served in scholarship: see Hadjidimitriou (2005), Papadopoulos (2003), Hasaki (2002), Jockey (1998), Smith (2009), Vidale (2002), Zimmer (1982a, 1990), Ziomecki (1975), and Williams (2009b). Debasing textual references to *banauoi* are discussed in Müller (1974), Neesen (1989), and Roochnik (1996). Other significant contributions to the study of ancient technology from Prehistoric to Byzantine times include Evelyn (2002) and Humphrey et al. (1998). Burford (1972), Roebuck (1969), and White (1984) represent the first generation of monographs on ancient technology and the status of artisans. All these studies expand on the pioneering study of the 19th c., Blümner (1885–1887). The ancient references to ancient artists are also presented in Overbeck (1858 [1959]) and, in a shorter version and in English translation, in Pollitt (1990).

For style, technique, trade, and connoisseurship in Greek pottery, see Boardman (2001). Other standard references are Noble (1988), Sparkes (1991), Scheibler (1986), and Cuomo Di Caprio (1984). The step-by-step shaping of most Athenian vessels and many other technical details are superbly illustrated in Schreiber (1999). A series of conferences on less popular decorative techniques for Athenian vases (i.e. coral red, ‘Six technique’) has brought to light interesting aspects of technique and distribution; see Cohen (2006), Lapatin (2008), and Tsingarida (2009). Rice’s handbook on pottery analysis (1987) provides a solid background for the more technical aspects of pottery-making across cultures and periods.

For bronze-casting techniques, the works by Haynes (1992) and Mattusch (1996a, 2008) are standard references. The conference volumes *From the Parts to the Whole* (Mattusch et al. 2000) and *Fire of Hephaistos* (Mattusch 1996b) emphasize technical aspects of ancient bronzes. Hemingway (2004) also sheds more light on technical issues and new methods that display hidden clues on ancient repairs.

For sculpture techniques and the locations of marble workshops, see more recently Palagia (2006a), Rockwell (1993, with earlier bibliography), and Nolte (2005). Stewart (1990) on Greek sculpture combines well an art-historical survey with political and social-historical aspects of Greek sculpture. He also provides a list of ancient testimonia in translation. For marble quarries, especially on Paros, see Schilardi (2000). Other crafts not covered in this essay include ivory-working (Lapatin 2001) and woodworking. Ulrich’s (2007) monograph on the woodworking in the Roman period touches on

issues relevant for all of Greco-Roman antiquity. On gem-cutting, see Boardman (2001b) and Plantzos (1999: 38–41).

Craft apprenticeship (mainly in the textile industry) is documented in Hellenistic and Roman papyri from Egypt (Bergamasco 1995). The apprenticeship contracts outline in detail the duration of craft apprenticeship, the duties of the master and the apprentice, wages, and even the days of vacation per year.

CHAPTER 14

Ancient Writers on Art

Kenneth Lapatin

14.1 Introduction

Modern historians of Greek art – unlike their colleagues who study the arts of many other periods and cultures – have the advantage of numerous ancient texts that address the production, reception, and function of artifacts in multiple media, from architecture, sculpture, and painting to mosaics, metalwork, engraved gems, jewelry, and coinage. As many citations throughout this collection of essays testify, these written sources are a boon to scholars, providing valuable information about ancient artists, patrons, and viewers, as well as objects that survive and those that are irretrievably lost. Indeed, for some media, such as panel painting, wooden sculpture, and textiles, texts are virtually all we have (Reinach 1921; Pollitt 1990: 124–180, 206–220; Robertson 1975; Meiggs 1982; Vickers 1999; Koch 2000). But ancient writings on Greek art also present pitfalls. Most Greek and Latin authors discuss what we today call ‘works of art’ not as their principal subject, but rather in some other context. Whether their agenda is religious, social, political, historical, rhetorical, philosophical, aesthetic, or antiquarian, ancient writers frequently employ ‘art’ as a convenient tool for making some other point. This is true even in cases when their aim seems to be art-historical. Also, most such writers lived and wrote long after the works they discuss were created. Pliny and Pausanias, arguably the two most important ancient authors on Greek ‘art’ (see further below), lived in the 1st and 2nd c. AD, respectively. They were chronologically more distant from the ‘Golden Age of Athens’ of the mid 5th c. BC than we today are from the death of Michelangelo in 1564. To be sure, they lived in cultures with some continuity with the Archaic and Classical past, but

society had changed considerably: the Greece they knew was under the domination of Rome, and negotiating cultural interaction was for them and other contemporaneous writers a considerable challenge. Another pitfall for us today in utilizing ancient Roman writers is the fact that their Latin vocabulary does not always express well the ideas, circumstances, and culture of those who originally commissioned, produced, and viewed Greek art. Pliny himself recognized that ‘there is no Latin name for the *symmetria*’ observed by Lysippos (*HN* 34.65); the Roman concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* discussed by many authors, moreover, are not exact equivalents of Greek *mimesis*, for the needs, desires, and taste of Roman patrons (of literature as well as of art) were different from those of Archaic, Classical, and even Hellenistic Greeks (Pollitt 1974; Perry 2002, 2005).

Post-antique collections of ancient written sources on Greek art present modern readers with hundreds – indeed, thousands – of passages that are of interest to scholars and students, but these are necessarily removed from their larger literary contexts. Organized according to some overarching principle, be it alphabetical, chronological, geographical, by medium, artist, or some combination thereof, such collections, often in or with translation and accompanied by commentary, are both convenient and useful, but the many short extracts they contain risk being treated as objective reports with an aura of historical ‘truth’ rather than as part of some larger ancient argument (see e.g. Junius 1694; Overbeck 1868; Stuart-Jones 1895; Reinach 1921; Miller 1929–1931; Meiggs 1982; Corso 1988–1991; Hebert 1989; Pollitt 1990; Stewart 1990; Lapatin 2001; Muller-Dufeu 2002).

Written accounts of finely crafted objects, what we today call ‘works of art’, are nonetheless as old as the earliest Greek literature (even older, if we include those mentioned on the Linear B tablets of Mycenaean Greece), and they continued to be penned through the Roman Empire, Late Antiquity, and Byzantium, more than a millennium after the creation of some of the objects described. Homer invokes many beautiful items in both epics credited to him. In Book 18 of the *Iliad*, for example, he describes in great detail the legendary Shield of Achilles, ‘enriched with many a wonder by the cunning hand’ of the craftsman god, Hephaistos. This 130-line *tour de force*, however, is less an accurate account of contemporaneous visual culture than a disquisition on the cosmic order and the virtues of peace and good government. Even texts written by craftsmen who seem to provide detailed accounts of their practice must be read ‘with a grain of salt’. We know that many ancient sculptors, painters, and architects wrote technical treatises (see further below), but only one survives in its entirety: Vitruvius’s *De Architectura*, written at the end

of the 1st c. BC. Vitruvius seems to provide a handbook for creating and decorating buildings of different types, but recent scholarship suggests that the principal aim of his project was to demonstrate his own proficiency and credibility in order to gain the favor of the emperor Augustus and other potential clients (Nichols forthcoming).

Ancient poets, dramatists, orators, satirists, philosophers, historians, and others all wrote about ‘art’, recording valuable information about individual craftsmen, objects, techniques, purposes, styles, dates, and historical circumstances, and much else. Neither the space allocated for this essay, nor, indeed, several larger volumes, would be adequate to list, let alone analyze, the vast corpus of ancient texts on Greek art. J.J. Pollitt (1990: 6–9; 1974: 9–71) has usefully identified four categories into which ancient writers on art might be placed: compilers of tradition, literary analogists, moral aestheticians, and professional critics. This chapter is organized somewhat differently, for some ancient authors combine approaches and/or draw on a variety of sources. It aims to provide an overview of several genres of writing that invoke ancient art and to highlight some authors who are particularly significant or representative.

14.2 Inscriptions

Whether painted, carved, engraved, cast, hammered, or scratched, inscriptions *on* works of art – unlike many other types of writing *about* art – tend to be contemporaneous with their production and most probably come from the hand of the craftsman. The earliest date to the late 8th c. BC, when artists’ signatures and dedicatory inscriptions appear on vases and stone (Boardman 1998: fig. 162; Hurwit 1999: 90–91, figs. 62, 63; Snodgrass 2000; Osborne 2010). Such inscriptions continued to be produced throughout the first millennium BC and provide valuable information not only about the identity of craftsmen and the purposes of their products, but also about the self-perception and projection of both artists and patrons. Indeed, some signatures, such as that on the base of a statue carved by Euthykartides of Naxos, demonstrate that artists dedicated their own work (Marcadé 1953–1957: vol. 2, 46; Jeffrey 1961: 304, no. 3; Boardman 1978: fig. 56; Stewart 1990: pl. 40; in general, Scheibler 1979).

Early signatures often provide just a name and a verb, *epoie* or *epoiesen*: ‘so-and-so made [this]’, but often the object – physical as well as grammatical – is not only implied, but is also present in the form of a first-person accusative pronoun, *me*: ‘so-and-so made me’. Thus the object speaks, becoming animate and autonomous.

Signatures of potters appear long before those of vase-painters (Immerwahr 1990; Cohen 1991; Wachter 2001; Osborne 2010), and craftsmen also signed mosaics, metalwork, coins, gems, and even temples, as well as statues and statue bases (Löwy 1885; Marcadé 1953–1957; Jeffrey 1990 (1961); Franke and Hirmer 1964: 49–53; Richter 1968b: 333; Stewart 1990: 22–24; Lawrence 1996: 220, col. 2, n. 12; Dunbabin 1999: 14, 25–26, 33; Keesling 2003: esp. 22–35; Lapatin and Wight 2010: 34).

Inscriptions sometimes provide additional information about craftsmen: the name of their father, tribe, or hometown, especially, it seems, when working abroad. They also record the status, family connections, and other circumstances of the deceased – in the case of funerary markers (Richter 1961; Clairmont 1993) – or dedicator – in the case of votives – as well as the intended recipient of the object. Such commemorative and votive inscriptions are often written in verse, perhaps reflecting actual dedicatory utterances and/or encouraging viewers/readers to repeat them aloud (Rouse 1902; Raubitschek 1949; Day 1994). One of the most illuminating early inscriptions is cut into the thighs of the bronze male figure in Boston already mentioned in Chapter 5, which dates to the early 7th c. BC (Boardman 1978: fig. 10): ‘Mantiklos dedicated me to the far-shooter of the silver bow as a tithe, do thou, O Phoibos [Apollo], give something pleasing in return’ (Jeffrey 1961: 90–91, no. 1, pl. 7; Stewart 1990: 4, pl. 11; Day 1994: 39–43; Papalexandrou 2004: 84–86). Whether Mantiklos is the artist or, more likely, the patron is uncertain, but the inscription succinctly reveals something of the roles played by material culture in the reciprocal relationships between gods and men.

Inscriptions serve other purposes as well. For scholars today, they are extremely useful in establishing and refining chronology and origin, as their content (e.g. names of magistrates or artists’ lineages) and form (i.e. shape of letters and dialect) can help to date and place artifacts. Also, in diverse media the figures depicted are sometimes labeled, although such name inscriptions often seem redundant: who needs to be told that the muscle-man wearing a lionskin and holding a club is Herakles, or the armed female wearing a snakey *aegis* (a shield-like cape) is Athena? Nonetheless, scholars – and perhaps the ancients too – would have misidentified several figures without such inscriptions: the rediscovery of ‘lost’ painted labels on the east frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi (cf. [Figure 7.1](#)), for example, has allowed for the proper identification and interpretation of the depicted myth (Brinkmann 1985; Shapiro 1988).

Writing in and of itself, moreover, frequently served as a form of decoration: on vases and elsewhere, inscriptions are often carefully

placed. And in the 6th c. BC the relatively new technology of writing, apparently, could serve as a symbol of status. Hence, perhaps, the prevalence of so-called ‘mock’ or ‘nonsense’ inscriptions on drinking vessels and other painted pots. These sometimes are formed by mere blobs, but frequently employ letters and sometimes even approximate words. They are written by literate as well as illiterate painters and are often onomatopoeic. At Athens, they seem to have been especially popular during the early years of the Athenian democracy (Beazley 1929: 361–362; 1932: 194–195; Immerwahr 1990: 44–45; Lissarrague 1990b: 123–139; 1994; Sparkes 1991: 112–113; Jubier 1998 [2002]).

Public accounts inscribed on stone also provide a trove of information about diverse works of art. A fragment of the so-called ‘Marmor Parium’, an ancient chronological table, for example, reports that replacement statues of the Tyrannicides at Athens, originally produced by Antenor but carried off by the Persians, were erected in 477/6 BC (Figure 21.1). Inventories of ancient temple treasuries, meanwhile, record in considerable detail the imagery, dedicators, and locations of thousands of lost objects, many fashioned from precious and/or perishable materials (Linders 1975; Aleshire 1989; Harris 1995; Hamilton 2000; Lapatin 2005). Building inscriptions provide data about processes of quarrying and transporting materials and the construction and finishing of structures, as well as details of contracts with and wages paid to individual craftsmen. From the accounts of the so-called Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis, for example, we learn that citizens, slaves, and resident aliens worked side by side and were paid the same wages for carving figures for the frieze – amounts determined by the size of the job (Randall 1953; see also Burford 1969, 1972; Scranton 1969).

Perhaps most interesting for art historians or archaeologists are those inscriptions that reveal something about the intended, or desired, reception of a given artifact. The word *agalma*, ‘delight’, is often used to denote statues dedicated as votives, while *xoanon* undergoes a transformation in meaning from ‘something carved’ to ‘sacred statue’ (Donohue 1988; Keesling 2003). Artists, meanwhile, might boast about – and on – individual objects: an early 5th c. BC Boeotian stele that depicts a boldly foreshortened male figure is proudly inscribed ‘Alxenor of Naxos made me – just look!’ (Boardman 1978: fig. 244; Stewart 1990: pl. 254). A verse inscription scratched into a rather unassuming Late Geometric terracotta drinking cup evidently manufactured on Rhodes, but found at Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia off the coast of Naples, refers, apparently jokingly, to the enormous and finely-decorated golden cup of Nestor described by Homer in the *Iliad* (11.632–37; Immerwahr 1990: 18–19; Ridgway 1992: 55–57). Such writings indicate self-consciousness. The famous

inscription painted on an amphora by a late 6th c. BC red-figure vase-painter, however, has perhaps been over-interpreted by modern scholars: 'Euthymides painted me ... as never Euphronios' is frequently taken as a jibe directed at the skill of a rival painter in the Athenian potters' quarter, but, as has been noted, the two parts of the inscription appear on opposite sides of the vase. 'As never Euphronios' might refer to the act of drawing the foreshortened image of a twisting reveler, but it may instead have been meant to proclaim Euthymides's proficiency in revelry or some other activity, especially as the vessel was designed for use at a *symposion* – a drinking party (Boardman 1975: fig. 33; Vickers and Gill 1994: 97–98).

The form as well as content of inscriptions can also be revelatory: sculptors' signatures on statue bases seem to become larger and more prominent in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, their increased size apparently reflecting the greater importance of artists' identities in an age obsessed with status and connoisseurship (Tanner 2006: 206–209, cf. 153–155). Inscriptions, moreover, were evidently 'read' and interpreted by other ancient authors – long before modern archaeologists – in the hope of explaining older objects. Pausanias cites inscriptions regularly (Whittaker 1991), and he and others occasionally misunderstand them, or, like their modern counterparts, extrapolate from them, filling the 'gaps' between what was actually written and what they would prefer to learn (Keesling 2005a; Newby and Leader-Newby 2007).

14.3 Artists' Treatises

As mentioned above, Vitruvius's *De Architectura* is the only treatise by an ancient artist – in this case an architect and military engineer – that survives in its entirety, but the names of authors, titles, and even extracts of other ancient artists' treatises are preserved. Vitruvius lists authorities whose works (now lost) he consulted in order to demonstrate his qualifications – almost as if providing a modern bibliography – as does Pliny the Elder (see below). These lost cited works include treatises on the Parthenon and other famous buildings by their architects. The earliest of them probably dealt with technical matters, 'heroic feats of engineering' (Pollitt 1995: 20) such as moving large stones from quarry to building site and erecting monumental structures, as well as design and proportion, which seem to have been the chief concerns of later architects/authors.

Architects were not the only artists to take up the pen. Vitruvius mentions that the painter Agatharchos, as mentioned by Plantzos

(Chapter 8), wrote about perspective in the second half of the 5th c. BC, and we know from Pliny that the 4th c. BC painter and sculptor Euphranor wrote *On Symmetria* and *On Colors*; that the painter Apelles wrote about proportion, composition, and style; and that other painters, such as Parrhasios, Melanthis, and Asklepiodoros, wrote books that were still available to be consulted in the 1st c. AD.

Perhaps most influential in antiquity, however, was a treatise called the *Kanon* by the Argive sculptor Polykleitos (see Chapter 5), which was illustrated, apparently, by a statue, which we today call the Doryphoros (Figure 5.4). This treatise, too, is lost, but quotations are preserved in several other authors. Some of these quotations, such as ‘the work is most difficult when the clay is on the nail’, are relatively straightforward descriptions of stages in the process of lost wax bronze-casting, here referring to applying the final finish to clay models. Other passages, such as ‘perfection arises *para mikron* from many numbers’, have exercised scholars, but leave no doubt as to the sculptor’s concern with *rhythmos*, composition, and *symmetria*, the commensurability of parts through mathematically determined proportions (e.g. Pollitt 1974: 14–23; 1995: esp. 21; Tobin 1975; Stewart 1978, 1990: 160–163). Greek and Latin authors who cite Polykleitos and his *Kanon* include Plato, Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias, Cicero, Pliny, Quintilian, and others, but some of the most revealing passages are to be found in the medical treatises of Galen, written in the 2nd c. AD. Galen’s concerns are far from art-historical, of course, but he found Polykleitos’s work supremely useful for understanding and explaining morphological changes in muscles engendered by flexion and extension, for the sculptor had ‘broken down the motor capabilities of the body into a series of opposites for the purposes of schematic and clear exposition’ (Leftwich 1995: 48). Though writing for quite different audiences, the sculptor and the doctor shared an abiding interest in the human body and, perhaps, increasing their own status beyond that of mere craftsman into the ranks of the intelligentsia; indeed, in the late 5th c. BC and afterwards, artists, like doctors and sophists, seem to have participated in a rationalized and commoditized pedagogy, competing with one another professionally by teaching theoretically as well as practically through production (Leftwich 1995; Metraux 1995; Tanner 2006: 161–182; see also Koch 2000).

In the 4th c. BC, Euphranor and Silanion both published ‘alternative’ canons, but it was not until the 3rd c. that another sculptor, Xenokrates, penned a work that attempted a more global historical perspective. He reviewed the texts of earlier authors and added *akribeia* (accuracy of detail) to *rhythmos* and *symmetria* as the criteria by which both sculpture and painting should be judged. He

saw art as undergoing a gradual evolution from primitive beginnings through refinements resulting in eventual perfection in both sculpture and painting, thus establishing the basis of what to this day remains standard art-historical periodization. Xenokrates's teachers were disciples of Lysippos, so it is Lysippos's new canon of proportions that Xenokrates enshrines. Nonetheless, Pheidias, Polykleitos, Myron, and Pythagoras are all credited with playing key roles along the continuum in the development of sculpture. Individual painters, too, were evidently singled out as making breakthrough advances at various stages of their art. Although Xenokrates's work, too, is lost, his evolutionary model, which privileges 'inventors' and 'perfectors' of a specific technique or style, was employed by several subsequent authors, who combined chronological and alphabetical lists of artists and subjects in attempts to write grander histories of art. Circa 280 BC Douris of Samos compiled a series of anecdotes relating to the lives of major artists, and shortly thereafter Antigonos of Karystos joined this biographical approach with Xenokrates's professional criticism. His work was critiqued in six books (!) by Polemon of Elis (or Ilion) in the 2nd c. BC, who seems to have been so obsessed with reading old inscriptions and artists' signatures that he was dubbed *ho stelokopas*, 'the tablet-glutton'; he also wrote individual books on the monuments of Olympia, Delphi, and the Athenian Acropolis. All of these texts, now lost, were eventually utilized by Marcus Terentius Varro and other authors, such as Strabo, who often cites significant works of sculpture in his *Geography*, which fortunately does survive. Other lost guidebooks on local antiquities were written by Heliodoros of Athens in the 2nd c. BC; by C. Lucinius Mucianus on the antiquities of Asia, where he served as proconsul under the emperor Nero; and by a certain Alketas about the offerings at Delphi. Perhaps closest to a modern art history, however, was the five-volume account of masterpieces everywhere (*nobilis opera in toto orbe*) written in the 1st c. BC by the Neapolitan sculptor Pasiteles (Stuart-Jones 1895: xvii–xxi; Jex-Blake and Sellers 1896: xvi–xci; Pollitt 1990: 3–6; 1974: 12–31, 73–80; Koch 2000). Their factual content aside, these Late Classical and Hellenistic texts seem to mark a change from artists writing instructional treatises for other artists to the writing of art history for cultured readers. Such volumes included not only lists of artists and genres but also, and perhaps as importantly, instructive models for proper viewing (Tanner 2006: 235–276).

14.4 Pliny and Pausanias

Two ancient texts stand out as being most informative about ancient Greek art: those written in the 1st and 2nd c. AD by a Roman knight, Gaius Plinius Secundus, and a Greek traveler from Asia Minor, Pausanias. Pliny the Elder was born at Como in northern Italy in AD 23/4 and died in 79. From the writings of his nephew, Pliny the Younger, we are well informed about his life, his method of work (tireless), and the circumstances of his death (investigating the eruption of Mt Vesuvius). The 37 books of his *Natural History*, dedicated to Titus, the son of the emperor Vespasian, who became emperor two months before Pliny's death, are his only works to survive (he also wrote another 102 volumes, now lost). The *Natural History* is one of the longest Latin texts to have been passed down through the Middle Ages – on account of its perceived utility.

Modern scholars often refer to Pliny's 'art history' (e.g. Jex-Blake and Sellars 1896; Isager 1991), but the sections of Pliny's *Natural History* that treat the history of art do so because of the author's interest in the natural world: works of art are fashioned from natural materials. In fact, of 37 books, only the last five deal with art to any extent. Book 1 contains the author's preface and a table of contents for each subsequent book, which includes the total number of facts, investigations, and observations therein, and a list of authorities. (All together, Pliny claims that his work deals with 20,000 matters of significance, drawing on 2000 works by 100 selected authors, with added observations of his own; modern scholars, however, have counted citations of more than 470 individual authors.) Book 2 addresses cosmology, astronomy, meteorology, and geology; Books 3–6 treat geography and ethnography; Book 7 anthropology and human physiology; and Books 8–32 – the vast bulk of the work – zoology, botany, agriculture, and pharmacology. In Books 33 and 34 Pliny discusses metals – principally gold, silver, and bronze – from mining and refinement to jewelry-making and bronze-sculpting. It is here that he preserves much valuable information about lost works of Greek bronze statuary, from the early self-portrait of Theodoros of Samos to masterpieces cast by Pheidias, Polykleitos, and Lysippos. Book 35 addresses pigments, and thus the works of famous painters, now entirely lost: Apollodoros, Zeuxis, Parrhasios, Apelles, and others. Book 36 explores stone, and thus marble-carving by such masters as Pheidias, Praxiteles, and Skopas, as well as the construction of monumental buildings, such as the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, the Artemision at Ephesos, and the Pharos at Alexandria. Pliny's work ends with Book 37, in which he describes hundreds of precious and semi-precious stones, as well as pearls and amber, and briefly discusses gem-engraving and some methods of forgery. All of these chapters contain not just titles and descriptions of works of art, but

also a combination of historical information, biographical anecdotes, and aesthetic critique drawn from various sources. Thus it is from Pliny that we learn that Parrhasios won a competition by painting an image of a curtain so realistic that it fooled his rival Zeuxis; that Pythagoras was the first to sculpt veins and sinews; and that the Laokoon – carved by Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros and belonging to Titus – ‘must be considered superior to all other products of the arts of painting and sculpture’ (*HN* 34.59, 35.65, 36.37, trans. Pollitt).

Pliny’s biases are sometimes those of his sources, whose words he at times copies – or translates – verbatim, but he is not merely an uncritical excerpter, copier, and compiler, as he is sometimes portrayed. He chooses carefully amongst his sources, and often updates them. Overall, however, his agenda, as stated in his preface, was not to write a book that was pleasing, but one that was useful, and throughout the *Natural History* he praises the bounty of nature and describes its abuse and destruction by man. He can, in many ways, be called a proto-environmentalist, and his combination of scientific investigation with chauvinistic moralizing, often at the expense of the Greeks, must be viewed in a Roman cultural context (see e.g. Coulson 1976; French and Greenway 1986; Wallace-Hadrill 1990; Isager 1991, 2003; Healy 1999; Murphy 2004; Carey 2006; Tanner 2006: 235–246).

Pausanias, unlike Pliny, was not widely praised by his contemporaries, nor, apparently, much read in antiquity. What little we know about his life is from his text, the goal of which was to examine and communicate to his audience what was unique and/or significant about individual cities and sanctuaries of mainland Greece. Born in Asia Minor, he was not, as some scholars have considered him, a Greek seeking to explain his homeland, but rather an interested outsider, touring numerous foreign *poleis*; hence his desire, at every stage, to explore and compare particularly local monuments, institutions, myths, and religious customs, many of which were alien to him, for these are what set each *polis* off from the others. Monuments of the past loom large for Pausanias, not only because the past shapes the present, but also because it requires more explanation. Indeed, contemporary monuments, such as colonnaded streets, arches, and aqueducts, are mostly overlooked, because they were familiar to his audience. Pausanias is particularly concerned with religion – ritual and votive offerings – not just on account of his own personal piety, but because religious monuments function as communal symbols of local identity and thus reflect the state of Greece under the Roman Empire (Elsner 1992; Arafat 1996; Bingen 1996; Alcock et al. 2001; Hutton 2005; Pretzler 2007).

Pausanias's text is divided into ten books, organized geographically, treating Athens, Attica, and Megaris (1); Corinthia and Argolis (2); Lakonia (3); Messenia (4); Elis, including Olympia (5 and 6); Achaia (7); Arcadia (8); Boeotia (9); and Phocis (10). Northern Greece, the Islands, and Asia Minor are not addressed systematically, but are invoked at various points, as are sites and monuments both further east and in Italy. Scholars of the 19th and early 20th c. hotly debated the reliability of Pausanias's text, but because excavations have persistently corroborated his observations, his accuracy is no longer the issue it once was, though he does make occasional mistakes (Frazer 1896; Papahatzis 1974–1981; Musti et al. 1982; Habicht 1985; Pritchett 1998–1999). Pausanias writes in the tradition of historians, such as Herodotos, to whom he occasionally alludes, and his chief concern seems to be with factual accuracy, rather than any kind of rhetorical effect. He makes judgments largely based on autopsy, often revealing his use or doubt of local sources and/or consideration of variant explanations, as for example at 2.17.3, when he agrees with his guides at the Argive Heraion 'that the statue which the inscription declares to be the emperor Augustus is really Orestes' (trans. Frazer). Like archaeologists and art historians today, Pausanias employs a comparative method to determine the age of monuments. Indeed, one of the reasons we are so comfortable using his text today is that he exercised judgments similar to our own, evaluating works based on the criteria of technique, materials, and style, and thereby placing them into relative chronologies and attributing them to specific artists. For example, he writes of two statues of Apollo at Thebes and at Didyma: 'Whoever has seen one of these images and has learned who the artist was, requires no great skill to recognize, on beholding the other, that it is a work of Kanachos's' (9.10.2, trans. author, adapted from Frazer). For Pausanias, the past was not one great soup, but was clearly divided into various periods, and their monuments could be appropriately attributed based on various factors, such as whether an image was wrought or unwrought, or made of wood, stone, or hammered bronze. It is to Pausanias that we are indebted for much of our knowledge of Archaic Greek sculpture (e.g. his description of early portraits in the form of kouroi at 8.40.1). He also provides a long and detailed description of Pheidias's Zeus Olympios and the paintings that surrounded it (5.11.1–11), and numerous other lost works, allowing for the recognition of ancient representations of them in other media (McConnell 1984; Lapatin 2001). His detailed accounts of the lost wall-paintings of Polygnotos and other artists have led scholars to attempt reconstructions (1.15.1–4, 10.25.1–31.12; Pollitt 1990: 127–140, 143–144; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989, 1990). But Pausanias provides much more than just descriptions of works, for he

continually attempts to present them in their cultural landscape. Indeed, although often considered a guidebook writer or pilgrim, he might better be called a cultural geographer on account of his deep interest in local history, mythology, and religion. Such anecdotes as the trial of the statue of Theagenes of Thasos for murder (6.11.2–9), moreover, provide unique insights into the intersections of art, history, religion, culture, and identity.

14.5 Homer and the Poets

Homer was blind, according to legend, but the poet credited with composing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* delighted in describing finely wrought objects: arms and armor, vehicles, vessels, textiles, jewelry, furniture, and so on. The gleam and shimmer of such items as well as their elaborate decorations are vivid in his verses, and scholars have long debated whether such objects, mostly considerably finer than anything preserved in the archaeological record, refer to actual artifacts of the late 8th c. BC, or are memories or heirlooms of the Aegean Bronze Age. Whatever the case, such items, for the most part, are invoked for narrative rather than archaeological reasons. For example, in Book 19 of the *Odyssey*, the hero describes to his wife a brooch: ‘the pin to it was golden and fashioned/With double sheathes, and the front part of it was artfully/Done: a hound held in his forepaws a dappled/Fawn, preying on it as it struggled; and all admired it/How, though they were golden, it preyed on the fawn and strangled it/And the fawn struggled with his feet as he tried to escape him’ (226–231, trans. Lattimore). Although this passage demonstrates how Homer, like many later writers, praised verisimilitude, it tells us less about the visual arts in Homeric Greece than it serves the poet’s narrative purposes: on one level, accurate description of the brooch, a gift from Penelope, lends support to the suggestion of Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, that her husband will soon return to Ithaka; on another, as in similes featuring dogs and fawns elsewhere in the epic, the passage suggests that Odysseus will upon his return destroy the suitors (Rose 1979: 223–225).

In the early 5th c. BC, Pindar employed the visual arts as an analogy for his own art (Shapiro 1988), a theme taken up by Hellenistic and Roman poets (see below). Greek dramatists often featured statues, paintings, and figured tapestries in their plays (Miller 1929–1931). Some monuments, such as the metopes of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, described by the chorus of Athenian women in Euripides’s *Ion*, add local color; others, such as Kreusa’s childhood

weaving or the celestial tapestry in the same play, or the purple textile in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, are not only crucial to plot development, but, like Penelope's brooch in the *Odyssey*, also laden with resonant significance (Miller 1929–1931; Vickers 1999).

In the Hellenistic period, a retrospective tendency, as well as the increased virtuosity of both writers and artists, led to such compositions as Kallimachos's (sadly fragmentary) ironic description of Pheidias's Zeus Olympios in *Iambus* 6 (Kerkhecker 1999; Acosta-Hughes 2002) and Posidippos's recently recovered epigrams about famous Greek sculptors and intricately carved gemstones (Austin and Bastianini 2002; Acosta-Hughes et al. 2004; Gutzwiller 2005). Other epigrams dating from the Hellenistic period on, written by Latin authors, such as Statius and Martial, as well as by Greeks, describe architecture, paintings, and metalwork, as well as gems and statuary. Myron's cow and the works of Pheidias, Praxiteles, and Lysippos seem to have been especially popular (e.g. Overbeck 1868; Corso 1988–1991; Muller-Dufeu 2002; Coleman 2006: lxxvi–lxxviii; Prioux 2007, 2008). Here, too, for the most part it is the verisimilitude and virtuosity of the artwork, and thus implicitly of the poet, that are praised, along with the taste, power, and goodwill of the patron, frequently a royal or Imperial personage.

The Latin poet Horace, too, often compares the visual arts and poetry – to the advantage of the latter. He, like other Augustan poets, invokes paintings, statuary, gems, ivories, silver, and precious textiles, but not so much to provide a scene with descriptive detail as to offer a foil to his own verse, which he presents as the proper and most effective form of commemoration (Laird 1996). Like Pindar, he casts his poems as monuments. Of the visual arts themselves, he seems to disapprove, as they constitute external signs of wealth and luxury; connoisseurship and finely wrought artifacts are further suspect because of their association with the Greeks; and, perhaps most importantly, ocular fixation distracts from true insight into the state of one's soul (Hardie 1993: 121). As Michael Squire notes (Chapter 31), however, the 'ideal' Roman response to art finds eloquent expression in Vergil's *Aeneid* 6.847–53).

14.6 Orators, Rhetoricians, and Essayists

Analogies between word and image were frequently invoked by speechmakers, providing not only parallels for their art (Benediktson

1985) but suitable illustrations of specific points. Thus numerous ‘facts’ about ancient Greek art are preserved in the speeches of public orators. Cicero, who describes many plundered objects in his prosecution of the corrupt Roman governor of Sicily, Gaius Verres, frequently represents the contemporary physical world – places, topography, and monuments – to his listeners, using these as agents of persuasion (Vasaly 1993; Miles 2008). Analysis of his *Letters*, meanwhile, helps to clarify his own personal preferences for collecting Greek art (Marvin 1989).

Cicero (*Brut.* 70) and other rhetorical theorists also use the visual arts to make vivid stylistic comparisons. Thus the late 1st c. BC literary critic Dionysios of Halikarnassos writes, ‘I think one would not be wide of the mark in comparing the oratory of Isocrates to the art of Polykleitos and Pheidias for its august, dignified, and grand style, and that of Lysias to the art of Kalamis and Kallimachos for its lightness and grace’ (*Isoc.* 1, trans. Stewart 1990: 263). The most extensive comments along these lines are those of Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.3–9), penned in the later 1st c. AD, drawing on the Xenokratic tradition and other sources for comparisons to both painting and sculpture. But Quintilian departs from Xenokrates, for his culminating highpoint is not the art of Lysippos, but rather Pheidias, who is said to have ‘added something to traditional religion’ (Pollitt 1990: 5; 221–223). Of course, Roman taste, as much as if not more than Greek, lies behind many of these statements, which emphasize *décor* – ‘appropriateness’ of style and subject matter – as a criterion for success. Romans were interested in Greek works of art (like literature) not only as great masterpieces of the past, but also as models for the creative emulation of their contemporaries (Perry 2002, 2005; see also Pollitt 1974: 58–63, 81–84).

Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus, a prolific writer of the late 1st and early 2nd c. AD, traveled widely, but spent much of his life in his hometown of Chaironeia in central Greece, not far from Delphi, where he served as a priest for 30 years. He was thus intimately familiar with the shrine (Zagdoun 1995), and deeply interested in religious matters in general, many of which were treated in his numerous essays, particularly the *Quaestiones graecae*, which addressed antiquarian concerns. Plutarch, however, is best known for his *Parallel Lives*, a series of paired biographies of Greek and Roman statesmen in which he often cites works of art. His *Life of Perikles*, for example, provides much information about the construction of the Parthenon and other buildings on the Athenian Acropolis (see Pollitt 1990: 187–189; Stadter 1989), while other *Lives* mention various portrait statues (e.g. *Alex.* 2; *Dem.* 31.44–45) and include accounts of venerable statues sweating, shedding tears, and exuding blood (Donohue 1988: 422–

In the 2nd c. AD, Lucian of Samosata, a self-proclaimed Syrian who once served as a sculptor's apprentice, frequently employed the visual arts as a metaphor for his own literary practice (Romm 1990; Dobrov 2002). He also writes in several of his satires about the physical deprivations of artists, the comparative appeal of their individual works, and the contrast between surface beauty and inner construction, among other topics (*Imagines*; *The Dream or the Cock* 24; *Zeus Tragodos* 7–12). Two authors named Philostratos (apparently grandfather and grandson), meanwhile, composed books of *Eikones*, descriptions of paintings of mythical subjects, which a certain Kallistratos later imitated with his *Statuarum descriptiones*. Scholars once heatedly debated whether the artworks they described actually existed, but today these so-called *ekphraseis* (sing. *ekphrasis*) are accepted as literary exercises. Their tone is emotional as much as, if not more than, aesthetic, but they nonetheless provide valuable evidence as to diverse modes of ancient response to images. Later orators and writers, such as Dio Chrysostomos (especially *Or.* 12, treating Pheidias's Zeus Olympios) and Libanios, also developed lengthy descriptions of works of art, both actual and fictional, and the responses they evoked (or should evoke) in their viewers, who, like Pausanias, were poised between the Greek and the Roman worlds (Pollitt 1983: 213–227; Bryson 1994; Goldhill 1994; Elsner 1995, 1996, 2007a, 2007b; Dewender and Welt 2003; Bäbler and Nesselrath 2006; Costantini et al. 2006; Squire 2009; and on the genre of *ekphrasis*, Webb 2009).

14.7 Philosophers

From the Archaic period, philosophers, too, engaged with material culture, questioning the value of visual images largely on account of the easily blurred line between representations of people and things, and who or what was being represented. This problem would occupy thinkers for centuries – especially as works of art became more and more successful at imitating nature – and would be revived by early Christians attacking idolatry. Circa 500 BC, Herakleitos criticized Greeks who ‘talk to these *agalmata* of theirs as if one were to converse with houses, in ignorance of the nature of both gods and heroes’. Xenophanes of Kolophon noted the relativism of anthropomorphism: ‘The Ethiopians say that their gods are snub-nosed and black, the Thracians that theirs have blue eyes and red hair. But if oxen or horses or lions had hands and could draw and make things as men do, horses

would make their gods like horses, oxen like oxen, and they would draw their forms and mould their bodies just like the bodies they each have themselves' (trans. Stewart 1990: 45, 134; Donohue 1997).

For Plato, the deception practiced by artists, representing in one material what exists in another (or in two dimensions what exists in three), was especially dangerous – even more so when we recall that for him what existed in three dimensions was but a pale reflection of a perfect form. Imitations, he argued, are necessarily inferior to the things they imitate, and pleasing representations pander to the senses, encouraging men to allow themselves to be deceived. Plato's rejection of imitation (*mimesis*) applied not just – or even principally – to the visual arts, but, regardless of the expert knowledge (*technē*) employed to produce them, to poetry, drama, and music as well (Webster 1952; Ringbom 1965; Pollitt 1974: 41–49; Demand 1975; Brumbaugh 1976; Keuls 1978; Brancacci 1995; Janaway 1995, 2009; Halliwell 2000, 2002; Kamtekar 2008).

For Xenophon and Aristotle, meanwhile, the 'artist' or craftsman was a kind of slave, serving others, working with his hands, getting dirty. The Greek muses personified intellectual arts: poetry, literature, music, and dance. There was no ancient muse of the visual arts: Hephaistos was lame (Burford 1972; Stewart 1990: 65–72; Tanner 1999; Lapatin 2007: 133–134). Individual artisans, nonetheless, are occasionally invoked positively in philosophical texts. Aristotle praises Polykleitos and Pheidias for mastery of their craft (*Eth. Nic.* 6.7.1–2; 1141a9–13). Xenophon reports that Socrates admired Zeuxis as well as Polykleitos, and in one of his dialogues Socrates discusses the creation of the most beautiful forms with the painter Parrhasios, the sculptor Kleiton (Polykleitos?), and the armorer Pistias. Here, painting is ranked most highly on account of its superior ability to represent visible beauty, character of the soul, and momentary feeling, though, as usual, some might disagree (Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.2; 3.10; Stewart 1990: 83).

For other authors, the skill necessary to create impressive works was of less interest than a kind of 'spiritual intuition' – which the Greeks came to call *phantasia* – through which the sublime qualities of the gods could be perceived by a visionary artist and the lives of men improved by his creations. The origins of such thoughts are ascribed to the 'Middle Stoa', a fusion of Platonic idealism, Aristotelian perceptualism, and Stoic psychology that occurred in the Hellenistic period (Pollitt 1974: 52–55; Stewart 1990: 20; Zagdoun 2000: 166–170, see also 31–34, 72–73; Tanner 2006: 283–287), and they were revived in the 2nd c. AD under the so-called 'Second Sophistic', when classicism of all kinds was extremely popular. Thus both Pheidias and Praxiteles were credited with journeying to Olympos and seeing the

gods whom they so successfully represented.

14.8 Historians and Others

Numerous other authors also addressed the visual arts. Herodotos famously describes the dedications of the Lydian king Croesus at Delphi (1.50–52, 1.91.1; Parke 1984; Flower 1991; Vickers and Gill 1994: 45–46, 55–56); Thucydides challenges the standard explanation of the motivation of the Tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Figure 21.1) and provides a contemporary account of the finances of the Parthenon (6.56–59, 2.13); Diodoros writes about the early history of sculpture and Greece's debt to Egypt (Pollitt 1990: 12–15, 28). There is evidence, too, of more esoteric writings: Theopompos is recorded to have written a book on marvels (*Peri thaumasion*), including accounts of strangely active statues. *Automata*, which moved by themselves, were described and explained by Hero of Alexandria and others in the Hellenistic period (Donohue 1998–1999). Moreover, we have vivid descriptions of the magnificent funeral carriage of Alexander the Great (Diodoros 18.26.3–28.4; Pollitt 1990: 218–220) and the art-laden procession orchestrated by Ptolemy II Philadelphos, narrated by Kallixeinos of Rhodes (preserved in Ath. 5.197C–203B; Rice 1983); likewise the Egyptian king's extraordinary tent filled with works of art and other luxurious furnishings was also inventoried by Kallixeinos: it has been called the world's earliest temporary art exhibition (Ath. 5.196A–197C; Calandra 2008, 2009). Moving from large-scale public displays to more secret uses of material culture, ancient writers on magic, too, frequently invoke artifacts, for they were essential to their practice (e.g. Faraone 1992, 2001a).

14.9 Conclusion

The works of many other authors not mentioned above also contain useful information about ancient art, both 'facts' about production and attitudes about reception. Numerous classical texts can be mined (e.g. Stewart 1998) for information about the visual arts, but these texts do not always tell us what we might want to know (Small 2003). The texts – or their authors – are not without biases. Ancient writers were not objective observers and are often far from neutral. Ancient texts about Greek art, like the artworks themselves, were carefully constructed for specific aims and audiences. Thus they need to be seen

in larger contexts: literary, cultural, and religious (Gordon 1979). And because the visual arts formed a significant element in the cultural landscape of ancient Greece and Rome, they themselves can help to illuminate texts, rather than merely vice versa.

FURTHER READING

Several modern anthologies of ancient texts on art provide convenient reference points: Pollitt (1983, 1990) treats all the arts, with passages in English translation, some commentary, and further bibliography. The earlier compilations of Junius (1694) (in English) and Overbeck (1868) (Latin and Greek) also remain useful. Stuart-Jones (1895) (Greek and Latin with English translation), Stewart (1990) (English with critical commentary), and Muller-Dufeu (2002) (Greek and Latin with French translation) address sculpture; for painting, see Reinach (1921) (Greek and Latin with French translation and commentary), Koch (2000) (German), and especially the relevant chapters of Robertson (1975). For Pliny and his sources, see especially Jex-Blake and Sellars (1896) (Latin with English translation and commentary) and the analysis of Isager (1991). Especially valuable overall is Pollitt (1974), which provides a clear and detailed examination of the different approaches of various authors and the particular meanings of specialized terms, but other approaches to the material, less strictly art-historical, such as those elucidated by Gordon (1979), should also be kept in mind. Tanner (2006), meanwhile, provides a dense and provocative view of ancient art history, drawing on modern sociological theory.

For scholarship addressing the writings of specific authors or literary genres, readers should consult the references in the relevant section of the essay above. These include text editions with introduction, translation, and commentary (e.g. Frazer 1896; Papahatzis 1974–1981 (in Greek); Musti et al. 1982 (Italian) on Pausanias), as well as monographic treatments, articles, and collections of essays (e.g. Habicht 1985; Elsner 1992; Arafat 1996; Alcock et al. 2001; Hutton 2005; Pretzler 2007 on the same author). Artists' signatures and dedicatory inscriptions are collected and analyzed by Löwy (1885), Raubitschek (1949), Marcadé (1953–1957), Jeffrey (1961), Schleiber (1979), Cohen (1991), Snodgrass (2000), Newby and Leader-Newby (2007), and Osborne (2010). Burford (1972) is indispensable for ancient building accounts. Linders (1975), Aleshire (1989), and Harris (1995) should be consulted for temple inventories. Early artists' treatises are best addressed by Pollitt (1995). For Roman sources and their biases, see especially Marvin (1989),

Hardie (1993), Perry (2002, 2005), and Elsner (2007a).

PART III

CONTACTS AND COLONIES

CHAPTER 15

Egypt and North Africa

Sabine Weber

15.1 Greeks in Egypt: Prehistory

Contacts between the eastern Mediterranean and Egyptian culture are well attested in the Bronze Age. The wall-paintings from a palatial complex of the Thutmoside Period at 'Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) (c. 1479–1425 BC) are visible evidence of the cultural and political exchanges between Egypt and Minoan Crete (Bietak 1996; Bietak and Marinatos 2000: 40–44; Bietak et al. 2007: 45–86). The painted frescoes show, among others subjects, bull-leaping and acrobatics, the typical motifs of Minoan wall-paintings. Also, Minoan vessels, such as rhyta (horns), have been found throughout Egypt (Koehl 2000: 94–100) and were soon imitated locally in metal, clay, and faience. Depictions of Minoan gift-bearers and servants holding Minoan rhyta appear in several Theban tomb paintings of the 18th Dynasty (15th–14th c. BC) (Koehl 2000: 97–99). They can be connected to the visits of Minoan embassies to the Egyptian court, where they were brought as gifts. They were exotic luxury vessels for Egyptian nobles.

Mycenaean imported objects such as stirrup jars for perfume, and ointment from Mycenae and the Argolid have been found in great quantity throughout the country, from the western Mediterranean Egyptian coastal site of Marsa Matruh to the cities along the Nile valley, especially in the capital of Echnaton/Akhenaten in Amarna; they were imitated in both Egyptian faience and pottery workshops (Buchholz 1974: 439–462; Russell 2002: 2–6; Empereur 2003: 26–27). Some Mycenaean sherds found in the Delta site of Qantir/Piramesse have been analyzed chemically using neutron activation. The results show that the majority of samples come from the Argolid in mainland

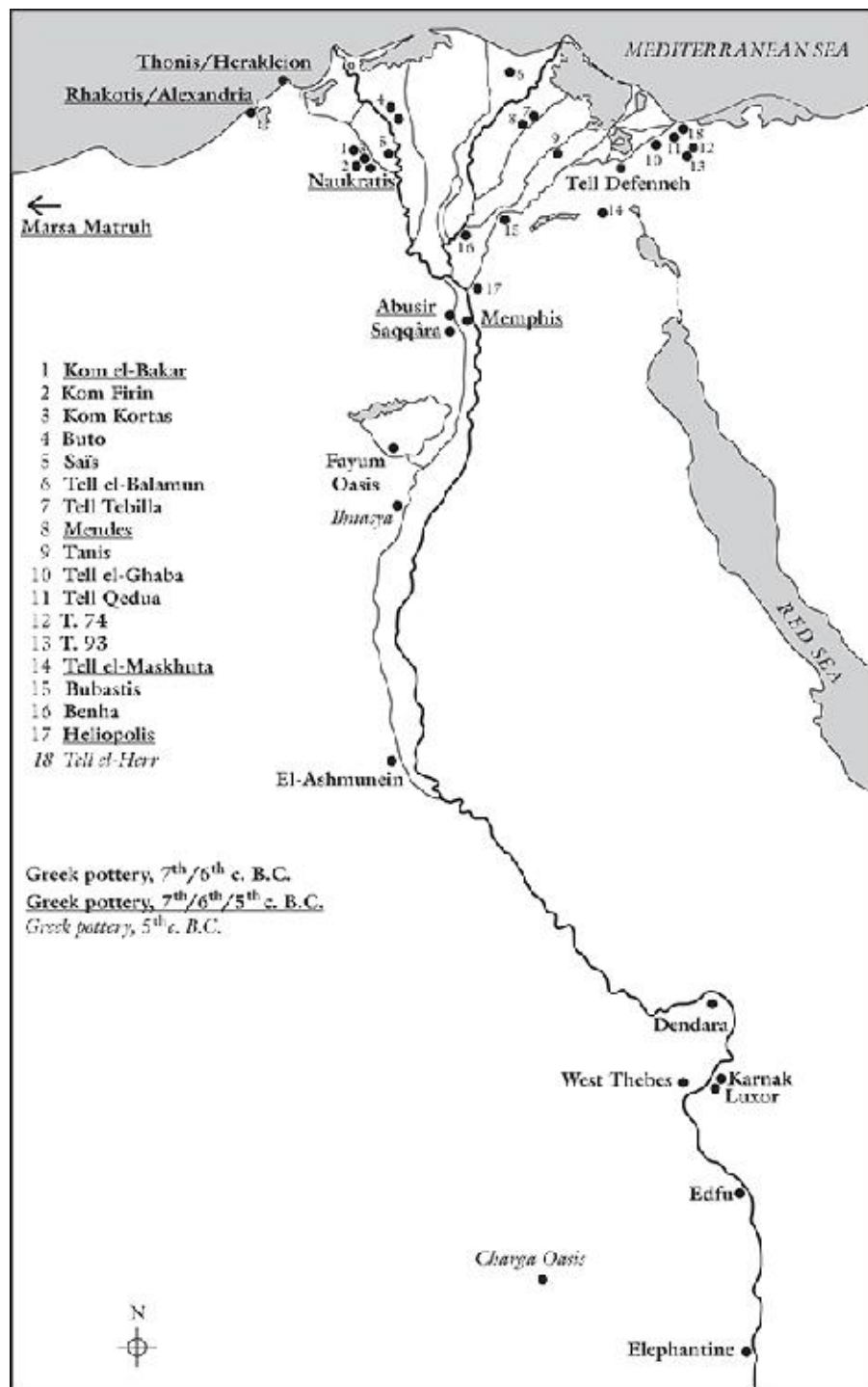
Greece; but four fragments showed a different pattern, which suggests local production in Egypt (Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001: 134, 139). Further evidence for these early contacts is the cargo from the Uluburun shipwreck found off the southern coast of Turkey (near modern Kaş). It contained Near Eastern goods from at least nine or ten different ancient cultures, including among them Egyptian luxury items, such as a gold scarab with the name of Nefertiti (Pulak 2005: 167–189, fig. 9). These archaeological finds are proof of long-distance trade between the Near East, Egypt, and the Late Bronze Age Aegean. Thereafter, the contacts apparently ceased.

15.2 Greeks in Egypt: Archaic Contact

For the Greeks in Egypt during the 7th–6th c. BC (see [Map 3](#)), the main written source is Herodotos Book 2. The historian visited Egypt sometime around the middle of the 5th c. BC. Closer contacts were revived in the period when Psammetichos I, a local ruler in the Saïtic nome (district), was able to gain power over the Delta in 664 BC. In the subsequent years he reunified Egypt with the help of Ionian and Carian mercenaries (Hdt. 2.152–4). Reigning until 610 BC, he chose the Delta city of Saïs as his capital and established the so-called Saïtic or 26th Dynasty. Having been of such great importance to him, Psammetichos invited the Ionian and Carian mercenaries to stay in Egypt and offered them land to settle on: two camps (*stratopeda*) on each side of the Nile, down Bubastis in the eastern part of the Delta. Perhaps there was also a Greek mercenary stronghold located in the western part of the Delta at the Bolbitinic mouth of the Nile, the so-called Milesian walls (according to Strabo 17.1–18). As of yet, these camps have not been archaeologically attested. From the second half of 7th c. BC onward, Greek and Carian mercenaries served regularly in the army of the Saïtic pharaohs of the 26th Dynasty (664–525 BC) (Luraghi 2006: 35; Smoláriková 2006: 245–246). Greek mercenaries were not only in the duty of the Egyptian pharaoh, but also served in different armies throughout the Near East. Perhaps they arrived in Egypt within the army of Gyges, who had been sent to aid Psammetichos I against the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (Onasch 1994: 236; Braun 2006: 36; Fantalkin 2006: 203; Smoláriková 2006: 246; Hölbl 2007: 447). Greek mercenary activity in Egypt is archaeologically attested by a small fragmentary Egyptian cuboid block statuette (head missing, preserved height 21 cm), which was

found in the Turkish Meander Valley, housed today in the museum of Denizli/Hierapolis. According to the Greek inscription, it belonged to a certain 'Pedon', who served in the Egyptian army – probably under Psammetichos I – and was rewarded by the pharaoh for his service with a golden arm ring and the government of a city (Boardman 1999: 281; Vittmann 2003: 203–205; Höckmann and Vittmann 2005: 99–100). Pedon is an example of a Greek mercenary who made a good career within the Egyptian army and brought a type of statue used in Egypt by high dignitaries back to East Greece.

Map 3 Egypt and the Nile Delta (source: drawn by S. Weber).



At the beginning of the 6th c. BC, during the campaign of Pharaoh Psammetichos II against Nubia in 593/592 BC, Greek mercenaries scratched their names in graffiti on the leg of a colossal statue of

Ramses II at Abu Simbel (Haider 2001: 197–209; Smoláriková 2006: 245). Military camps were stationed in Egypt in the western and eastern Delta, and in the south at Elephantine (Hdt. 2.30). It is very likely that Ionian and Carian mercenaries were also among these troops, although they are not explicitly mentioned by Herodotos.

Soon after, the mercenaries, who were also Greek merchants, arrived in Egypt, and an important exchange trade between Pharaonic Egypt and various Greek city-states developed. Diodoros (I.66.8), writing in the 1st c. BC, reports that Psammetichos I was also interested in trade with other cultures, especially with the Phoenicians and the Greeks (Pfeiffer 2010: 15–16). Egypt itself had a system of redistribution (Möller 2000: 26–38), and exchanges with other Mediterranean regions had been established for a long time. Among the foreign traders, the Phoenician cities played a very important role. The goods from the Greek side that reached Egypt were wine, oil, wood, silver, and iron; on the Egyptian side, grain, linen, papyrus, ivory, and natron were exported (Möller 2000: 203–215; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 1). Hoards of Greek coins have been found in Egypt, dating from the late 6th c. BC onwards. They are considered to have been useful metal pieces, both for paying foreign mercenaries, and serving as models for the first Egyptian coins.

15.3 Naukratis

Naukratis, the Greek port-of-trade (*emporion*) in the western Delta, was located on the Canopic branch of the Nile, about 82 km south from the Mediterranean coast line. Archaeological finds indicate that the site was established at least by the beginning of the last quarter of the 7th c. BC (Venit 1982, 1988; Möller 2000: 89–181; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 1–10). The site was explored in a series of British campaigns by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1884/5, E.A. Gardner in 1885/6, and D. Hogarth in 1899 and 1903 (Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006b; Leclère 2008: 113–157). The excavations soon caused the infiltration of ground water to the area, and a lake developed covering great parts of the ancient city center and the sanctuaries. This lake still exists today in the locality of Kom Ge'if. Excavations in the 1970s by an American team concentrated on the southern and eastern part of the lake, and provided fresh insights into the post-Achaic period.

The Greek trading settlement was very likely attached to an already existing Egyptian town or village to the north. The Greek name, Naukratis, was taken from the toponym *Nokrdj*. A sanctuary of Amun-Re Badjed is attested in the Egyptian quarter, but

archaeological evidence for an Egyptian presence at the site before the 6th c. BC is scarce. Herodotos credited the Milesians with being the first entrepreneurs at this site. But the Greek settlement was not a colony or an *apoikia* founded by a single Greek mother city, like the *polis* of Cyrene in North Africa. In fact, twelve different Greek cities were involved and the settlement was held under the strict administrative regulation of the Egyptian pharaohs. According to Herodotos (2.178), the pharaoh Amasis (reigned 570–526 BC) became a friend of the Greeks and allowed them to erect their own sanctuaries at Naukratis. But archaeological data (Greek painted pottery with votive graffiti to Apollo and Aphrodite) show that Greek religious practice at this site is attested prior to the reign of Amasis, beginning in the last quarter of the 7th c. Thus, by the end of the 7th c. BC, Greek sanctuaries must have existed, but the architectural remains date to the 6th c. Limestone and marble fragments of columns and bases, now in the British Museum, evidently belonged to two sanctuaries: the limestone ones to the first Apollo Temple, dated (on stylistic grounds) to about 560 BC; and the marble ones to a second architectural structure, perhaps the second Apollo Temple or an altar, dated to c. 525 BC (Koenigs 2007: 309–359). It is very likely that during the reign of Amasis, who also established diplomatic ties with Greek cities and rulers by sending gifts to famous Greek sanctuaries (Hdt. 2.80–82; Lloyd 2007: 35–50), already existing precincts were extended or renovated. Their methods of manufacture, as well as their decoration, suggest purely Greek workmanship. As Egypt has no marble quarries, the marble must have been imported from Asia Minor, possibly from the region of Ephesos; but it remains uncertain exactly what the state of preparation of the blocks was upon arrival in Naukratis, and how much carving had to be finished on the spot. The sanctuaries themselves have been identified by the votive inscriptions on the Greek vases discovered in different areas of the site. The imported Greek pottery comes not only from the Greek mainland (Corinth, Sparta, Athens) (Venit 1982, 1988), but from production centers of East Greece, and reflects very well the account by Herodotos that the Aphrodite sanctuary was erected by Chians, the temenos of Apollon by the Milesians, and the Hera sanctuary by the Samians. Cult transfer from Samos to Naukratis is attested by a group of special cups with distinct dipinti (Schlotzhauer 2006: 292–324). A joint community of nine different East Greek *poleis* (Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis, and Mytilene) founded the Hellenion, a sanctuary where different Greek gods were worshipped and where (probably) the *prytaneion* of the settlement was located (Möller 2000: 105–108; Höckmann and Möller 2006: 11–22). According to Herodotos (2.178), these *poleis* had the

right to appoint the *prostatai tou emporiou*, heads of the *emporion*; that is, Greek administrative officials who were the link between the Greek trading interests and the Egyptian administration (Möller 2000: 192–196). The large number of weights, in different standards, found at Naukratis is good evidence for the importance of trade to this city.

Artistically, the close connections with Egypt were obviously responsible for some innovations on the Greek side: the monumental Greek stone temple buildings from the 7th c. BC onwards (Weißl 2010) and the development of the Greek naked male statue type known as the kouros (Kyrieleis 1996; see Chapter 5), which was used as both a votive and grave marker from about 600 BC. In Egypt itself no monumental Greek kouros statue has been found. The characteristic finds of the 6th c. BC from Naukratis are small-scale male statuettes of alabaster and limestone, mostly of the kouros or lion-tamer type (cf. Figure 15.1). Although the kouros type was adopted from the Egyptian male statue, it was remodeled in a Greek manner. Within a short period in the first half of the 6th c. BC, these statuettes were manufactured with special Egyptianizing features, such as the hair, dress, or necklace/amulet (Höckmann and Koenigs 2007: 53–66). Some limestone statuettes were manufactured in a hybrid style combining Cypriot and Ionian elements with a few Egyptianizing features such as the short loincloth (*shendit*) worn by male figures (Nick 2006). The statuettes are an indicator of the exchange of artistic ideas and cooperation around the Mediterranean during the 6th c. BC, where the place of manufacture (Cyprus, Naukratis, or elsewhere) cannot be detected for sure. The recorded find places of some of these statuettes in Naukratis were the precincts of Apollo and of Aphrodite, indicating that they functioned as votives by Greek merchants and mercenaries. Finds outside of Naukratis are rare or doubtful, with one example coming from a secondary context in Saqqâra and another probably from Saïs (Höckmann and Koenigs 2007: 17–19). There is good evidence that these statuettes were used solely by Greeks. By the end of the third quarter of the 6th c. BC, the statuettes were no longer produced, perhaps as a result of the Persian domination of Egypt, beginning in 525 BC.

Figure 15.1 Statuette of kouros, from Naukratis. 6th c. BC (London, British Museum GR 1888,1006.1 (sculpture B 438). © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Another class of finds are small figurines, amulets, and small vessels made of faience, a vitreous silicate material, which contains only a small proportion of clay, from the so-called 'faience workshop' (Gorton 2000: 110–114). Faience scarabs with a large number of molds have been found in the southern part of the site close to the precinct of Aphrodite. Their iconography comprises not only Egyptian motifs but also Greek ones: sirens, winged horses, and tritons. Characteristic of the local production are lions and rams that take on new shapes and were used as amulets. They were widely distributed in the Mediterranean world. Also, an alabaster workshop was active in Naukratis, as is attested by cores that have been found. No intact Greek graves from Naukratis have been identified, but a grave stele, resembling the Egyptian false-door stelai with the name of a certain 'Apollon' (Höckmann and Vittmann 2005: 97–98) and some pottery finds are good evidence for a Greek cemetery at the site. Thus, Naukratis offered the Greek inhabitants, both merchants and visitors, the possibility to live in an almost Greek town, a home away from

home.

15.4 Other Sites

After Naukratis, the second major center of Greek presence in Egypt was Memphis, the old administrative capital of Egypt. Amasis transferred the Greek and Carian mercenaries from the *stratopeda* on the Pelusian branch of the Nile to Memphis, to be part of his personal guard (Hdt. 2.154). But archaeological evidence attests the earlier presence of Carians and Ionians at this site. The earliest finds are grave stelai, which were found in a secondary context in one of the Memphite *necropoleis*, Saqqâra (Höckmann and Vittmann 2005: 97–99). The Carian inscriptions on the stelai indicate the ethnicity of their owners. The earliest stelai can be dated from the second half of the 7th c. BC (Kammerzell 1993: 233–255) and are simple and modest stone plaques, with rounded tops and inscriptions in Carian naming the deceased. For the next generation, stelai with either Egyptian motifs of gods, or false doors with added Carian inscriptions were popular. During the 6th c. BC a combination of motifs (Egyptian afterlife, local gods, Greek rites such as *prothesis*) were set in low relief in two or three registers. The stelai show that the Carian population of Memphis was highly attracted to Egyptian religion, but also carried on its own funerary rites and proudly depicted them on its grave monuments.

Besides Memphis and its *necropoleis*, Abusir and Saqqâra, sites in the Delta are the main find places of Greek artifacts, primarily Greek pottery (Wilson and Gilbert 2007). Greek painted pottery from these sites was used in funerary contexts, but, as most burials were looted, precise attributions to individual burials are rare. An exception is the Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Berlin F 1659, which was found standing nearly upright under the pavement of the hall of the tomb of an Egyptian military official from the 26th Dynasty (Weber 2007: 311–316). The fact that the amphora still contained a sweet mass could probably be explained by its having been a container for embalming material that was deposited outside the tomb chamber (a theory put forward by A. Villing; personal communication). There are other examples of Greek trade amphorae, as well as Egyptian and Phoenician containers with embalming material, for example in *necropoleis* in Abusir and Thebes. The fact that the trade amphorae were reused in such a way suggests that they were handy containers, needed by the Egyptians for various purposes and recycled for different uses.

A special monument with an unknown find spot is an Egyptian stone sarcophagus, used by a Greek, with the Egyptian name of Wahibre-em-achet (Vittmann 2003: 203). The inscription specifies the Greek names of the father and mother, Alexikles and Zenodote. It is probable that the deceased belonged to the second or third generation of Greeks (mercenaries), and thus had been given an Egyptian name. Both the size and the material of the sarcophagus suggest that Wahibre-em-achet must have been very successful, and may have, like Pedon, had a career in the Egyptian army. His grave monument evokes that he was mummified, buried in the Egyptian manner, and had therefore fully acculturated to his Egyptian surroundings.

A painted wooden plaque was found in the region of the Serapeion at Saqqâra, depicting a procession of cows with five figures. The North Ionian style of the painting suggests that the artist was trained with the vase-painters of the Caeretan hydriai, which were found exclusively in Etruria (Boardman 1998: 221–222, 256, figs. 500, 501). But this plaque, whose purpose is still unclear, must have been painted in Egypt.

Herodotos tells us that Egyptian and Greek gods were equated (2.42.50). Dedications of Egyptian objects to Egyptian gods (Neith, Isis, Apis, and Amun) by Greeks and Carians, as indicated by inscriptions on these objects, show also that Egyptian sanctuaries were visited and that the dedicators were well aware of local religious practices (Vittmann 2005: 100). The Greek votives to Egyptian gods attest that they were, at least partly, well integrated with Egyptian culture and shared some religious rituals. In some cases, the dedicators were mercenaries.

The Carian and Ionian community in Memphis lived in special quarters like other non-Egyptian residents, such as people from Phoenician Tyre, and in Hellenistic times their members were called ‘Caromemphites’ and ‘Hellenomemphites’, respectively. The exact location of these quarters is not certain, but Greek painted pottery from the end of the 7th–5th c. BC found in the region of Kom el-Qala seems to suggest a quarter there, east of the temenos of the Egyptian god Ptah and the precinct of the Apis bull.

The eastern Delta site Tell Defenneh (Daphne) plays a special role in the story of Greeks and Egyptians in this period. Located on the Pelusian branch of the Nile, the site was partially excavated in 1886 by W.M. Flinders Petrie. At present, it is the location in Egypt with the most Greek painted pottery, apart from Naukratis. Petrie thought it was a palace-fort with a Greek mercenary population because of its strategic position at the border of the eastern Delta, and the high proportion of Greek pottery finds. Satellite images published by Leclère show that the site was merely a huge temple precinct or a

temple-town (Leclère 2007: 14–17; 2008: 507–540). During recent excavations (2009–2010) by the Egyptian Antiquity Service, traces of a huge precinct wall of a large temple area with remains of store rooms and temple buildings were found. Most of the Greek pottery was found (during Petrie’s campaign) within two chambers of a building with casemate foundations, called by Petrie a *kasr* (palace-fort). According to recent studies, however, this building was likely used for preparing ritual offerings. If this was the case, and we accept the hypothesis that the Greek pottery came to Tell Defenneh intentionally, it could have been used in an Egyptian temple context and, therefore, for wine and food offerings. But this new insight does not exclude the possibility of Greek mercenary presence on the site.

The shape range of the Greek pottery is also very characteristic: in Naukratis the special *symposion* shapes (mixing- and drinking-vessels) were common; in Tell Defenneh, mainly containers such as amphorae and hydriai have been found, and the quantity of other shapes (such as cups) is relatively low. In Naukratis, more than 7000 sherds have been found. The numbers in Tell Defenneh are much lower; about 390 fragments are recorded with different provenances: Corinthian (early Corinthian), Athenian (black-figure), North Ionian (animal, bucchero, black-figure styles), South Ionian (animal-style and Fikellura), and some uncertain wares, perhaps from the Eastern Doris. Pottery from Chios and Lakonia, both frequent in Naukratis, is rare or even missing from the find spots elsewhere.

15.5 Decorated Pottery and Transport Amphorae

Ever since the excavations of Naukratis and Tell Defenneh, different kinds of Greek pottery have been claimed by scholars as locally made in Egypt, such as the white-slipped chalices and kantharoi with dedicatory inscriptions to Aphrodite (painted before firing), now known to be products of the island of Chios itself, or of the North Ionian coast just opposite (Williams 2006: 127–132; Kerschner and Mommsen 2004–2006: 129–136; see Chapter 4 and [Plate 1](#)), and shipped as special commissions to Egypt. Also, the place of manufacture for the so-called Animal Style or Wild Goat Style is not Rhodes, as was once claimed, but in fact South Ionia, and more precisely Miletos. In all cases, the criteria (painted votive inscriptions and primary find spot) that were used to assign a special class of vase to a certain place of manufacture were misleading. From Tell

Defenneh, black-figure vases that can be attributed to the North Ionian Petrie Painter/Group (Boardman 1998: 148, 170, figs. 342–344) and ‘situlae’ are typical. For the ‘situlae’ from Tell Defenneh, the criteria of ‘shape’ and ‘Egyptianizing subjects’ (or, more precisely, subjects thought to be appropriate for an Egyptian milieu) have been used to assign them to local workmanship. Chemical analyses prove that the ‘situlae’ go together with stamnoi and a fragmentary black-figure amphora. Although the source of the clay is still not definitely known, several regions may now be excluded (Attica, Corinth, Sparta, South Ionia, North Ionia, and Egypt). The current state of research regarding a place of manufacture for the ‘situlae’ favors the eastern Doric region (Rhodes?) as the most probable hypothesis (Weber 2006).

However, there was a local pottery workshop in Egypt. A group of sherds from Naukratis and a neck-amphora from Tell Defenneh can be attributed to a local workshop using Egyptian Nile silt clay; these were painted and decorated in an eclectic East Greek manner (Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006a; Weber 2007: 306–308). The clay was chemically analyzed, and finds its best parallels with samples taken from locally produced imitations of Mycenaean vessels from Qantir/Piramesse mentioned above (Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001: 134, 139). The best-preserved example of this local workshop, active from c. 570 BC to the Ptolemaic period, is a neck-amphora from Tell Defenneh, completely covered with a light-pinkish slip and decorated with scale patterns. The fragments and the vase, which were most likely made in a workshop at Naukratis, are good evidence for the establishment of a local pottery tradition in Egypt. Unfortunately, only a few fragments can be attributed to this local workshop as of now.

There are also vases from around the second and third quarter of the 6th c. BC that show subjects related to Egyptian iconography (Weber 2006), such as a representation of Typhon on a ‘situla’ from Tell Defenneh (Figure 15.2). From a vase of similar shape, there is a depiction of two fencing men. Fencing or stick-fighting is a competitive sport that was performed often in Egypt, and especially among soldiers as part of their military training. A further Egyptianizing motif is the image of a falcon on a *nb*-basket seen on a fragment of a ‘situla’ (Schlotzhauer and Weber 2005: 69–114; Weber 2006). Furthermore, a few North Ionian black-figure vases were produced with the Egyptian market in mind: an amphora, probably found at Thebes, with painted pharaonic cartouches on the neck (Bailey 2006: 155–157) and a vase from Karnak, now in Oxford, depicting a procession of boat-bearers (Boardman 1999: 138).

Figure 15.2 East Greek ‘situla’, from Tell Defenneh. 6th c. BC
(London, British Museum GR 1888.2-8.1 © The Trustees of the British



The Egyptian adventure of the Greeks was expressed at home in the myth of Herakles and the Egyptian king, Bousiris. Greek vases (Attic, Milesian, and a Caeretan hydria) from the 6th to the 5th c. BC showed the struggle of Herakles with Bousiris and his priests, as they tried to ‘sacrifice’ the Greek hero on an altar (see Chapter 23). The painters illustrated such exotic surroundings by adding palm trees and by giving the Egyptians characteristic features: white-fringed linen dresses, a uraeus crown, a kushitic headdress, shaved heads, and circumcised genitals (Miller 2000: 413–442; Schlotzhauer and Weber 2005: 74–77). To these mythological scenes, single motifs were painted on Attic vases: Herakles striding on the pole of a chariot like an Egyptian pharaoh; a mummy; and perhaps an *ichneumon* (mongoose) (Boardman 1999: 151; Fritzilas 2003: 136–139).

Among traded Greek goods, wine was the main import in Egypt, and it was carried in large transport amphorae. In Egypt, wine was

considered a luxury item. Although vineyards existed in Egypt, wine from the Levantine coast and Greece (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Klazomenai, Miletos, and Athens) was imported in great quantity, as indicated by the discoveries of Greek transport amphorae (Smoláriková 2002). Many of these vessels were found in shaft tombs of Egyptian dignitaries in the Saïte-Persian cemetery at Abusir (Smoláriková 2002: 71–82; Smoláriková 2007: 189–197). Some of the transport amphorae were reused as water containers. They were collected and brought to Memphis, where they were refilled with water to supply the arid parts of the country, especially at the eastern border (Hdt. 3.6). Another method of amphora-recycling can be seen in some Saïte and Persian period shaft tombs at Abusir: a Samian amphora was used as a container for embalming material (Smoláriková 2009: 85), and broken foot pieces were reused as plaster pots to decorate the walls of tombs (Smoláriková 2007). Ancient repairs on some of the painted vessels, but also on transport amphorae, indicate that Greek pottery was highly esteemed, and that its owners were well aware that broken vases could not be replaced quickly.

Who were the users of the Greek painted pottery and the Greek transport amphorae in Egypt? In the case of the finds in Naukratis, the answer is obvious. All these vessels served the Greek community as dedicatory items, cult vessels, and also in daily life. The case for the finds from other places in Egypt is different, and must be studied site by site. Finds of Greek pottery are not always an indicator for Greek presence. The imported pottery could also be part of an Egyptian grave deposit or could have been used in an Egyptian temple.

15.6 The Persian Conquest to the Ptolemies

After the Persian conquest in 525, and throughout the 5th c. BC, the inflow of Greek pottery continued, but in dramatically reduced quantities. The pottery was now – as around the Mediterranean – exclusively Attic red-figure. Only on a few other sites outside of Naukratis have imports been recorded, such as Memphis, Ehnasa, Tell el-Herr, Marsa Matruh, and Herakleion-Thonis from the 5th and 4th c. BC. The shape range was limited mainly to kraters, stamnoi, and cups. There were still single vases designed for these special export locations; for example, plastic rhyta by the Sotades Painter were found in Memphis, Ehnasa, and Kushitic Meroë. These vessels were made for

Persian clientele, like the vases by this painter found in Susa (Borchhardt 2006; see Chapter 16).

Imports of Greek wine continued, and are recorded from various places by the remaining transport amphorae. A palimpsest from Elephantine, the so-called Ahiqar Scroll, which can be dated to c. 475 BC, is an erased customs register and gives a good account for trade in the 5th c. BC (Briant and Descat 1998; Pfeiffer 2010: 18). It lists 36 Greek ships from Pharselis and six ships from Phoenician Tyre, with their captains, crew, and trade goods, the amount of taxes they had to pay, and the period of time they stayed in Egypt before they sailed back. The imported goods were wine, oil, silver, bronze, iron, and wood, and the only exported good (or at least the only good taxed) from Egypt was natron (used as an antiseptic, though locally in mummification). The list gives an impression of well-organized trade activities and, despite the high taxes the Greeks and Phoenicians had to pay, it must have been very lucrative to do business with Egypt. During the 5th c. BC, the export of grain in exchange for metal (silver) and coins increased, and Egypt became the main supplier of corn for the Mediterranean world.

Egyptian religion began to spread around the Mediterranean by the end of the 5th c. BC. The earliest cult of Isis in Greece is attested at Athens by the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th c. BC (Kleibl 2009: 31). Also in the 4th c., a monumental set of Egyptian twin stelai was erected by Nectanebos I (380 BC), one at Naukratis, the other – found recently during archaeological underwater activities off the coast of Alexandria – at the harbor site of Herakleion-Thonis (Goddio and Clauss 2006: 316–333; Pfeiffer 2010: 19–20). Both stelai document the role of Herakleion-Thonis as a customs port. The taxes on imports were paid directly to the goddess Neith in Saïs.

In 332 BC, Alexander the Great entered Egypt. He was welcomed by the Egyptians as a liberator from the Persian domination. He respected Egyptian culture and religion, and the priesthood. When he traveled to the Siwa Oasis and visited the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon, the oracle called him the son of Zeus, son of Ammon. He was given the authority to rule over Egypt like an Egyptian pharaoh, and was broadly accepted by the Egyptian priesthood and people. His plan to build a new city became a reality in 331 BC. Alexandria was founded close to the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile, west of the harbor city Herakleion-Thonis, where all merchant ships had to pass before they could sail to Naukratis. Alexandria was built on a spot that had been occupied previously, perhaps by a group of 16 Egyptian villages, known as Rhakotis, though these are only attested by later sources (Strabo 17.6). Early archaeological finds that predate the foundation of Alexandria are very scarce, and perhaps, in some cases,

the origin is given erroneously. Recent core investigations from the eastern harbor provide evidence for human occupation at Pharos Island, and on the mainland, in the time before the foundation of Alexandria (at least 700 years before Alexander; Stanley and Landau 2010: 35–52). The city was set up using a rectangular street system in the ‘Hippodamian’ fashion (McKenzie 2006; see Chapter 6). Alexander was honored with a statue depicting him as *ktistes*, a city founder (see [Figure 15.3](#)), bearing an aegis around his shoulder. In view of his role as pharaoh in Egyptian temples, he was rendered in the traditional Egyptian way.

Figure 15.3 Bronze statuette of Alexander Aigiochos. 1st c. AD (London, British Museum 1922,0711.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Under the reign of the Ptolemies, Alexandria soon prospered, and, being the resident city of the kings, art and science were supported. Alexandria thus became the center of literature and philosophy in the Mediterranean world, housing the famous library. Located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, Alexandria was a Greek city in close

connection with the broader Mediterranean world. To its back was the Egyptian countryside, with the fruitful land that supplied the country's wealth.

In their sculpture, the Ptolemies showed, in many respects, a strong connection with the Hellenistic koine. Portraits and images of gods were rendered in a Greek manner. Alexander was the first leader with a beardless portrait, and became a model for his successors, the *diadochi*. As noted above, in Alexandria he was venerated as founder of the city. Greek marble was imported, and when this could not be obtained in sufficient quantities, pieces of stucco or other materials were made. Being the successors of the Egyptian pharaohs, depictions of Alexander and the Ptolemies within an Egyptian temple were still made in the traditional Pharaonic manner.

A new god was introduced, combining Egyptian and Greek elements: Sarapis (Figure 15.4; Smith 1991: 206). The place where he was worshipped, the Serapeion in Alexandria, became one of the most prominent temples of Egypt and was closely connected with the ruler cult. The cult statue, perhaps created by the Greek sculptor Bryaxis (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48), survived only in several Roman copies. It showed a seated, bearded man with a short-sleeved tunic under his mantle, with a modius (measure) on his head, and the dog Kerberos at his side. For the private cult, small terracotta statuettes combining Egyptian and Greek elements were also made (Budde and Sandri 2005).

Figure 15.4 Marble statuette of Sarapis. 1st–2nd c. AD (LOAN ant.103.93. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Photo © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



For this period, a special group of vases, known as Hadra ware, is characteristic. They are named after the *necropolis* in Alexandria, where they have been found in great numbers (Portale 2000a; Boardman 2001a: 125–126). The hydriai can be separated into two groups: a group with a whitish slip, and a group with clay-ground surface. Although most of the known vases were found in Alexandria, the vases of the second group were made in Crete and imported to Egypt. The slipped ones were locally manufactured, and their slip was applied in order to hide the rough Egyptian clay. This brings to mind the locally produced amphora found in Tell Defenneh, which was also completely covered with a thick pinkish-white slip.

15.7 Greek Colonies in North

Africa

For the history of Greek colonization on the Libyan coast, Herodotos is again the main ancient written source (4.147–205). His account is thought to be problematic in parts (Austin 2008: 187–217). According to Herodotos, a small group of young men from the Greek island of Thera set off in the third quarter of the 7th c. BC for the North African coast to look for land to settle. Famine and overpopulation forced them to leave their home, and after having consulted the oracle at Delphi, they sailed south via Crete. Remaining for two years on an island off the coast that was not very well suited for a permanent stay due to the lack of fresh water, they sailed back home to report the island's existence. After a second consultation with the Delphic Oracle, they settled at Aziris on the coastline of Libya. This is confirmed by Greek pottery, dated to the third quarter of the 7th c. BC, including Protocorinthian and Cretan fragments, as well as North Ionian bird bowls (Boardman 1966: 150–152). After six years, they were directed by the locals to a site on a high plateau, about 12.5 km away from the coast, with an excellent climatic situation for cultivating cereals and rearing animals. The leader amongst the colonists, Aristotles, who named himself Battos, set up a dynasty of kings called the Battiads. The main sanctuary was the Temple of Apollo. Later, a Temple of Zeus Lykaeos was built between 540 and 430 BC, famous in antiquity for surpassing in size both the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Parthenon. An equation was made during the reign of Battos IV in the late 6th c. BC between the cult of Zeus Lykaeos of Cyrene and the god Ammon, who had a shrine in the Siwa Oasis in the Libyan desert; the cult soon gained popularity around the Greek world. The Temple of Zeus Lykaeos was renovated in Augustan times and got as a cult statue a replica of the famous Zeus statue made by Pheidias in Olympia. The Archaic sculpture from Cyrene (korai and kouros) was imported; for example, the Greek kouros from the Apollo temenos. Another prominent sanctuary of Cyrene was the extramural precinct of Demeter and Kore. The Archaic imported pottery of this sanctuary is well documented and shows close connections with the finds from Naukratis, but also some differences (Schaus 2006: 175–180). The material begins about 600 BC and comprises imports from East Greece (Chian, North Ionian, and South Ionian) and from the Greek mainland. Lakonian cups provide a link with the Spartan origins of Thera. Characteristic finds that have not been located in Naukratis or other Egyptian sites include Cretan imports and Theraan sherds from large open vessels, from the first half of the 6th c. BC. They might be explained as dedications from the colonists of the second colonial wave. The Cyrenians prospered by exporting corn, olive oil, and the

plant silphium, which grew only in the hinterland and was harvested by the Libyans (Elrashedy 2002; Hodos 2006: 160). This special plant, already extinct in antiquity, was used for medicinal purposes. The weighting of silphium (or wool) under the supervision of King Arkesilas II is the subject on a famous Lakonian cup, found in Etruria, now in Paris (Schaus 2006: 176, fig. 1; Boardman 1998: 208; see Chapter 4). The silphium plant was also a motif on the reverse of coins issued in the 6th c. BC by the city of Cyrene. Today, the standing architectural remains of the site are mainly from the 4th c. BC to Roman times.

Very soon, new colonies on the North African coast followed in a westward direction: Apollonia, c. 12.5 km away from Cyrene and serving as its harbor city; Taucheira (modern Tocra), about 125 km west of Cyrene at the coast; Tolmeita (later Ptolemais), Barca, about 40 km from the coast inland of Tolmeita. The archaeological evidence suggests that these towns were not established much later than the last quarter of the 7th c. BC (Boardman 1966: 149–156; Austin 2008: 201–205). The settlement located farthest west was Euesperides, modern Benghazi (Gill 2004: 391–409). According to the finds of Greek imported pottery, it was inhabited from about the earliest 6th to the 3rd c. BC, when it was abandoned and moved 3 km west to be refounded under the Ptolemies as Berenike.

The ceramic material found in the votive deposits of the Demeter sanctuary at Taucheira begins c. 620 BC and ends c. 520/10 BC. The material includes imports from the Aegean islands, such as Parian, Melian, and Siphnian wares (cf. Boardman 1998: 128–130), all absent in Cyrene. The fact that these types were not found often elsewhere, and were therefore not often traded, might be explained by the arrival of colonists from these islands (Schaus 2006: 175). These differences show that the material was intentionally imported to a certain place and can reflect the provenance of a certain group of people.

After the successful establishment of the colony of Cyrene, King Battos II (c. 583–560 BC) invited other people from Greece to settle there. This new colonization wave and the increasing population caused problems with the Libyan tribes, who asked the Egyptian pharaoh, Apries, for help. The Libyans, with Pharaoh Apries and his troops, were heavily defeated in 570 BC by the Greeks from Cyrene, causing a revolt in Egypt, with the usurpation of the throne by the general Amasis. After this event we do not hear much from the Libyan population. The relations between Greek communities and the Libyans continued, but the Greek settlements do not appear to have had much effect on the native culture (at least not that can be traced archaeologically) (Hodos 2006: 158–199; Austin 2008: 205–210). Herodotos (5.170) tells us that the Libyan tribe of the Asbystai, living

in the hinterland of Cyrene, imitated most of the customs of the Cyrenaeans, and that the Greeks, on the other side, took over some Libyan practices. Also, intermarriage between Greeks and Libyan women is attested by Herodotos (4.186). The relations with Egypt became closer with the new Pharaoh Amasis, who set up diplomatic alliances with Cyrene by marrying a daughter of the Cyrenean king.

As in Egypt, little locally produced pottery of the 6th c. BC imitating Greek variants has been noted (for Tocra, Boardman 1966; for Cyrene, D'Angelo 2008: 507). The imitations consist mainly of Ionian cups with banded decoration. Locally made clay figurines are attested from Tocra from about the middle of the 5th c. onwards.

During the Persian regime, from 514 BC, the region of Cyrenaica became (together with Egypt) the sixth satrapy of Persia. Unlike Barca, which was sacked by the Persians (Hdt. 4.200–3), Cyrene was little affected by the Persian invaders. The Battiad kings still reigned, but the cities had to pay tribute to the Persian king. In 425 BC a democratic reign was established at Cyrene. The imports of Greek pottery continued, but were exclusively Attic red-figure, as was the case in Egypt and around the Mediterranean in general (Elrashedy 2002).

15.8 Conclusion

The contacts of the two cultures, Egypt and Greece, can be traced at various periods. First, during the Bronze Age, the time of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt during the New Kingdom, contact existed at a high level of political interaction and respect. During the Archaic period, during the Saïte Dynasty and the beginning of the Late Period in Egypt, the relations were revived, with mercenary recruitment by the Egyptian pharaohs and a developing trade between the two cultures. The Greek and Carian population in Egypt was incorporated into the Egyptian army, or acted as traders. Some settled in Egypt permanently and were soon assimilated; others retained their cultural traditions by worshipping the Greek gods at Naukratis. But the immigrants were always under the control of the Egyptian authorities. Greek art was influenced by Egyptian culture in various ways but, on the other side, the Egyptians seemed little interested in Greek art per se. In the Ptolemaic Period, the Greeks were the rulers of Egypt. On the one hand, within their palatial surroundings, they were part of the Hellenistic koine. On the other, they continued the Egyptian Pharaonic culture in religious surroundings.

The Greeks on the Libyan coast chose their new home by

themselves and lived there in a Greek manner, as the Greek imports clearly show. The native nomadic population was not set against the new settlers, and was not much influenced by the art and culture of the Greeks – or at least, such phenomena can hardly be traced archaeologically.

FURTHER READING

Still the best overview for the Archaic period is the chapter on the Greeks in Egypt and North Africa presented in Boardman (1999). The history of Naukratis in the Archaic period and trade with Egypt are discussed by Möller (2000). On pottery, especially the East Greek pottery from Egypt, the conference proceedings edited by Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006a) are a valuable source. Höckmann and Koenigs (2007) present the small-scale sculpture and the architectural remains from Naukratis in the Archaic period. Recent research on Egyptian and Greek relations from the Archaic to the Roman periods is the subject of the catalogue of an exhibition in Frankfurt, edited by Beck et al. (2005). Catalogues of exhibitions held in Paris and Berlin, as well as in Bonn, deal with the new discoveries off the coast of Alexandria. Similarly, the conference proceedings from Oxford and Berlin in Robinson and Wilson (2010). Beck et al. (2005) discuss the situation at the Mediterranean coast. An extensive historical overview is available in Braun's chapter on the 'Greeks in Egypt' in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (2006).

The volume by Bonacasa and Ensoli (2000) offers a well-illustrated overview of the archaeology of Cyrene. A summary with an extensive bibliography on the Greek settlements in Libya can be found in Austin (2008). For a comparative approach across regions, among them North Africa, see Hodos (2006).

CHAPTER 16

Cyprus and the Near East

Tamar Hodos

16.1 Introduction

Greek engagement with the eastern Mediterranean ([Map 4](#)) finds its origins in the Bronze Age. Minoan-style frescoes are found at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt and at Tel Kabri in the Levant. Later Mycenaean finds from Egypt's Amarna, Cyprus, and a number of sites up and down the Levantine coast reflect the exchange of goods and ideas between the Aegean world, Egypt, and the eastern Mediterranean during the second millennium BC. The legacy of this contact may be seen in the works of Homer, generally accepted to have been compiled during the late 8th or early 7th c. BC, although referring to Mycenaean events of several hundred years earlier (Morris 1997: 606–616).

[Map 4](#) Cyprus and the Near East (source: drawn by S. Grice).

high-status contexts, such as elite burials in Greece and palace or central city-state settings in the Near East (Hodos 2006: 4–5, 33–37).

During the 9th and 8th c. BC, a greater quantity of goods and objects of Greek and Near Eastern manufacture begins to appear more widely in these regions. Increasingly, it is pottery in particular that appears to have been the commodity most in demand. The quantitative and geographic scope characterizes this as the development of commercial trade facilitated and controlled by a merchant class, rather than elite gift-exchange. This increase in trade goes hand in hand with a greater movement of individuals as merchants, and coincides with the establishment of overseas settlements, particularly by the Greeks and Phoenicians, at the end of the 9th and during the 8th c. (Hodos 2009). Phoenicians from Tyre first began to move abroad during the 9th c., with some settling in the Cypriot community at Kition, and others establishing a new settlement in North Africa, at Carthage, before founding others in the western Mediterranean, notably in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. Greek colonies were first established by Euboeans during the 8th c., at Pithekoussai, off the Italian coast near Naples, and then in Sicily; the Euboeans were then followed by Corinthians, Rhodians, and other Greeks, who settled in Sicily, North Africa, France, Spain, and the Black Sea.

With regard to the Greeks, their colonies had a dramatic impact upon neighboring communities, many of which adopted a number of aspects of Hellenic culture. During the 7th, 6th, and 5th c. BC, these local communities utilized Greek pottery and imitated many ceramic shapes and motifs in their own ceramic production; elements of Greek architectural forms and Greek ideas of urban configuration became common, while attributes and practices associated with the worship of Greek deities, notably Demeter, were sometimes transplanted to non-Greek gods (Hodos 2010). Scholarship traditionally regarded these elements as evidence for the Hellenization of Mediterranean populations, which suggested that these local populations became Greek-like, or like the Greeks. Such a framework of interpretation has been rejected in recent years, for it assumes a fixed conception of Greek culture and overshadows the fact that cultural contact is not unidirectional; furthermore, it makes the assumption that the local communities had agency in their interactions with and appropriation of aspects of Greek culture. This has, therefore, challenged associations between artifacts and ethnic identities, since pottery cannot be equated with people, and the appropriation of foreign cultural aspects might not necessarily reflect an identity with that foreign culture. As such, it has become increasingly difficult to infer the mechanisms of Greek activity anywhere in the Mediterranean, even when material evidence is supplemented by literary sources. This

chapter examines Greek material culture that has been found in the eastern Mediterranean in order to assess the nature of Greek activity in the region during the first millennium BC and create a contemporary understanding of the mechanisms of multicultural engagement during this time.

16.2 The Greeks in Cyprus

Greek activity in Cyprus has long been assumed for the Early Iron Age, although the nature of this is currently disputed as scholarship interrogates the definitions and material manifestations of migrations and colonizations in Early Iron Age Cyprus (Iacovou 2008; cf. Voskos and Knapp 2008). A bronze spit inscribed with the Greek personal name 'Opheltas' from an 11th c. context at Palaepaphos Skales has long been claimed as evidence for resident Greek-speakers on the island from the beginning of the Iron Age (Knapp 2008: 287–289). Despite discussions surrounding the development of the island between the 11th and 8th c., especially whether the Aegean settlers remained culturally distinct (Iacovou) or developed a hybrid identity (Knapp), and thus the extent to which they might have asserted political and social systems on the existing Cypriot communities (Knapp 2008: 281–297), there is no doubt that by the 8th c. BC, Cyprus was primarily a Greek-speaking island. Nevertheless, Greek was written in a syllabary rather than the alphabet until the late 5th c., and the language continued to be used alongside Phoenician and Eteocypriot until the island was brought into the Hellenistic fold by Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I at the end of the 4th c. BC, when Greek became the exclusive language of the island.

Cyprus during the Archaic period was divided into a series of kingdoms. Neo-Assyrian texts from Sargon II's reign at the end of the 8th c. (722–705 BC) attest seven independent kingdoms who offered submission to the Assyrian king in 707. By the time of Esarhaddon (681–669 BC), ten kingdoms are named. A number of the kings have Greek names (Iacovou 2007: 261; 2008: 644–646). Yet it is also clear that the Greeks did not view Cyprus as part of Greece but rather 'as a distinctively foreign place, on the periphery of the Eastern world, if not part of it, with its own peculiar customs and features' (Reyes 1994: 12). Despite never being part of the formal Greek world, Cyprus maintained close cultural ties to Greece, through language and general religious beliefs. These links were extrapolated back through later Cypriot foundation myths that claimed early ties to Greece (Reyes 1994: 12; Malkin 1998: 3); it was maintained that Aphrodite was born

from the sea near Paphos (Hes. *Theog.* 190–200), although the goddess had her own Cypriot prehistory (Karageorghis 1977).

During the early second half of the 6th c. BC, Cyprus was conquered by the Egyptian Pharaoh Amasis (Hdt. 2.182), and shortly afterward the island fell to the Persians (Hdt. 3.91; for dates, see Watkin 1987). According to Herodotos (5.104–115), the Cypriots participated in the Ionian Revolt against Persian sovereignty at the beginning of the 5th c. but were crushed and remained under Persian rule. We know little of the island's subsequent history until it fell to Alexander and his generals at the end of the 4th c., with the exception of the period of Evagoras I of Salamis (411–374 BC), whose leadership was idealized by Isocrates (Maier 1985).

Despite political changes during the first millennium, Cyprus maintained close commercial and cultural contact with Greece throughout this period, and indeed with other regions of the Mediterranean. Greek pottery had been imported to Cyprus since the Bronze Age, and during the Iron Age, in addition to *imports*, especially from Euboea (Lemos and Hatcher 1991), the Cypriot repertoire shares occasional shape and motif *ideas* with other contemporary cultures mobile in the Mediterranean at the time. The pendent semicircle, a hallmark of Euboean pottery, was a popular contemporary Cypriot motif (Coldstream 1989), and bird-shaped vessels were manufactured on both islands (Lemos 1994). Globular jugs and plates, and wares with black-on-red decoration, were produced in Cyprus and among Levantine coastal communities (Steel 1994; Schreiber 2003). Such shared tastes also led to shared consumption and the development of new styles that appealed to many. One of the best examples is the *Kreis und Wellenband*, or 'spaghetti aryballos', a small perfume flask of late 8th and 7th c. date (Figure 16.1). It is well distributed in the West and has been found in abundance in Rhodes, where certainly some were produced. The shape itself originates from the Phoenician repertoire of small flasks, while the decoration is specifically Cypriot in style, and its similarity to the Cypriot-manufactured class of black-on-red flasks suggests that its Rhodian producers may have been Cypriot Phoenicians (Hodos 2006: 74–75). The hybrid nature of this vessel – with elements that originate from different repertoires but are configured into something new – contributed to its widespread appeal. Another example is the production by Euboean potters of the pendent semi-circle plate, a shape not popular in the Greek world itself, but extremely desired in Cyprus and the Near East, suggesting that the Euboeans produced these vessels with a specific market in mind (Coldstream 1998).

Figure 16.1 Rhodian aryballos. Late 8th–early 7th c. BC (Rhodes,



From the 7th c., numerous imports from various production centers along the western coast of Anatolia appear at major Cypriot centers, including Amathus, Kition, Salamis, Marion, and Soloi (Reyes 1994: 140–142). East Greek styles of pottery begin to dominate Cypriot pictorial output (Reyes 1994: 132), as indeed they do elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean at this time (Hodos 2000). Yet the development of this phenomenon is poorly understood. The term ‘East Greek’ is used as a catch-all for several classes of pottery at many sites, and the material itself is often not well quantified or studied (see Chapter 4). It is possible that the transport amphorae, banded bowls, and painted table containers with common East Greek motifs found frequently in Cyprus and the Near East represent different phenomena of ideological and commercial exchange and manufacture between individual East Greece city-states and specific destinations in the eastern Mediterranean. Such a perspective is derived from the fact that there is increasing evidence of widespread local production of

particular types and styles, especially in places where there is little evidence for importation (Hodos 2000, 2006: 76–77).

By the end of the 6th c. BC, Cyprus was regularly importing black-figure and red-figure vases from Athens in supplement to its own ceramic output, and there is evidence that Athenian potters at this time produced vessels explicitly for the Cypriot market. A series of long-necked globular oinochoai that are modeled on explicitly Cypriot shapes has been found at Marion and Amathus (Figure 16.2; Reyes 1994: 142–143). It may also be possible to identify trade routes of this period. The assemblage of Attic pottery from Kition finds remarkable similarity with the assemblage from contemporary Al Mina, a major mercantile center at this time, implying a possible route from Athens to Kition via Al Mina (see below; Robertson 1981: 69).

Figure 16.2 Athenian oinochoe produced for the Cypriot market. Mythological scene. c. 550 BC (London, British Museum 94.11–1.476. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



It is also during this time that we begin to see in Cyprus other material culture influences from Greece, especially East Greece. Ionic

capitals and the rendition of freestanding limestone korai, especially the sequence from Salamis, are close in style to East Greek types, and Cypriot sculptors produced works for an East Greek clientele, who dedicated these objects at their own maritime sanctuaries (Yon 1974; Fourrier 2001). Foreign craftsmen were also at work on Cyprus, and Aeginitan sculptors active on the island at this time have been postulated (Reyes 1994: 137). Furthermore, the Cypriots were not afraid to supplement their own output with imported types, especially with regard to small gems. The Greeks themselves had learned from the Cypriots techniques for cutting hard-stone seals around the third quarter of the 6th c. (Boardman 1989b), but the Cypriots supplemented their own glyptic output with imports from East Greece (Reyes 1994: 145–146), and expanded their own repertoire with types in imitation of East Greek styles (Figure 16.3; Boardman 1968: 130–132). No doubt these enhanced links with the city-states of East Greece were facilitated by the incorporation of Cyprus into the Persian Empire at this time; for, despite military conquests, this period sees expanded trade and exchange within the empire: limestone, terracotta, and metal statuary of Cypriot manufacture was transported to Asia Minor, Egypt, and Phoenicia (Reyes 1994: 149–150).

Figure 16.3 Limestone statue of a maiden (kore). c. 500 BC (London, British Museum C280. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Coinage was introduced by Evelthon of Salamis (c. 560–525 BC) during the second half of the 6th c. BC, and although other kingdoms quickly began to mint their own coins, a notable feature of the numismatic corpus of Cyprus is the use of a Greek syllabary for the coin legends; although the Greek alphabet was introduced to Cyprus at the end of the 5th c., allegedly by Evagoras I, the syllabary continued to be used even for public documents in the 4th c. (Iacovou 2007: 268). During the 5th c., Cypriot artisans continued to be active, especially sculptors, producing creative works that share characteristics with other Greek sculptural schools, notably East Greece of the Archaic period, although always interpreted in a distinctly Cypriot style. In the past, this output has been regarded as a kind of second-class product in comparison with Attic and other contemporary carving schools (e.g. Karageorghis 1982: 158–159), from whom the Cypriots imported marble works (Cyprus has no indigenous marble source). Such a perspective dismisses the Cypriot sculptors as poor copyists rather than recognizing them as craftsmen

who derived inspiration from the dynamic world of Cyprus's interactions with Greece (Vermeule 1974: 290). Indeed, the Cypriots of this era must be regarded on their own terms rather than as lesser Greeks. Despite the shared religious, linguistic, and social beliefs, Cypriot culture remained distinctly Cypriot, albeit fully engaged in the wider Greek world.

16.3 The Greeks in Syria and the Levant

Greek activity in Syria and the Levant can be traced back tentatively to the 11th c. BC. Over the 10th and 9th c. there is an increasing quantity of Greek pottery, mostly from Euboea, but also some from elsewhere in the Cyclades, Attica, and possibly Argos (Fantalkin 2001; Luke 2003: table 8), while primarily Near Eastern metalwork, figurines, and carved ivories began to circulate in Greece (Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000; Lemos 2002; Niemeyer 2003; Fletcher 2004). The presence of these objects in foreign contexts raises important questions about the social values associated with the acquisition and use of such items, and relates to issues of consumption (Crielaard 1999), as well as production and trade. In addition to being producers at home and acting as merchants along foreign shores, we also know from literary sources that during this time, Greeks took employment as mercenaries in Eastern armies and as craftsmen and learned men under Eastern royal patronage. Through all these interactions, the Greeks adopted Near Eastern and Egyptian artistic styles and motifs into their repertoire. 8th c. Athenian vase-painters started to depict Near Eastern animals and the tree-of-life motif, as well as banquet scenes with lyre-players, for use on funerary vessels. The Greeks learned the alphabet from the Phoenicians during this time (Powell 1991, 2002) and integrated Eastern ideas and practices into their own religious beliefs and observances (Morris and Papadopoulos 1998; Burkert 2004). Corinthian craftsmen, inspired by Near Eastern metalwork and carved crafts (especially ivories and stone steels), popularized in Greece miniature ceramic shapes and incised pottery decoration during the 7th c.

Literature makes no reference to Greeks establishing colonies along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean during the Archaic period, although we know that Greek city-states were founding new communities elsewhere across the sea at this time. Archaeology, however, indicates that from the 8th c. Greece was involved directly

with the Near East through regular trade, activity which focused on the northeastern coastline of the Mediterranean. Occasional Late Geometric Greek sherds have been found at coastal sites such as Tarsus, Kinet Höyük, and Al Mina, in particular, which served as a conduit for such wares to sites along the Orontes river. Similar types have been found much more sporadically along the Levantine coast, at sites such as Ras el Bassit, Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas, and Tabbat al Hamman, the Phoenician ports of Sidon and Tyre, inland at Megiddo and Samaria, and at the Philistine capitals of Ashkelon and Tel Mique-Ekron. Substantial concentrations of Greek pottery are rare, and they used to be interpreted as evidence for the presence of Greek colonists. Most notable in this regard is the site of Al Mina, which is believed by some to have been an *emporion* founded by Euboean Greeks during the 8th c. (e.g. Boardman 2002). This interpretation is based on the observation that Greek pottery seems to have been used almost exclusively during the site's earliest occupation stratum, which is generally dated by its ceramic assemblage to the middle of the 8th c. BC (one of the complicating factors regarding Al Mina's early levels is that the subsequent stratum of occupation contains Cypriot and Phoenician pottery that is otherwise dated to the second half of the 9th c. BC). In fact, with the exception of these Greek ceramics at the foundation level, nothing else at Al Mina is atypical of other contemporary North Syrian settlements. The majority of its ceramic assemblage otherwise mirrors types and quantities seen elsewhere in the region, and its architecture matches construction techniques and forms at neighboring contemporary Tarsus and Kinet Höyük. Other finds, such as lamps, glazed earthenware vessels, jewelry molds, and even a boat model containing ashes, are also paralleled locally (Hodos 2006: 40). Nevertheless, this does not detract from the role of the site as a major and important conduit for Greek goods to North Syrian populations.

Further down the coast from Al Mina lies Ras el Bassit, a site that was originally identified as the Greek colony of Posideion, but at which there is little archaeologically to substantiate a Greek settlement, much less a Greek foundation. The quantities and types of Greek pottery imported to the site during the 7th c. match the assemblages at contemporary Tarsus and Kinet Höyük, where Greek settlement is not argued for, and the urban layout and architectural techniques and forms are similar to those at neighboring settlements. Two 7th c. vessels inscribed with Ionian names, which have suggested to some scholars the presence of Ionians, tell us nothing of who these Ionians were and may reflect no more than the presence of Ionian traders at the site. Nevertheless, these inscriptions presage the influx of a substantial corpus of Greek pottery during the 6th c., which

reflects an abundance of Greek imports from a breadth of locations not witnessed elsewhere locally, including Chios, Klazomenai, Miletos, and Athens. One building of this period has been identified as a merchant's house. To some, this has suggested that Ras el Bassit had a Greek *enoikismos*, or settling of Greeks among others, during the 6th c. (Hodos 2006: 41–43, with references).

Greek residents have also been postulated at Tell Sukas. During the 7th c., a one-room rectangular temple with an altar to the front and an anchor slab suitable for securing a wooden cult statue was built within a walled temenos. The 6th c. version of the building, in tripartite form, contained a sherd inscribed with *halios emi*, suggesting to some that the temple was dedicated by this time to Helios, and possibly was founded as such. Furthermore, during the 6th c., terracotta roof tiles were discovered as stray finds in the cemetery, where they may have been used to cover several tombs, as ashlar blocks may have done for half a dozen other burials, practices that are associated with Greek burial customs. Yet neither the temple nor the burials can be firmly viewed as evidence of Greeks. Helios cults were rare outside of Rhodes. The architecture of both the original and the rebuilt temple finds close parallels with local Syrian traditions, as well as Phoenician and Cypriot examples, and the buildings themselves lack other features associated with Greek religious architecture of the period. Furthermore, animal bones associated with the temple, notably stag bones, are also frequently associated with other Near Eastern cults. It is more likely that the temple was a Phoenician shrine to Rashaph, whom the Greeks associated with Helios/Apollo and to whom they thus made occasional dedications, for a mold for casting bronze votive Rashaph figures was found in an earlier Iron Age context adjacent to where the so-called Greek temple was later constructed, and stag bones are particularly associated with Rashaph (Hodos 2006: 55–58).

Increasingly, scholarship has moved away from interpretations that rely solely on pottery to equate the presence of its producers. More holistic views that encompass a greater breadth of material evidence have therefore given rise to new interpretations that suggest more multicultural interactions across the Mediterranean during the Archaic period. Indeed, it is widely recognized that trade itself in the Archaic period was multicultural. Maritime evidence from the 7th c. BC demonstrates that cargoes of the Archaic period were mixed; one such example is the Kekova wreck off the southwestern coast of Turkey, which carried a cargo of southeast Aegean and Corinthian transport jars alongside Cypro-Levantine basket-handled amphorae (Delgado 2008: 320). No doubt cooperation worked alongside competition in the manufacture and movement of goods around the Mediterranean.

The variety and nature of the Greek goods and inscriptions in

settlements across Syria and the Levant suggest that by the 7th c. these were culturally mixed communities that welcomed traders and craftsmen from both across the Mediterranean and elsewhere along its eastern coast (Gunter 2009). By this time, the pottery trade developed particularly with East Greece, notably through the wide circulation of certain types of Ionian cups, Wild Goat Style oinochoai, cooking pots, and transport amphorae; trade between the eastern Mediterranean and Corinth was very much in second place (Waldbaum 1994; Waldbaum and Magness 1997). Similarly, Near Eastern craftsmen were welcomed particularly into the Greek settlements of Asia Minor, where there is evidence for North Syrian jewelry craftsmen and Phoenician and Cypriot potters at work (Bisi 1987; Treister 1995).

There is also evidence that Greeks worked in the eastern Mediterranean during this period as mercenaries in the pay of Near Eastern and Egyptian dynasts. Between the 10th and 7th c. BC, the eastern Mediterranean coast gradually fell under the control of the Neo-Assyrians, and then the Neo-Babylonians. Literary references indicate that Greeks participated in the Cilician revolt against the Assyrian king Sennacherib between 705 and 696 BC, and that Greeks served in the Babylonian army (Niemeier 2001, 2002a). Archaeological evidence for such activity is rare. A Greek greave and shield from a late 7th c. context at Carchemish may be related. A pictorial representation on a silver bowl from Amathus in Cyprus may be another indication (Figure 16.4). The discovery of Greek cooking pots at several Near Eastern sites has also been interpreted as evidence for the presence of Greek mercenaries in the region, based on the notion that cooking pots are often culturally indicative (Tel Kabri: Niemeier 1994; 1995; 2001; Meşad Hashavyahu: Fantalkin 2001). Tel Kabri and Meşad Hashavyahu are two such examples, the former being a Phoenician stronghold on the southeastern border of the kingdom of Tyre, and the latter a short-lived, single-phase fortress (Tel Kabri: Niemeier 1994, 1995, 2001; Meşad Hashavyahu: Fantalkin 2001). It has also been postulated that Al Mina served as a Greek mercenary community in its early years (Kearsley 1999), and two Greek cooking pots have been found in contexts that date to the end of the 8th c. (Lehmann 2005: 68). It may be mercenaries such as these, based in the Near East, who during the 7th c. brought back to Olympia a set of Assyrian worked-bronze building decorations, where they were partly melted and reworked into free-standing figures (Guralnick 2004).

Figure 16.4 Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl from Amathus.

Egyptianizing deities, sphinxes, city-siege. c. 750–600 BC (London, British Museum 123053. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



The demise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire gave way to a brief period of Neo-Babylonian domination of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard between the late 7th and mid 6th c. This political development marked a change in the external relations, and indeed fortunes, of the cities of Syria and the Levant. Fantalkin has noted that there is a total lack of Greek material in the southern part of the Levant during this period, and observes that this period also corresponds to breaks in occupation at Al Mina and Tell Sukas (2006: 204). It is not until the end of the 6th c. and the beginning of Persian domination of the eastern littoral that we see a resumption of Greek-Levantine contact. This renewed contact is quite different in scope from the previous periods. Initially there appears to be an influx of Greek artifacts, dominated by Chian and Samian pottery, notably amphorae and banded bowls, but this quickly gives way by the 5th c. to Athenian ceramics, which come to dominate the Greek fine-ware market here as elsewhere in the Mediterranean during this time. Coroplastics, statuary, and even Attic coinage, items imported for the first time only during this period, attest to the intensity and expanded scope of contact, beyond that seen previously.

By the 5th c., Al Mina's role as the main transfer station between sea and land for the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean is secured. Large buildings that may have served as warehouses are

constructed, and primarily Attic pottery passes through the port, although East Greek wares, notably from Miletos and its surrounding area, continue to be sold in the shops that line the quay (Ashton and Hughes 2005). Further down the eastern Mediterranean coast, Attic black-figure and black-glaze drinking vessels also begin to appear c. 500. During the middle of the 5th c., red-figure pottery replaces black-figure and the range of black-glaze types expands, with both varieties peaking in quantities during the 4th c. Tel Dor is one such example, where shapes are generally restricted to *symposion* vessels and fine tableware alongside perfume lekythoi; similar assemblages appear at sites from Akko to Ashkelon (Stewart and Martins 2005). The sudden cessation of Attic ceramic imports to the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the 4th c. no doubt is related to Athens's own economic difficulties during this period, and may also reflect changes in local taste and/or in Ptolemaic economic policy. The distribution at other sites on the Levantine littoral suggests that traders may have used a north–south trade route (e.g. Stewart and Martins 2005: 89; also Stern 1982).

While the material evidence for Greek–Levantine relations during the Classical period is supported primarily by pottery, there are occasional indications that other Greek craftsmen were valued for their skills. The kings of Sidon, for instance, employed Greeks to carve figured sarcophagi, the latest and most famous of which is the 4th c. Alexander Sarcophagus (Schefold 1968: 24; Boardman 2000a: 182), and literary tales abound with employment of Greek mercenaries down into the Persian period.

16.4 The Greeks in Persia

The ancient land of Persia corresponds to the Fars region of modern Iran, at the southeastern end of the Zagros Mountains. The Persians emerge into Mediterranean history under the reign of Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC), although his engagement with the Greeks finds its origins in a local victory over Cyrus's Median neighbor Astyages c. 550. This victory granted Persia control of territory extending from eastern Iran to the Halys River. It also had more far-reaching consequences, for it encouraged the Lydians to try to expand their boundaries into previously-held Median territory as well. Until this time, all of Anatolia west of the Halys River had been under direct or indirect Lydian control, with the exception of Lycia and Caria. An accord between Lydia and Media, reinforced by a dynastic link between Croesus's sister and Astyages, had prevented Croesus from

seizing Median territory previously. With Astyages's defeat, Croesus set forth to expand his own empire east of the Halys River. His incursion with Cyrus led to a crushing defeat, for the Persian army pushed the Lydians back to their capital, Sardis. After a two-week siege, Sardis fell, leaving western Anatolia under the control of Persia. In response to a regional revolt in Lydia shortly afterwards that involved a number of Ionian Greek city-states, the Persian army returned to western Anatolia and subdued the regions of Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and the other territories of Asia Minor (see Chapter 17). In less than ten years, Cyrus had extended the Persian Empire from the Zagros Mountains to the Aegean; he then turned his attention to the territories of his eastern neighbors, notably the lands of the Babylonians, before ultimately expanding the Persian Empire to the Indus River. His successor, Cambyses II (530–523 BC), conquered Egypt, while Darius I (522–486 BC) extended the empire's boundaries east into the Indus Valley and west into Thrace and Macedon. The empire remained largely intact to this extent until the defeat of Darius III (336–330 BC) by Alexander the Great, whose conquest of the Persian king marked the end of the Persian Empire (Kuhrt 1995: 653–661).

One of the results of the conquest of Asia Minor and subsequent expansion of the empire was the development of the Persian homeland itself. Cyrus founded a new royal center at Pasargadae, where several palaces were built along a spacious plan. Susa was reconstructed as the Persian capital by Darius I, who also conceived Persepolis as a ceremonial center and Babylon as an administrative center for the empire. Craftsmen from all over the expanded Persian Empire were coopted into the design, construction, and decoration of these new royal complexes, reflected not only in use of tools, techniques, and styles that had not previously been called upon in local Persian architecture, but also by epigraphic evidence. Thus, techniques of masonry dressing and the use of the claw chisel and clamps, which had been commonly used in Ionia during the 6th c., can be seen in the construction of Pasargadae, alongside techniques contemporary elsewhere in the empire. The bead-and-reel motif, common in Greece, was used at Susa and Persepolis, while Ionic-style dentils on tombs were introduced under Darius (Boardman 2000a; Curtis 2005). It has been argued that rosettes and other floral frieze motifs, Eastern motifs that had been popularized in Greek art during the so-called Orientalizing period of the 7th c. BC, were reintroduced to the East during the later 6th c., where they appear in a 7th c. Greek style rather than as contemporary Eastern forms (Boardman 2000a: 77–81). For example, the lotus was originally a motif found commonly in Egypt and Mesopotamia, while the palmette is common in Assyrian

art. Early Greek artists combined the two by depicting a palmette growing inside a wide-based lotus, and this particular rendition is used commonly at Persepolis in subsidiary decoration. Evidence for those under Persian control participating in the construction of these centers comes most notably from the Darius's Susa Foundation Charter, an inscription copied in various languages that immortalized Darius's building of his palace at Susa. Ionians, Carians, Lydians, Medes, Egyptians, and Babylonians are named as stonemasons, goldsmiths, woodworkers, brickmakers, and builders (Lecoq 1997). This is not to suggest that only a Greek mason could carve Greek styles, however. Rather, the point is that inspiration for the construction and decoration of these buildings drew upon the range of skills, expertise, and styles in the Persian Empire, so that motifs and methods common elsewhere in the Persian Empire were incorporated into the designs and decorations of these various complexes in the Persian homeland. Collectively, they served to create a uniquely Persian expression of empire.

Greek motifs were also incorporated and reinterpreted in other visual arts, such as in the repertoire of Persian seal images (most recently Llewellyn-Jones 2009). Similarly, the Persian royal sculptural reliefs of the late 6th and 5th c. BC drew upon patterns and motifs that had been popular elsewhere in the empire, although in this case, the inspiration was not from contemporary styles. Rather, it is the semi-naturalistic representation of drapery folds, which had been common particularly on early 6th c. Greek sculptures, and these are used in the depiction of fabric on the dress of figures in the monumental sculptures of Persepolis, Pasargadae (Figure 16.5), and Bisitun, where Darius I constructed an enormous relief describing and illustrating his accession to the Persian throne (Boardman 2000a: 104–111). In sum, despite continued building development and expansion over the course of the two centuries of the Persian Empire, the forms and artistic styles of these empirical central buildings remained surprisingly static (Boardman 2000a: 117–122, 109–110, 126). It is as if a fixed repertoire for representing the concept of the Persian Empire was created during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. It incorporated ideas, took inspiration from the breadth of the empire, and was then maintained and largely unaltered in expression for as long as the empire itself remained intact.

Figure 16.5 Relief from Palace P at Pasargadae. Late 6th c. BC (photo: J. Boardman).



Goods and objects imported to the Persian homeland mostly were brought or offered to the Persian kings at their royal centers as tribute, booty, gift, or bullion. These include gold, silver, elaborate furniture, ceremonial and ritual stone vessels made of serpentine, alabaster, marble, diorite, and lapis lazuli, metal vessels, glass, bronze, and marble sculptures, wool and textiles, precious fabric ornaments, dyes, military and utilitarian equipment, and even cattle (Strabo 15.3.21; Schmidt 1957; Cahill 1985; for Persian gifts that circulated in the Greek world, see Herman 2002). Some can be identified as booty, such as the bronze cauldron and shield from Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: pls. 31.1, 38–39) and the oversized bronze knucklebone dedication taken from the Apollo Temple at Didyma, found at Susa (Haussoullier 1905). Non-booty is largely limited to some Attic pottery of the late 6th century (at Susa) and again towards the middle of the 5th c., when the potter Sotades manufactured and exported to Persia a series of vessels in the shape of animal heads, whole figures, and even groups of figures, in imitation of and inspired by Persian

metal types (Boardman 1989a: 39–40). Some 4th c. Greek ivory plaques have been recovered from Susa (Boardman 2000a: 137). There is also evidence that the Persians adapted the use of *symbola* (tokens for knowing your guest-friend) to ratify commands of the Great King in exceptional circumstances (Knippschild 2004).

16.5 Conclusion

The narrative above highlights the multicultural nature of the eastern Mediterranean during the first millennium BC. Interactions between the Greek mainland, the islands and city-states of Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean's eastern shores were multifaceted. The movement of individual artisans, craftsmen, merchants, and mercenaries, amongst others, across this entire region contributed to the development of shared practices and beliefs alongside common tastes and values, particularly among the elite. Such shared tastes and practices do not detract from the regional diversities and maintained cultural differences within this integrated network, however. The record provided by material culture suggests a richly varied and nuanced world, in which individual regions had diverse relationships with different areas of the Mediterranean. For example, from the end of the 8th c. until the Persian period, it was primarily East Greece, rather than mainland Greece, that had the strongest material connections with Cyprus and the Levantine coast. This is seen most visibly through pottery imports, and stylistic and technical influences in stone carving and ceramic manufacture. During the 5th and 4th c., Attic products come to dominate these markets, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In contrast, the Persian Empire never had much interest in Greek goods themselves. Instead, the Persian kings drew upon the best of what was available to them within their empire, capitalizing upon Greek technical expertise and deriving stylistic inspiration to express Persian royal identity and status. Nevertheless, the origins of these reinterpreted motifs would have been recognizable as symbols of status to those cultures from where the ideas originated. In sum, the direct and indirect interactions between the Greeks and Near Eastern populations were reflected in shared and traded objects, styles, and values, and contributed to common understandings, which in turn created such a vibrant, multiculturally engaged Mediterranean.

FURTHER READING

The art and archaeology of these areas in general are dealt with by Boardman (1999: ch. 3), and more recently by Gunter (2009).

Greeks in Cyprus: Knapp (2008) and Reyes (1994) together provide a valuable overview of material culture developments in Cyprus from the Bronze Age until the 5th c. BC. Numerous articles by Iacovou (e.g. 2007, 2008) cover the same periods and extend the narrative until the Hellenistic period.

Greeks in Syria and the Levant: Unlike Cyprus and Persia, the eastern Mediterranean seaboard is not well served by holistic studies. Hodos (2006) discusses evidence for Greek activity in North Syria between the 9th and 6th c. BC. Stern (1982) remains a primary resource for the material culture of the Levant during the 5th and 4th c.

Greeks in Persia: The most accessible archaeological and art-historical resource for evidence of Greeks active in the Persian homeland is Boardman (2000a). Miller (1997) incorporates art, archaeology, and text in an exploration of cultural receptivity.

CHAPTER 17

Asia Minor

Veli Köse

17.1 Introduction

The term *Mikra Asia* first appeared in the accounts of Ptolemy in the 2nd c. AD (*Tetr.* 2.3.62) as the location, for the Greeks, of the land from where the sun rose. To the Greeks, *Anatole* meant sunrise. The derived form of *Anatole*, Anatolia, still preferred by some scholars, made its first appearance in the book *Historiaum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, written by the Christian priest and historian Paulus Orosius in the 5th c. AD (1.26). The term was used in the Byzantine period to refer to the western part of present-day Turkey only (Schwertheim 2005: 9–10). Here both Anatolia and Asia Minor will be used to refer to the lands that make up modern Turkey. Areas beyond this landscape, such as southeastern Thrace and North Africa, whose archaeology and history are directly connected, are beyond the scope of this chapter.

The ‘land of the rising sun’ always captured the attention of the inhabitants of the Greek mainland and, as a result, migration movements took place in various periods. The first migration, the most exotic and still most highly debated one, is assigned to the transitional period from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and was related to the Mycenaean collapse, which was followed by the so-called ‘Dark Ages’ of the Mediterranean region. The situation following the destruction of the palaces must have made living abroad and moving to one of the cities of western Asia Minor, such as Miletos, an attractive option for commercial and political reasons, and therefore prompted increased migration. As a result, craftsmen, such as potters and painters, artists, and businessmen, left their homeland. The large quantity of locally-produced, undecorated, non-Mycenaean

imitation pottery is relevant. In many cities, examples occur in much larger proportions than examples of Mycenaean ceramics. Also, building remains, such as fortifications, as well as tomb types and grave goods, show mixed cultural features deriving from both Mycenaean and Hittite origins.

The focus of this chapter will be the periods following the Bronze and Dark Ages, beginning with the so-called Ionian migration, and spanning the eras up to the arrival of the Romans. In the course of the centuries treated here, major developments took place, which are illustrated by a limited amount of carefully chosen examples of art, indicative of the changing landscape of Greek art in Asia Minor. The development necessarily reflects interactions between different regions and cultures, and their changes throughout time.

17.2 Ionian Migration

Still under discussion is the phenomenon of Ionian migration, which happened after the Trojan War, according to Thucydides (1.12.3–4), and is connected to the Dorian migration, itself also known to us from the ancient sources. The ancient authors who mention the Ionian migration are, however, from the 5th c. BC or later (Hdt. 1.146; Thuc. 1.12.3–4). In the accounts of Solon (fr. 4) and Pherekydes (fr. 155) the migration involves Ionians who fled from the north of the Peloponnese, escaping from Dorian groups. They first moved to Athens and then, from there, to the eastern Cyclades, as well as to the central coast of western Asia Minor.

The archaeological sources from Ionia in Asia Minor, however, do not seem linked to the myth of Ionian Greeks in Asia Minor. Previous attempts to connect the literary sources with specific features of Attic styles on Protogeometric pottery from Ionian Miletos and Ephesos have been debated (Kerschner 2006a: 364–382; Niemeier 2007: 87–91; Kerschner et al. 2008: 120–122). The earliest pottery of the East Greek sites was locally made and shows as much influence from Euboea and Thessaly as from Attica (Hall 2007: 96). Some scholars have pointed out that both Greek and Ionian cities tried to propagate the myth of an Athenian origin in order to receive Athenian support for the Ionian Revolt (during the 490s), to realize Ionian incorporation into the Delian League, and to secure support from powerful Athens. Therefore, they explained the Ionian migration to the western part of Asia as the invention of the creative Greek historians of the 5th c. BC and later (Murray 1980: 18; Welwei 1992: 214, 314–316; Greaves 2010: 11–14).

The same types of founding myths are known from the accounts of ancient authors for some cities elsewhere in Asia Minor, and they have the same aim of establishing a Greek origin. Aspendos and Perge in Pamphylia in southern Turkey are two such cities (Pekman 1973: 60–68; Grainger 2009: 7–14). According to some ancient authors, Aspendos was founded by people from Argos (Strabo 667; Pompeius Mela 1.14.78). Perge was allegedly founded by some of the Greek heroes of the Trojan War; specifically, Kalchas, Labos, Riksos, Machaon, Leonteus, Minyas, and Mopsos are mentioned. The latter is also said to have founded other cities, such as Aspendos (Diony. Per. 852), Phaselis (Pompeius Mela 1.79), and Mopsuestia (Diony. Per. 850; Amm. Marc. 14.8.3), as well as Mallos (Strabo 14.5.16). Scholars have dealt with these myths in the same manner as they have dealt with the question of the Ionian migration. Such myths are either considered to be related to ancient historians and writers seeking to secure political support or issuing propaganda for the long history of a specific city, or are seen as facts, with attempts made to link archaeological material culture to the presumed migrants (Akurgal 1962: 369–379; Cook 1962: 17–35; Boardman 1999: 35–36). A new theory utilizes linguistic evidence, but from 3rd and 2nd c. BC sources, and emphasizes similarities between the Arcadian Greek dialect and that of Greek newcomers to Cyprus during the migration period. This seems to indicate that the migration was a slow process and involved small, nonaggressive numbers of people who did not displace or absorb the native, Luwian-speaking population (Grainger 2009: 10–14). These ancient accounts were definitely used by the inhabitants of Perge in the time of the Emperor Hadrian in order to create positive propaganda for their city (Mansel 1958: 236–240; Şahin 1999: 134–147; Abbasoğlu 2003: 3–6, figs. 3, 4).

17.3 Temples: An Exemplary Form of Greek Art and Architecture

Increasing numbers of excavations and studies in western Asia Minor have brought archaeological remains to light which illustrate the close relationship of settlements in Asia Minor to Greek art before the 5th c. BC.

In Smyrna, a city located on one of the most western protruding parts of the land of Asia Minor, a temple for the Greek goddess Athena

is preserved. The earliest remains of the building go back to the very beginning of the 7th c. BC (Akurgal 1983: 119; Cook 1998: 59–72, 188–192). Throughout the century the temple saw various building activities. In the second half of the century, the rectangular temple with one apsidal short side was turned into a peripteros-like rectangular structure, surrounded by columns with capitals in the Aeolic order (Lawrence 1996: 90).

The construction of such elaborate temples with Aeolic capitals appears to have been the fashion and was copied by other Aeolian cities, such as Aigai (Radt 1999: 482–483), Larisa on the Hermos (Betancourt 1977: 73–82), Gargara (Stupperich 1995: 137–138; Held 2000: 65), Ainos-on-the-Hebros, and Neandria. Unlike Neandria, it is not known whether the capitals from Ainos-on-the-Hebros and Aigai originally belonged to a temple. The Temple at Neandria had a rectangular cella, which was divided in the middle by a row of internal columns and was surrounded by another columnar portico in peripteral plan (Koldewey 1891; Betancourt 1977: 71–73; Wiegartz 1994: 117–132). The same plan is assumed for the Temple in Larissa (Schefold 1938: 42–52; Johannes 1940: 57–82; Betancourt 1977: 73–82).

A peripteral temple, the Artemision, appeared even earlier in Ephesos, during the Late Geometric period at the end of the 8th c. BC (Gruben 2001: 380–395; Bammer 2008: 127; see Chapter 6). The cella of the temple was surrounded by columns and had, in addition, six internal columns, which carried a sculpted canopy that probably housed the cult statue. In the first half of the 7th c., the columns of the temple were raised on socles and the existing cella walls were embedded in an outer level with a thick socle. At the end of the 7th c., the peripteral building lost its peristasis, as well as the canopy for the cult statue. Only the naos continued to function. In the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th c. BC, new building activities began in the area. A stone hecatompèdon and a rectangular temple (called Temple C) were started. It is not clear whether this so-called Temple C also had a peristasis (on terminology, see Chapter 6).

Both buildings remained unfinished due to the start of construction on the Archaic Temple of Croesus, made of marble, in the 6th c. Not only Herodotos (1. 92) but also some pieces of votive inscriptions now in the British Museum seem to prove that the temple was ordered by the Lydian king himself (Jenkins 2006: 57–58; Bammer 2008, 124). The temple showed the new dipteral plan, and it had Ionic columns resembling a ‘forest of columns’. It bore carved column drums, columnae caelata, dated stylistically on the basis of the preserved examples to 560–525 BC (Muss 1994: 110; Gruben 2001: 389–390; Jenkins 2006: 57–58). Its decorated sima is dated between 530 and

470 BC (Muss 1994: 57–71; Jenkins 2006: 59–60). The reliefs on the column drums show a procession with offering scenes and various standing or possibly walking human figures, cattle, and horses, which should either be interpreted as real-life representations of cult festivals or, as Hanfmann suggests (1975: 9), as ‘a processional vision of the court of Croesus which was as much a projection of his ideology as the frieze of the Parthenon is of the Periclean democracy’ (cf. Jenkins 2006: 58).

Carved columns also appear at another dipteral temple in Ionia, the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Didyma, also from the 6th c. (Figures 17.1, 17.2, 17.3). The sanctuary was connected to Miletos by a sacred road, on which seated statues of Branchids were positioned at intervals (Boardman 1978: 68–72). In this temple, the standing worshippers were carved on the lowest column drums, and not on a profiled and isolated socle. The temple had a figural frieze with lions prostrate between flying gorgoneia at the corners.

Figure 17.1 The Temple of Apollo ruins at the Didyma site in western Turkey. 3rd c. BC–2nd c. AD (© Pixtal/SuperStock).



Figure 17.2 Didyma, Temple of Apollo. 3rd c. BC–2nd c. AD (after Jenkins 2006: fig. 31).

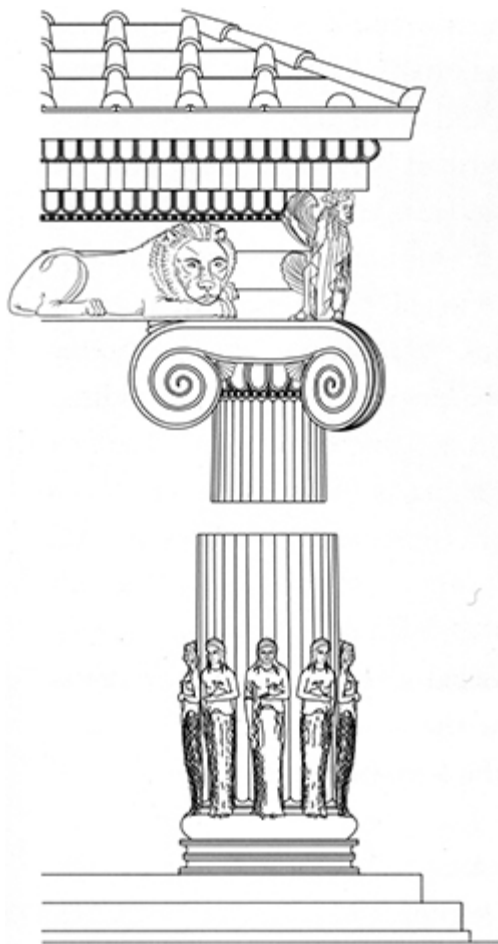


Figure 17.3 Didyma, Temple of Apollo: fragment of female figure (kore) carved onto a column. 6th c. BC. (bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Johannes Laurentius).



An Archaic Temple of Hera on Samos with Ionic columns and their typical column bases was started around 570 BC by the architects Rhoikos and Theodoros, who were also responsible for the construction of the Archaic Croesus Temple in Ephesos (Gruben 2001: 355–365; Jenkins 2006: 17–18, 31–32, 49–50). It was never finished, and was soon dismantled for a newer one commissioned by the tyrant Polykrates of Samos. This one remained unfinished as well. It does seem, however, that the new Ionic order was first introduced by Ionian artists and architects, in Samos and in Ephesos (Lawrence 1996: ch. 12; and see Chapter 6).

Doric temples were either not commissioned or did not spread to Asia Minor before the Hellenistic Period. One unique example is the Archaic Temple of Athena at Assos from the second half of the 6th c. BC. The Temple at Assos was built of andesite and combined Doric and Ionic characteristics. The decoration of the building showed various mythological themes of Herakles, and fighting and hunting scenes. Various animals, such as panthers, bulls, and deer, as well as

centaurs and sphinxes, figure on the metopes and the unique architrave frieze. Its odd, singular appearance may actually be due to the scantiness of archaeological research and coincidental lack of comparable preserved remains in Asia Minor (Boardman 1978: 160, fig. 216; Gruben 2001: 402).

17.4 Ionian, Phrygian, and Lydian Sculpture and Art

Anyone who has studied the cultural history of Asia Minor will soon come across the concept of Anatolia as a mosaic of cultures. This sounds, at first, very fitting, and indicative of diversity. Most of the time, however, it is difficult to distinguish the border of the individual tesserae of this mosaic, since the composing elements are not well defined, but rather show fluid transitions.

Shortly after the extensive wave of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery in the Mediterranean region (Desborough 1952; Coldstream 1968; Cook 1997: 5–40), Miletos produced and painted ceramics according to its own method and style, the so-called Wild Goat Style (Cook 1998: 32–70; Boardman 1998: 141–144; see Chapter 4). Contemporary with the Temple of Apollo at Didyma and one of Athena in the city center, Miletos produced Archaic sculpture, such as korai and kouroi, as well as votive stelai, in the same way as they were produced on Samos and Rhodes. Although some features deviated from the examples produced in Greece, the general characteristics followed the features of Archaic Greek art (Boardman 1978: 68–72; Stewart 1990: 119; Karanastassis 2002: 182–197; Greaves 2010: 174–179). In addition to the korai and Branchidai along the sacred road connecting Miletos and Didyma, it is also possible to track this style on the sculpture and frieze fragments from the Archaic Didymaion, a building already mentioned above (Richter 1968, 1970; Boardman 1978: figs. 89, 94, 95; Stewart 1990: 116–118; Özgen et al. 1996: 63; Karanastassis 2002: 187–188, figs. 265, 266; Meyer and Brüggemann 2007: 102–105; Greaves 2010: 180–193). Korai were found on the island of Samos, too, and in even larger numbers than at other Ionian centers. The so-called Geneleos group from the Heraion on Samos remains the most spectacular example (see Chapter 5). It represents a family with the mother seated on the throne to the left (Phileia), the father lying on the right, and their children standing in between, of whom the names of two of the girls, Philippe, the oldest, and Ornithe, are known (Karanastassis 2002:

186–188). The korai of the Geneleos group wear an epiblema, a chiton, and a mantle, which they hold with their left hands. The korai by Cheramytes from Samos are dressed in the same way, but they each hold a bird against their breast in their left hand. The epiblema is also worn by korai from Miletos (Boardman 1978: 69–70, figs. 87, 89; Karanastassis 2002: 186). Remarkably, the kouros in the Geneleos group is dressed, as is another example from Cape Phoneas off Samos (Boardman 1978: 69, fig. 84; Karanastassis 2002: 201–202, fig. 280). The seated figure of Phileia is modeled in a similar fashion to the Branchidai. Another seated statue of Aiakes from Samos is more realistically shaped and is dated slightly later than the Branchidai or the seated Phileia (Karanastassis 2002: 198, fig. 274).

Ionian artists also worked in silver and ivory (Figure 17.4) (Boardman 1978: 70, fig. 88; Muss 2008b: 73–76, nos. 108–114). This work differs from that of the kouroi and korai, but does show the main characteristic features, such as the ‘Archaic smile’. Ivory statuettes from Ephesos and an ivory group of a woman with her son and daughter, perhaps Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, as well as statues of priests from Elmalı (Lycia), have been preserved (Özgen et al. 1996: 26–27; Işık 2001: 155–160). With their strongly-defined almond-shaped eyes, fleshy faces, round facial features, and rich drapery, the statuettes reflect the general style of the Archaic period; but, at the same time, they bear characteristics which slightly differ from those of the statues produced in the Archaic centers in Greece. These regional differences have led some scholars to suggest that Attic artists, who were leading the way in stylistic developments, were influenced by artists from Ionia and that Ionia therefore participated in creating ‘Greek art of the classical world’ (Hanfmann 1953: 65–88; Richter 1968b: 45; Işık 2001: 147–162). Similar observations have been presented by Akurgal regarding the philosophy and science of Ionia (Akurgal 1961: 246–247; 1962: 375–376).

Figure 17.4 Ivory statuette of female figure with children, from Bayındır. Late 8th–7th c. BC (Antalya, Archaeological Museum 2.21.87 © Bogdan Berkowskiy).



One of the factors that affected artists from Ionia may have been Phrygian art and artists (Işık 2001: 155–156). The Phrygian Mater reliefs from Bahçelievler and Etlik in Ankara (Roller 2007: 141–147), the Cybele head from Salmanköy, and the sphinx from Kululu in Kayseri (Işık 2001: 154–160) illustrate possible links. Painted architectural terracotta plaques with reliefs from Gordion, Pazarlı, and several sites around Eskişehir and Ankara (Glendinning 2007: 181–87) form another aspect of material culture that indicates close relations between the Phrygian and Ionian cultures.

Lydia, the bridge between the regions of Phrygia and Ionia, enjoyed both Phrygian and Ionian cultural and, perhaps, political exchanges. As pointed out above, Croesus and his father Alyattes had a strong interest in Ionian cities in the west, and Croesus even sponsored the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. A monument consisting of a naiskos with a relief of Cybele and an ivory head from Sardis reflect the existence of these relationships (Roosevelt 2009: 172–176; Greenewalt 2010c: 12–13). On a limestone relief from

Gökçeler, a standing figure holds a bird in one hand and a flower in the other. In posture and style it resembles the Archaic korai of Miletos, Rhodes, and Samos, as well as those on the Lycian Harpy Monument, but adapted to local tastes and created by the hand of a Lydian artist (Roosevelt 2009: 172–176; Cahill 2010: 412). The form and execution of the face are very similar to those of the sphinxes from the tumulus of Harta in Lydia (Özgen et al. 1996: 63). Not only the sphinxes, but also the wall-paintings from the interior of the tumulus, depicting images of men and women, were painted in accordance with the stylistic details of the period. Archaic postures and gestures are repeated, but with added specifically local characteristics (Özgen et al. 1996: 45–47; Roosevelt 2009: 172–176).

Lydia has some preserved architectural terracotta plaques, mainly from Sardis. Examples of geometric motifs, as well as animals, chariots scenes, riders, and warriors, and representations of elements from Greek myths from the Archaic period, such as sphinxes, Pegasos, and satyrs, form the repertoire of motifs seen in these examples. Sardis must have had a workshop which produced these terracotta plaques. The production centers for other preserved terracotta revetments, such as those from Pazarlı and Düver, are not known. It is not clear whether they were produced by local Phrygian or Lydian artists. A secure categorization of the terracotta revetments of Phrygian and Lydian origins, or of other regions in Asia Minor, will only be possible if and when the quantity of material evidence increases (Özgen et al. 1996: 25; Roosevelt 2009: 172–176; Ateşlier 2010: 226–228; Greenewalt 2010d: 221).

The Lydians also presented their own style of pottery decoration and forms. The most common vessel shape was the lydion, which became a very important object of trade, especially because of its contents, the famous Lydian cosmetics. Its trade across the whole Mediterranean world brought Lydia closer to other cultures. Trade presented Lydia with the opportunity to import fashionable Attic products too. Marbled painted pots, decorated sometimes with plant leaves or animals, such as deer, demonstrate the effect of outside influences working in combination with the natural creativity of Lydian artists, who created a new style of pottery based on both imported and local elements (Roosevelt 2009: 72–73; Greenewalt 2010a: 107–124; 2010b: 201–216). The Lydians not only introduced money (in the form of coinage) to the Greek and classical worlds, they also made an impact on artistic developments. They acted as a bridge for adopted and adapted elements of Phrygian art, and their own art influenced western Anatolia. Thus, they played a considerable role in the formation of the Greek art in Asia Minor, just like artists from Phrygia and Ionia.

17.5 The Classical Period

The preserved material culture of the Classical period is scanty in Asia Minor. This may be due to the state of research into many ancient cities. The amazing developments in architecture and sculpture during the Archaic period led in the Classical period to a unified and canonical culture. This can be traced in the visual and material cultures of Asia Minor, which were fully integrated into the world of Greek art, as reflected for instance in the fact that famous Greek architects and sculptors were commissioned for work in Asia Minor.

In Miletos during the 5th c. BC, an Ionic Temple for Athena was built on top of the Archaic one. It was oriented in north–south direction, unlike the east–west orientation of its Archaic predecessor. The temple had two rows of columns at the front (Held 2000: 67–94). After a fire in 356 BC, the destroyed Temple of Artemis at Ephesos was rebuilt as a dipteral temple using the Ionic order. The temple received new columnae caelata, but now they rose from pedestals with friezes. One of the preserved pedestal friezes represents a mythological scene with Herakles, while others figure centaurs, sea nymphs riding sea monsters, and victories leading ox and sheep. On the preserved columnae caelata, the myth of Alcestis is displayed, showing Thanatos, Hermes, Alcestis, and Persephone (Figure 7.8). Not only the temple but also its altar was richly decorated in the Late Classical period (Jenkins 2006: 60–70; Bammer 2008: 125–126; Büyükkolancı 2008: 129–139).

During the 4th c. BC, the Ionian city of Priene was refounded in a new location. In the middle of the 4th c., the city began the construction of one of the most inspiring buildings of the Late Classical period. The Temple of Athena Polias was built by the architect Pytheos, who was also responsible for the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. In each intercolumniation, the temple had decorated coffers displaying scenes of the Gigantomachy, which featured Zeus, Dionysos, Helios, Cybele riding a lion, and probably Athena herself killing a giant. Amazons fighting on the side of the gods were also depicted. The temple had a freestanding replica of Athena Parthenos as its cult statue (Rumscheid 1998: 106–139; Jenkins 2006: 236–249). Also around the middle of the century, another Ionic Temple for Zeus was constructed at Labraunda in Caria. An inscription specifies that it was dedicated by Idrieus, son of Hekatomnos and Ada, daughter of Hekatomnos (Hellström and Thieme 1982).

Around 430 BC, a contest to sculpt a freestanding statue of an Amazon was organized amongst the famous sculptors of the Classical age: Phradmon, Kydon, Polykleitos, Pheidias, and Kresilas. The

winning sculpture was to be set up in the Artemision at Ephesos. Roman copies of the work of the last three sculptors are preserved, and all display a variation of a wounded, standing Amazon ([Figure 17.5](#)) (Borbein 1996: 82–84; Bol 2004: 145–158).

Figure 17.5 Statue of a wounded Amazon. Marble copy after a Greek original of c. 440–430 BC (so-called Sciarra type) (Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Juergen Liepe. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence/BPK, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin).

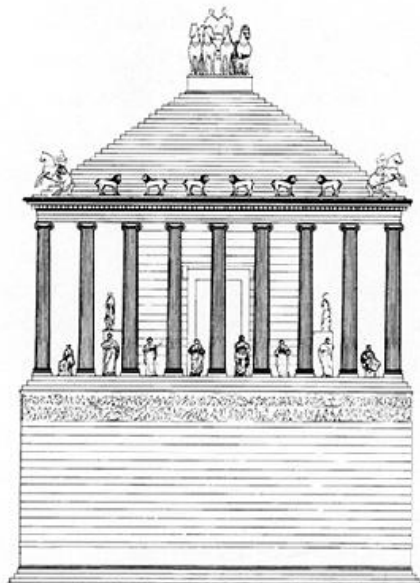
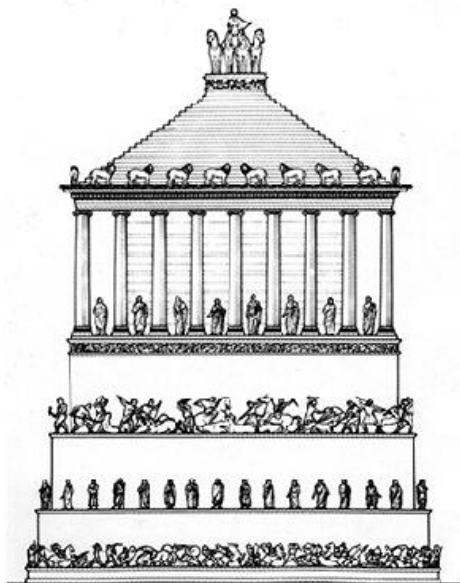
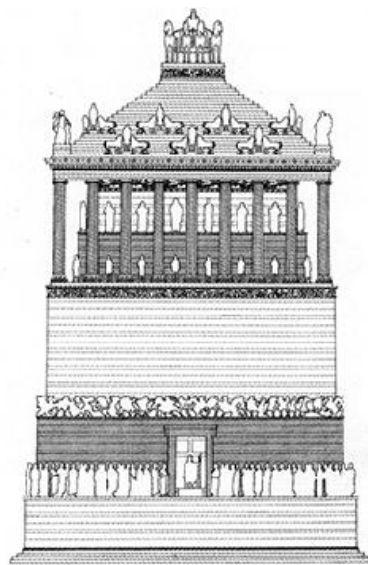
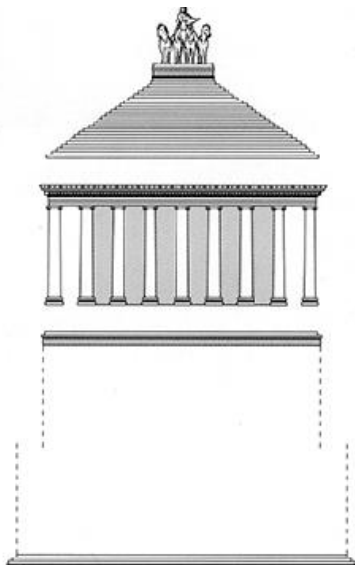


Around 350 BC, one of the most impressive and inspiring freestanding sculptures was produced by Praxiteles, the son of another sculptor, Kephisodotos, for display in the Temple of Aphrodite at Knidos in Caria ([Figure 5.7](#)). The original statue was marble and painted by Praxiteles's favorite artist, Nikias (Plin. *HN* 35.133). It is suggested that the model for the naked Aphrodite was Praxiteles's own mistress, Phryne. The goddess is displayed either just before or just

after bathing, and the statue has been considered a depiction of the perfect naked female body ever since. Aphrodite is shown slightly bent forwards and putting a towel or garment, which she holds in her left hand, over a hydria at her side (Plin. *HN* 35.133, 36.20; Boardman 1995: 54; Ajootian 1996: 98–103).

A taste for Greek art can also be traced on the tomb of Mausolos and his wife Artemisia, who commissioned famous sculptors and architects of the early 4th c. BC Greek world to decorate their burial monument. Timotheos, Skopas, Leochares, and Bryaxis each carved an Amazonomachy on one side of the frieze, and a chariot crowned the roof of the mausoleum. The exact architecture of the building is still unclear, and various reconstructions have been posited (Figure 17.6). Colossal horsemen, standing and seated, are amongst the known sculptural elements. Two large-scale freestanding statues are very often interpreted as none other than Mausolos and Artemisia. Pytheos, the architect of the Temple of Athena at Priene, and Satyros are suggested as the architect and sculptor of the monument, respectively (Waywell 1997: 60–67; Jeppesen 2002; Jenkins 2006: 203–227).

Figure 17.6 Reconstruction drawings of the Mausoleum of Mausolos and Artemisia, Halikarnassos. Mid 4th c. BC (after Jenkins 2006: figs. 205–208).



17.6 The Hellenization of Dynastic Lycia

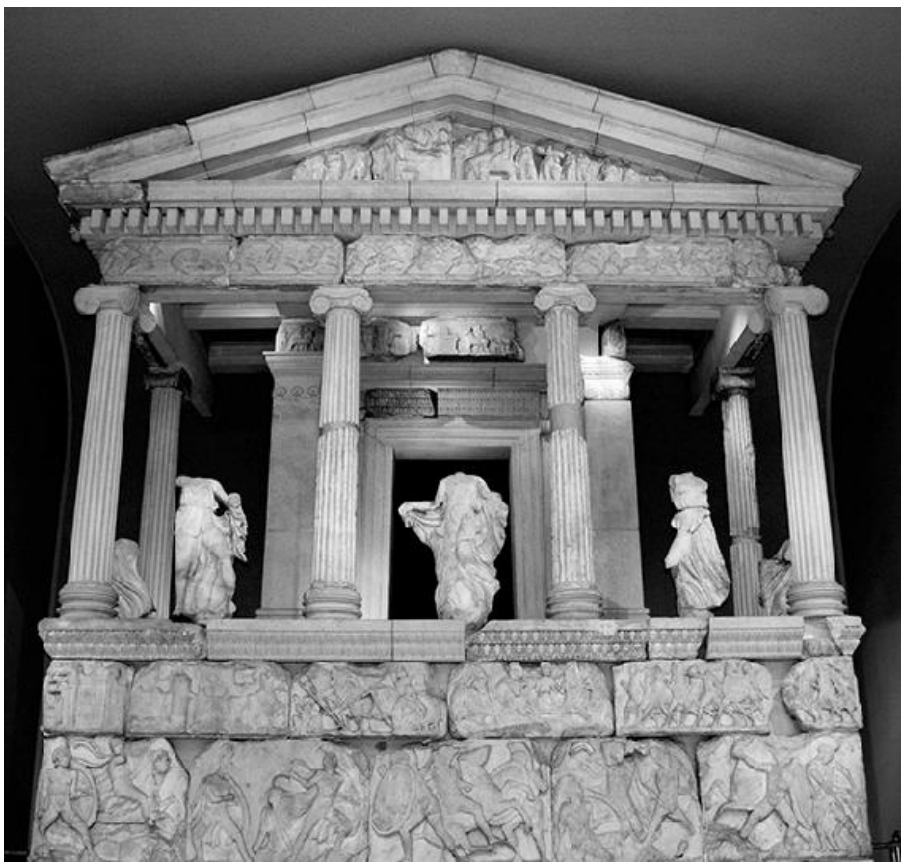
The work of various scholars has illuminated Lycia and the Lycians, as well as their relations with the Greeks and their influence on Greek culture. In addition to the long-term and ongoing excavation projects in Lycia, such as those at Xanthos, Limyra, and Patara, the results of

extensive and intensive surveys (supported by test trenches), such as the Kyenai Project, have opened new perspectives on Lycia to scholars (Borchhardt 1993a; Borchhardt and Dobesch 1993; Marksteiner 1997; Işık and Işkan 2005; Dörtlük et al. 2006; Kolb 2008: 2–51).

At many Lycian cities, the archaeological remains and appearance of the sites today reflect the nature of the cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Although archaeological remains on the acropolis of Xanthos date back to the 7th c. BC, they do not reflect monumental building activities. Archaeological evidence indicates that buildings were rather modest until the Persian period. Herodotos recounts (1.176), however, that after the Persian invasion and their catastrophic victory over the Xanthians, the city was reinhabited by some families who had successfully defended the acropolis against the Persian army.

Research has shown that in the 6th c. BC, many cities in Lycia, such as Xanthos, Limyra, Patara, and Avşar Tepesi, already had an acropolis with fortifications surrounding some public and other structures, including storage buildings, tower-shaped constructions, residences, pillar-shaped tombs, and honorific monuments. These may well have formed the centers of the settlements and the living areas of the aristocracy or local dynasts (Borchardt 1993a; Borchhardt and Dobesch 1993; Marksteiner 1997; Thomsen 2002; Işık and Işkan 2005; Dörtlük et al. 2006; Kolb 2008: 2–65). Among the most striking examples of monumental tombs in Lycia are the inscribed-pillar tomb, the Harpy Tomb, and the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (Figure 17.7), and the Tomb of Perikles in Limyra; these are considered indicators for the existence of Lycian dynasts (Bruns-Özgan 1987: 18–91; Jenkins 2006: 151–202). The so-called Harpy Tomb at Xanthos is one of the typical Lycian pillar tombs. It was probably erected for Kybernis in the Late Archaic period. The tomb was left as a relic when the area was converted to the public center of the Roman-period city. The Late Archaic style of the reliefs suggests a date of c. 500–480 BC. Similarities between korai from Samos, Miletos, and Rhodes and the korai on the Harpy Monument are undeniable. The reliefs on the tomb are probably the work of Ionian artists (Bruns-Özgan 1987; Jenkins 2006: 163–168). The cities continued to be ruled by local dynasts, who seem to have maintained their hold and power over the area as satraps under the Persian hegemony, until the so-called Satraps' Revolt (Jacobs 1993: 27–29, 63–65; Marksteiner 1997: 177–182; Domingo Gygax 2001: 92–122; Işık 2005: 61–62; Marksteiner 2005: 27–48; Des Courtils 2006: 145–152; Kolb 2008: 33–45; Işın 2010).

Figure 17.7 The Nereid Monument at Xanthos (Lycia). c. 400 BC (London, British Museum. © Peter Horree/Alamy).



At the very the beginning of the 4th c. BC, in 390–380, another monumental tomb was erected at Xanthos, namely the Nereid Monument, tomb of the Lycian dynast Erbinna (Figure 17.7). In archaeological literature, however, the tomb gained its name from the statues that were erected between the columns of the front porch. The temple-shaped tomb of the Ionic order was raised on a high podium. The building was a feast of decor, having two rows of friezes crowning the podium, a wall-frieze crowning the cella walls, one on the architrave, and a pediment full of sculptures. The heroon had freestanding sculpted figures as acroteria (Bruns-Özgan 1987: 35–51; Jenkins 2006: 186–202).

In the first quarter of the 4th c. BC, a ruler who styled himself as King of Lycia, Perikles, made Limyra the capital of his kingdom, and aimed to rule the Lycian lands from Phaselis in the east to Telmessos in the west (Borchhardt 1976: 99–143; 1993a: 49–50; 1993b: 351–359; 2005: 29–48; Kolb and Kupke 1989: 15). His ‘Greek’ taste was displayed in his heroon, which was built around 370–360 BC (Borchhardt 1976; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 81–91; Jenkins 2006: 159). The temple-shaped heroon rose from a high podium. Caryatids, possibly

inspired by the Athenian Erechtheion, carried the upper structure, on which there was a frieze reminiscent of the Parthenon's. Around the same time, a heroon was commissioned at Trysa. The interior walls of the temenos and the entrance were decorated with reliefs illustrating various themes of Greek mythology, such as the Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, Seven against Thebes, the myth of Bellerophon, rape of the daughter of Leukippos, and the deeds of Theseus (Bruns-Özgan 1987: 56–68; 19–61; Jenkins 2006: 158–159).

Although Perikles did not succeed in his plan to rule over the whole of Lycia, his dream must have triggered the Satraps' Revolt of c. 360 BC, as well as the Persian political move to insert Lycia into the Carian administrative zone under the hegemony of the Hecatomnid Mausolos, Satrap of the Persians. He was probably the ruler who introduced the Greek *polis* system towards the middle of the century (Jacobs 1987: 65–67; 1993: 63–69; Kolb and Kupke 1989: 15–16; Marksteiner 1997: 184; Domingo Gygax 2001: 92–122).

17.7 Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Kingdoms

Further major developments took place when Alexander of Macedon invaded and conquered Asia Minor, and when his empire was subsequently divided by his successors. In general, the Hellenistic kings dealt with the Anatolian cities in the same way as Alexander the Great had done previously. Literary records relate that Alexander and his successors founded new cities or refounded old ones, and that they sent colonists from both mainland Greece and Macedonia to inhabit these. The Seleucids, who assumed the largest area of reign of all Alexander's heirs and ruled over Syria and Iran as well as parts of Asia Minor, founded several cities with their names or those of their queens, such as Seleucia, Antioch, Laodikeia, and Apameia. Many Hellenistic kings supported and promoted intermarriage between new settlers and indigenous people (just as Alexander himself had done) in order to increase the number of Greeks in the population. Amongst the enemies of the Seleucid kingdom in Asia Minor, the most dangerous ones, the Attalids, defeated the Seleucids thanks to their alliance with Rome. As a result, the Seleucids lost control over large parts of Asia Minor and had to withdraw to the south of the Taurus Mountains, as well as sign the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC.

Urban development in Hellenistic times can best be illustrated by the newly established and planned cities. In these cities, some official

buildings were built around the center, the agora. Amongst the emerging forms of monumental architecture belong the *bouleuterion* and/or *prytaneion*, theaters, one or several *gymnasia*, stoas, and very often a stadium, as well as a market building. The buildings followed Greek standards not only in terms of their appearance, but also in their functions. Often they were richly decorated. Decoration was chosen in accordance with the values of self-definition of the inhabitants, but followed general Greek standards. Various figural and ornamental reliefs, as well as statues, adorned these buildings, which were built according to Greek norms but adapted to local taste. Sometimes strong similarities to the architectural features of mainland Greece were adopted; elsewhere, elements which reflected local taste were dominant (Lauter 1986; Owens 1991: 74–93; Rumscheid 1994).

During the Hellenistic period, a new development in urban culture can be observed, mainly from the 3rd c. BC onwards. On the one hand, there were the western Anatolian cities such as Miletos, which followed Greek norms, as is clearly reflected in their material culture. On the other hand, new cities emerged in which a new urban set-up, according to Greek standards, was reflected in city-planning, architecture, and sculpture. This phenomenon provoked a boom in urban development in the 2nd c. BC. Even cities with a long tradition of Greek cultural language, such as Miletos, did not escape. Today, most of the earliest remaining buildings in Miletos are from the Hellenistic period (Kleiner 1968; Rumscheid 1994; Gorman 2001; Greaves 2002; von Graeve 2006: 241–262).

As in Miletos, the urban area at Ephesos expanded through time and was even relocated at some point between the Mycenaean and the Hellenistic periods. After the death of Alexander, Lysimachos controlled an area from the Danube region to the Taurus. He reinforced his domination by founding or refounding cities and settling colonists. After establishing new cities with his own name, Lysimacheia, both in Chersonnes and in Aitolia, Lysimachos founded a city with the name of his wife close to old Ephesos: Arsinoeia. The new city was located between two mountains, the Tracheia and the Lepre Akte, thus associating the new city with the Artemision. It celebrated Lysimachos as the city founder (*ktistes*). Lysimachos resettled people from cities surrounding Ephesos, such as Teos, Kolophon, and Lebedos (*synoikismos*), as well as Ephesos itself, in Arsinoeia. He was also concerned with the establishment of a political system to direct the new city. He divided it into five or six *phylai* (administrative units), each of which was subdivided into 6000 units. This new urban development can only partially be traced in the architecture due to the fact that many Roman monuments are built on top of the preceding architecture. It is known, however, that the city

received a new ‘Hippodamian plan’ and new public structures, such as city walls and gates, a *gymnasion*, and stoas under the basilica (Karwiese 1995: 63–67; Hueber 1997: 39–46; Thür 1997: 77–90; Calapà 2009: 329–339; Walser 2009: 139–144).

Pergamon, a small citadel in the Archaic period, became a metropolis of the Greek world in the same period as Alexandria and Antioch. The main reason for this was that the Attalid kingdom grew and prospered during the Hellenistic period. The Attalid kings made Pergamon and the land of the kingdom an attractive place for artists and craftsmen to produce their goods and market them. As a result, architects and sculptors created new techniques with the aid of the financial power of the kingdom. The Doric order started to be favored in Pergamene building and was used for the Temple of Athena and the Temple of Zeus on the upper agora, as well as for the porticoes of the upper agora built in the 3rd c. BC (Radt 1999: 89–93, 159–161). Pergamene craftsmen created artistically-designed and functional multistoried structures, such as market-building complexes (e.g. on the upper agora in Pergamon). Their sculptural works were in the so-called ‘Baroque style’, for which the sculptural groups of the Gauls and the Great Altar’s Gigantomachy reliefs provide magnificent examples in Greek figurative language (see Chapter 5).

The Great Altar at Pergamon is dated c. 180–160 BC. The monumental building was erected on a podium with projecting side wings, of which the outside was decorated with a frieze of a Gigantomachy (Figure 7.2). Above the podium rose the colonnaded portico which surrounded the altar. In between stood a number of statues, which were found around the building during the excavations. On the inner side of the colonnade, surrounding the courtyard with the altar, another, this time smaller, frieze was carved, representing the life of Telephos, who was the legendary and mythological founder of the Attalid dynasty. The energetic and combative Baroque style of the Gigantomachy frieze cannot be traced in the serene narrative of the Telephos frieze (Smith 1991: 155–166; Radt 1999: 168–180; Ridgway 2000b: 19–66)

The Attalids set up two series of statues exposing Gauls (Smith 1991: 99–104; Radt 1999: 163–164; Ridgway 2001: 284–196). While one, probably made by the sculptor Epigonos (c. 230–220), is carved in colossal dimensions and was erected on the acropolis at Pergamon, the other is two-thirds life-size, and was set up on the Acropolis at Athens. Although the original display of both groups is still unclear, to the group of larger Gauls belonged the Ludovisi group, displaying the double suicide of a chieftain and his wife in a pyramidal composition (Figure 5.10), and the Dying Gaul, sitting wounded on his shield, living out his last minutes. The second group, of smaller Gauls, was a

series of statues of giants, Amazons, Persians, and Gauls; it was probably set up on the Acropolis at Athens by Attalos I.

These masterpieces inevitably formed examples for other Anatolian cities, where copies or similar architectural and sculptural works were created, among them the market buildings at Aigai, Assos, Alinda, Selge, and Pednelissos, as well as the frieze with a Gigantomachy at Melli in Pisidia and the small frieze of dancing women from Sagalassos (Schalles 1985; Smith 1991: 99–104, 157–166; Waelkens 1993b: 42, figs. 20–23; Radt 1999: 89–93; Wulf 1999: 33–49; Köse 2004: 393–408; 2005a: 139–166). The Attalids and Pergamon must have functioned as the champions of the Greeks and of Greek art in Asia Minor.

17.8 Sagalassos: From Rural Settlement to Hellenized Greek City

An inland mountain city, Sagalassos, located in the Taurus Mountains of Pisidia on the geographical boundary between the kingdoms of the Seleucids and Attalids, in an area which became an official border with the Treaty of Apameia, offers evidence of urban relocation in the Hellenistic period (Waelkens 2002; Köse 2005b; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010). The city of Sagalassos boasts richly decorated buildings, mostly from the Roman period but a few from Hellenistic times. A coin from Side, in the neighboring region of Pamphylia, found under the stone floor of the upper agora, dates the agora at the earliest to the 3rd c. BC.

Recent surveys have identified another settlement, located to the southwest of Hellenistic and Roman Sagalassos, on a hill called Düzen Tepe. Excavations are currently being carried out at this location. It is already clear, however, that the fortified city had buildings that do not reflect examples known from *poleis*. Geophysical and archaeological surveys and excavations have demonstrated that the city continued to be inhabited from the 5th and into the 2nd c. BC (Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 105–128). The city is situated on the north slope of the hill and is fortified. It does not show an orthogonal plan and the preserved building remains are hard to distinguish from each other in terms of their sizes and forms. It is clear, however, that they had stone foundations and probably walls constructed from perishable materials such as mud brick and/or wood. It is hard to recognize a

city center or to distinguish the public from the private buildings by their forms and sizes. Furthermore, adjacent to the city walls and near the gate a few large rectangular buildings were built side by side. They are unique and unknown elsewhere so far, and should possibly be seen as storage facilities. No doubt a detailed study of the city will answer many questions about its transition from the Classical into the Hellenistic period under the rule of Macedonian kings, such as the Seleucids and Attalids.

Sagalassos itself, with its Hellenistic and Roman buildings, can be related to the example of Arsinoeia by Ephesos. As the older city, Düzen Tepe, seems not to have been inhabited after the Hellenistic period, when the shift towards Sagalassos was apparently completed, the differentiation between the two sites can be compared with the developments at Ephesos and Arsinoeia. Not only did Sagalassos receive a new sequence of buildings and a different urban development, but Greek-style decoration of monuments was also introduced. Some of the earliest remains from Sagalassos are Hellenistic square ossuaries (*osteothekai*), which carry reliefs on four sides, including a door, floral motifs, and weaponry such as round Macedonian-type shields, spears, swords, and cuirasses. Although the *osteothekai* were unique in terms of form and decoration and were manufactured only in Pisidia and the neighboring areas, the meaning of the reliefs reflects the general practice of the period and refers to the self-definition of the inhabitants, which in many Greek cities was expressed through the use of weaponry (Köse 2005a: 73–77). Sagalassos adopted this fashion not only in the private sphere but also on public monuments, for instance on two pillars with engaged half-columns carrying the reliefs from the loggia (surrounding arcade) of the *bouleuterion*, depicting Athena and Ares, each with a prisoner (Waelkens 1993b: 43, figs. 27, 28), or in weapon reliefs consisting of a helmet and busts of Athena and Ares on the *bouleuterion* frieze (Waelkens et al. 2000b: 231, figs. 18–21). Sagalassos may stand as a model for the architectural and sculptural development of many cities in the inland of Anatolia during the Hellenistic period. The question which remains to be answered for Sagalassos is, which Hellenistic king founded the new Sagalassos using the language of Greek architecture and art? Was it Lysimachos or one of the Seleucids, for instance Antiochos?

FURTHER READING

For the sculpture of the region, see Özgan (1995), Ridgway (1997, 1999), Boardman (1995: ch. 11; 2000a), de Grummond (2001),

Jenkins and Turner (2009), and Neer (2010). For architectural sculpture, see the recently-edited volume of Schulz and von den Hoff (2009).

On architecture, art, and urban development in Asia Minor, see the introductions of Akurgal (1955, 1985), Boardman (1999), and Gates (2003). More specialized studies include Roos (2006), Ohnesorg (2007), Winter (2008), Matthaei and Zimmermann (2009), Carsten (2009), Marek (2010), Martini (2010), and Karlsson and Carlsson (2011).

Articles on the state of the field, including results of recent excavations and surveys, appear in specialized periodicals such as *Adalya*, *Anatolia*, *Anatolian Studies*, and *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*. The *Asia Minor Studien* volumes, published in Germany, also cover many topics of relevance to Greek art.

CHAPTER 18

The Black Sea

Jan Bouzek

18.1 Introduction

The Black Sea was an entity around which Greeks established cities and *emporía* (trading posts), and where they lived surrounded by other peoples. They sometimes fought each other, but more often they found ways of collaborating for mutual benefit. The cultures of the Greeks and the local populations around the Black Sea in antiquity formed a mosaic of ethnic and political groups with different artistic preferences and interests. At the same time, a common identity in which all these cultures lived together existed, even if only somewhat rarely before Mithridates IV ('the Great') forged the political unity referred to as the Kingdom of Pontos. Greek art offered models for their neighbors, and Greek artists helped to create the art of their neighbors according to the taste of their clients.

18.2 First Traces of Greek Contacts

The founding of Greek settlements in the second and third quarters of the 7th c. BC could not have been realized without previous knowledge of the area. Oral tradition recorded that the Greeks tried to settle in the Black Sea region, notably at Amisios and perhaps elsewhere as well, in the late 8th c. However, this attempt was not successful due to the Cimmerian invasion (Maximova 1956; De Boer 2007; Doonan 2007). Legendary stories about the penetration of the

Black Sea by the Argonauts belong to the mythological time before the Trojan War. The limited number of analyses made so far have pointed out that the gold found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae came from Transylvania, while Mycenaean swords are known from Bulgaria and Romania (Bouzek 1990: 13–17; 2007a: 1222).

Reports of a Thracian thalassocracy following that of the Pelasgians can be placed in the Dark Ages (c. 1100–900 BC). The Mediterranean Late Bronze Age ingots from Bulgaria, the Bronze Age anchors, and other objects (Bouzek 2007b) show that even during the Dark Ages, some contacts between the Aegean and the Black Sea existed, though on a much more modest scale than they would later on. The Hordeevka cemetery in the Ukraine already showed influences from the south; the Tiryns and Alumière amber beads confirm links with the Aegean. From the Cimmerian period (9th–8th c. BC), many types of bronze objects link the Caucasus area with the Balkans, while Caucasian bronzes are known from the Samos Heraion. The earliest of the Caucasian *fibulae* are similar stylistically to East Greek variants (Bouzek 1990: 16–18).

Pre-colonial trade around the Black Sea had little if any interest in pottery, and a similar situation can be observed with regard to the earliest trading stations of the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean. The pre-pottery phase of Greek trade with the Black Sea was apparently concentrated in other commodities. Metals were as important in antiquity as crude oil is for us today, with copper, gold, and iron very much in demand. The disappearance of iron objects deposited in Colchidean graves in the 8th c. BC may well have been caused by the higher price of metal paid by the earliest Greek traders. The areas of Histria and of Apollonia (Strandja hills) had important metal production too. The business during this early stage may have been similarly profitable, as was that of Kolaïos of Samos, mentioned by Herodotos (4.52) – even worth the risking of one’s own life. In any case, the pre-colonial phase prior to the second quarter of the 7th c. provided the know-how for the outburst of Greek interest in the Black Sea, and also the willingness of the Scythians and of other peoples of the region to accept Greek wares, merchants, and craftsmen. A symbiosis evolved that was useful for all participants in the history of the region. It created a community in which all participants preserved their identity, while participating in a unified and mutually beneficial network.

18.3 Foundation of Colonies and

Greek Pottery Finds

Full-scale colonization, including large groups of settlers with their families, has nearly everywhere in human history been caused primarily by economic or political difficulties in the original homeland. In the Black Sea, the main reason for large-scale emigration was the pressure of the eastern neighbors on the Ionian cities. For example, Miletos suffered the diminishing of the agricultural *chora* (countryside) by the Lydians in the late 7th c., and again after the Persian occupation in the 540s (Tsetschladze 2002). Among the first colonies and/or *emporía* were many near locations rich in metal ores, such as Histria and Orgame on the Romanian coast, and Apollonia on the Thracian coast. The Taganrog settlement at the northeast of the Azov Sea and Berezan (Borysthenes) were bases of trade with rich Scythian clients.

As far as we know, the first colonies were Milesian foundations, but other Ionians participated at least in some of the expeditions (Boardman 1999: 238–255). In Propontis, Parion was founded by Milesians; Erythreans and Parians founded Kyzikos; Abydos was founded by Milesians alone; the Phokaiaans founded Lampsakos and the Samians Perithos; Megarians founded Astakos, Chalkedon, and Selymbria, and probably also Byzantion. Milesian foundations in the Black Sea were Apollonia, Odessos, Tomis, Istros (Histria), Tyras Olbia/Borysthenes, and Pantikapaion and its daughter cities. But Phokaiaans participated in some Milesian foundations, and Phanagoria was founded by the Teians. Megarian colonies were Heraklea, Mesembria, and Kallatis (all are later than most of the Milesian *apoikias*), and from no earlier than the 5th c., Chersonesos, though there is evidence of an earlier modest Ionian settlement located there. Most of the other foundations, mainly Milesian, did not receive the status of *polis*, and partly disappeared again, as did the Taganrog settlement mentioned above. Dioskourias was probably in the place of Sukhumi, now sadly submerged in the water, and Phasis at the mouth of Rioni has not yet been discovered. In the south, the earliest East Greek pottery from Sinope and Amnissos dates from c. 600 BC, and Heraklea and Trapezus were founded not much later (Map 5).

Map 5 The Black Sea, showing Greek cities (source: drawn by J. Bouzek).



Our knowledge of the earliest painted pottery and trade amphorae in the Black Sea has increased greatly in recent years. Middle Wild Goat Style I pottery (see Chapter 4) is known not only from a number of Scythian tumuli, but also from the first Greek settlement at Orgame, Histria, and Berezan, from inland sites (e.g. Belskoe gorodishte), and among the finds from Taganrog and Apollonia. Similarly, bird bowls from Taganrog are believed to have been made before the mid 7th c.; and the third quarter of that century is already well attested at many sites (Bouzek 2007a: 123–128). The earliest transport amphorae came there not much later. This situation is now well documented by Tsatskheladze (2007), while historical sources for the earliest colonization are now summed up by de Boer (2007; cf. Ivantchik 2001). The fact that the mid 7th c. BC Greek pottery found its way to such remote inland places suggests that the links with the local population of the Black Sea area (Thracians, Scythians, Colchidians, etc.) were already well established.

There is an ongoing discussion concerning who exactly imported the Greek pottery. Boardman (2004) has argued that it was purchased and used by the Greek colonists themselves, while Coldstream (2006) is convinced that such objects attracted the attention of non-Greeks as well. Finds of Greek pottery from Scythian tombs support the second opinion. Greek drinking sets would have been important for the settlers, who wanted to continue their familiar drinking habits, but would have also been recognized as valuable exotic objects contributing to prestige among the non-Greeks. Not all foundations

developed into *poleis*, and some of the later ones remained quite modest settlements throughout their whole existence. But the Scythians apparently had no objection to the early Greek settlements, which remained unfortified in their earliest phases (Grammenos and Petropoulos 2004, 2007).

18.4 Constitutions, Public Life, and Coinage

The Ionian foundations had constitutions similar to Miletos, while those of the Dorian colonies were nearer to that of Megara. The people (*demos*) voted on the most important affairs, but otherwise were represented by the council (*boule*), with the *archons* being the highest officials elected for a given year. The situation was different in the Bosporan kingdom from its foundation (first, in 480, by the dynasty of Archainktidai; later, in 438, under the Spartokidai), but Greek cities had some autonomy, and the kings used only the title *archon* in relation to Greek *poleis*; the royal title was applied with respect to non-Greek inhabitants and their neighbors. The West Pontic cities formed a confederacy in Late Hellenistic times and closed alliances with their mightier neighbors; this federation also supported Mithridates VI against Rome. Olbia accepted the status of a Scythian protectorate, lasting into the Hellenistic period, when the Scythian kingdom was limited to Crimea only. The constitutions of Greek *poleis* contrasted with the political systems of their neighbors, but Thracians also founded cities, as did the population of Colchis in the east (Vani), and the Scythians built their capital Neapolis in central Crimea, also following the Greek model.

Greek cities in the Black Sea began to mint their own coins at the end of the 6th c. BC. Copper fishes and arrowheads preceded the real coinages in Borysthenes and Olbia. The coins of Apollonia portrayed a lion scalp and an anchor; those of Odessos a female head, and later Apollo; those of Mesembria a crested helmet, and later a female head; those of Kallatis depicted Herakles; those of Tomoi the head of Poseidon, or Zeus and an eagle; and those of Histria two young male heads and an eagle. The coins of Olbia bear heads of Apollo, Artemis, and Demeter, while Chersonesos used the heads of Herakles, Artemis, and Apollo, and Pantikapaion mainly the head of Pan. Autonomous coinage was also produced in several other cities around the Cimmerian Bosporos. Thracian tribes and their kings minted coins too, as did the Colchians together with Greek cities in the area, and a small

issue was also minted by the Scythian king Ateas in the 4th c. BC (Bouzek 1990: 174–176; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2004, 2007; Oppermann 2004).

18.5 Agriculture, Handicrafts, and Fishing

Simple implements and tools of metal, wood, and stone were produced in all cities and their *emporia*, and the production was large enough to supply the needs of local agriculture, craftsmanship, and fishing. Agriculture was the occupation of many Greeks and their laborers. North Pontic cities in particular produced large quantities of grain for export. The networks of agricultural *kleroi* (lots) arose in the North Pontic area by the 6th c. BC, and nearly all grain for export came from Greek farms, which were partly fortified. In the Classical period the main purchaser of grain was Athens, but earlier on Miletos probably also imported grain from North Pontic colonies.

There is evidence that vineyards existed in Thrace and Colchis from Neolithic times, and from the 4th c. BC there were important productions exporting large quantities of stamped wine amphorae in Heraklea and Sinope in the south, and in Chersonesos, Pantikapaion, and Colchis in the north and east. In addition to wine-drinking, fish consumption was also characteristic of the Pontic Greek diet. Basins for salting fish have been identified at Myrmikeion, and salt fish was exported to the Greek motherland (Koshelenko et al. 1984: 156–164; Bouzek 1990: 138–139).

18.6 Art and Warfare

As in the Greek homeland, heavy infantry (hoplite phalanx) formed the main military force during the first centuries of colonial existence, while light infantry (peltasts) and cavalry acquired more importance from the 5th c. BC onwards. The latter two forms developed under the influence of Thracian light infantry and of Scythian and Thracian cavalry (see Chapter 23). After the model of Scythian archers, North Pontic cities used more archery in their armies, notably in the Bosporan kingdom, though slingers were also employed. The Scythians used cavalry with bows and short swords as their main force. The armor of not only the Scythians and Thracians, but of many

Greeks as well, was represented by its splendor; much artistic effort in the area was devoted to the decoration of corselets, greaves, and helmets. In the armies of the Thracians, peltasts were more common, but cavalry was also well represented. The horse harness was made in a similar style to that of the Thracians and Scythians, probably due to the attested horse trade. The military fleets of Greek Pontic cities were much smaller than those of the main Greek *poleis*, but not unimportant in local conflicts, and the merchant navy was also significant. Fishing was mainly the task of small local ships. Most of the large ships visiting Black Sea harbors originated from Mediterranean centers (Peters 1982; Bouzek 1990: 139–140).

18.7 Religion

Zeus was the highest god of the Greeks, but the most popular divinity worshipped in the Black Sea area was Apollo, the patron of Miletos and its *apoikias*. The most famous of his statues, that by Kalamis, stood in Apollonia Pontica. Dionysopolis took its name from a statue of Dionysos brought there by sea. In Histria there were temples of Apollo, Aphrodite, and several other deities. Achilles Pontarchos, who had his main sanctuary on the island of Leuke, was also worshipped in Odessos and in many places around Olbia, while the Thracian god Derkeles was worshipped in Odessos, Dionysopolis, and Tomoi. Bendis and Thracian Heros received dedications beginning in the 4th c. in Greek cities. The worship of the Samothracian gods is attested in Odessos and Dionysopolis, and that of Asklepios and his daughter Hygieia in many places.

In Olbia, the principal deity was Apollo Delphinios, followed by Apollo Iatros, Herakles, Zeus Soter, Achilles Pontarchos, Hermes, Aphrodite, Pluto, Kore, and Demeter. In the European and Asian Bosphoros, Apollo Iatros, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Demeter were the most important deities. The nymphs, not surprisingly, were the patron deities of Nymphaion. Histria was probably the city god of Histria, the Dioskouroi of Dioskourias in Colchis. An oracle sanctuary existed in Heraklea Pontica, where supplicants were answered by the souls of the dead; a similar sanctuary was recently uncovered at Histria (Lungu 2009).

Many aspects of Thracian religion, such as the gods Dionysos, Apollo, and Bendis, were familiar to the Greeks; others, such as Zalmoxis (cf. Hdt. 4.93–96), were not as well understood. The Scythians, it seems, were fiercely opposed to Greek religion (cf. Hdt. 4.79–80), while their Great Goddess, similar to the one worshipped in

Transcaucasia, was also worshipped by the Greeks, as was Artemis-Parthenos of the Tauroi, known from the story of Iphigenia. Terracottas, however, bear witness to another level of Greek religion – of a more private character – where women often played a decisive role. Female *protomes* (busts) and other types known from Ionia prevail in most parts of the Black Sea until the early 5th c. BC and are later replaced by Attic ones in the 3rd c., themselves based on Boeotian and Ionian models (Bouzek 1990: 141–142; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2002, 2007).

18.8 Architecture

Greek temples were built in all colonies, but are better known from some than from others: Histria, Olbia, Nymphaion, Phanagoria, Berezan. Most of them were small. Of the 4th c. temples, that of Apollo Delphinios stood in Olbia, Demeter temples were in Nymphaion and Phanagoria, and an Archaic Temple of Artemis was built in Berezan. The magnificent acroterion found near Phanagoria is among the best items known from the 4th c. BC (Boardman 1962–1963: fig. 34). In the Hellenistic period, most Greek Black Sea cities had temples comparable with minor towns in Asia Minor. Architectural terracotta revetments were produced in all important Greek cities of the area from the 5th c. onwards. Those from Mesembria seem to bear traces of a ‘Dorian’ style, while other production centers followed mainly the Ionian models.

Domestic architecture was initially modest. The first generation lived in semi-subterranean huts. The early 6th c. BC houses were rectangular, with one or two rooms only. Later, better houses consisted of several rooms arranged around a central court. Regular *insulae* were formed, and a system of streets evolved in the late 6th and early 5th c. More sophisticated houses are first known in the late 5th and 4th c., and in the mid 4th c. peristyle and ‘pastas’ houses with columns of the types known in Greece appear. The courtyards were paved, and the walls were mainly of mud brick or of timber frame filled with wattle-and-daub. If there was enough stone available, stone foundations were used, but where stone was lacking – as in Olbia – even the foundations were of clay or mud bricks. *Gymnasia* are known from Phanagoria and Olbia. A small Hellenistic palace was uncovered in the Asian part of the Bosporean kingdom (Yubileynoe II). Late Hellenistic houses became more modest in the north, but finer and richer in the West Pontic cities (Bouzek 1990: 131–132).

Farms and country houses are best known from the Crimea. In the

4th c. BC, the *chora* of Chersonesos on the Heraklean peninsula was divided into rectangular *kleroi* of c. 26.5 hectares, separated by walls and roads. The houses stood near to roads, with the living-rooms and those used for storage surrounding one or two inner courts. The farms also had fortified towers. Farmsteads situated more to the north, in western Crimea and north of Olbia, were on several occasions destroyed by the attacks of Scythians and Sarmatians.

Beginning in the 5th c. BC, all Greek cities in the area were fortified. The walls of Olbia successfully resisted the Macedonian army under Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great. Sections of Classical and Hellenistic city walls are known from Mesembria, Apollonia, Histria, and other towns. The Hellenistic city of Tanais had defense walls 3 m thick. Long walls across the eastern Crimea and across the Taman peninsula were built at the frontiers of the Bosporan kingdom, and other minor forts were constructed there and in the territories of other Greek *poleis* (Bouzek 1990: 131–135).

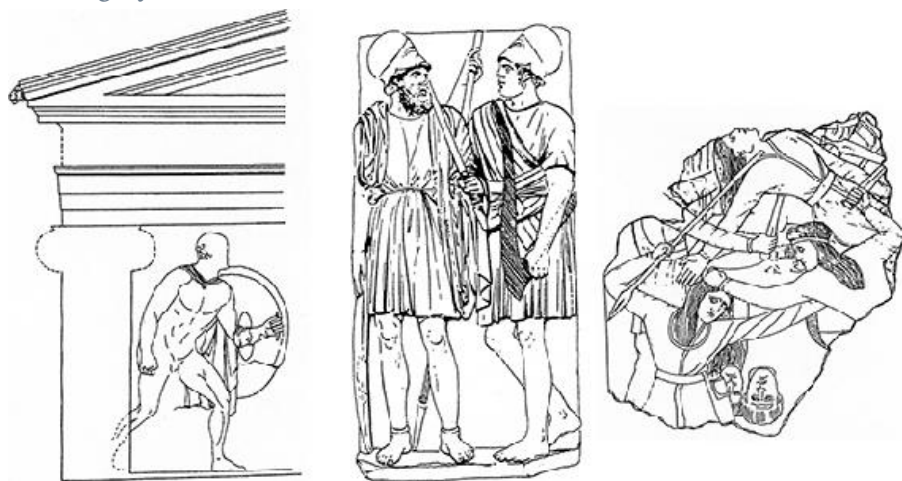
18.9 Sculpture, Painting, and Minor Arts

The first statues known from Pontic cities are kouroi and korai dating to the second half of the 6th c. BC. Extant statues and heads are known from Apollonia, Olbia, Berezan, and Kepoi, while Archaic stelai are known from Apollonia and Kerch. After the Persian Wars the influence of the mainland Attic style was evident in all parts of the Black Sea. In the West Pontic area, Apollonia was famous for her Apollo by Kalamis, and Odessos yielded first-class examples too. The Sukhumi stele is stylistically similar to the tombstone of Kriton and Timarista from Rhodes (Tsatskhelidze 1999: 54, n. 5). Two names of Attic sculptors are known from bases found in Olbia (Praxiteles, Stratonides) and one in Chersonesos (Polykrates). A statue of Dionysos from Pantikapaion is Lysippan in style; a bearded male head from Olbia is reminiscent of the work of Skopas (Kobylyina 1972). The dedication relief from Pantikapaion (Koshelenko 1984: 311, pl. 121.1) can well be compared with Attic sculpture.

This is also the case of the sculpture found at Jubilejnoje II on the Taman peninsula. One relief has a scene that reflects the Amazonomachy on the shield of Athena Parthenos. The stelai from this site are close to the Attic artistic tradition, and can be dated to the third quarter of the 4th c. (Figure 18.1; Savostina 2001). Another example represents two soldiers, young and old, and another a young

warrior marching to the right. Among the Hellenistic sculptures, a 2nd c. statue of Aphrodite from Kepoi and a bronze torso of Vani of the 1st c. BC deserve mention (Bouzek 2007a).

Figure 18.1 Jubilejnoe II (Russia), reliefs from a heroon. 4th c. BC (drawing by D. Weiss).



Wall-paintings are known from tombs and from subterranean rooms (cellars) of houses. Among the latter examples, those painted directly on stone prevail, but later frescoes painted on stucco became the usual technique. Most of the fragments found show the first Pompeian style, with floral elements. Of the figural paintings in tombs, the head of Kore from Great Blitznitsa is one of the earliest (Sokolov 1973: figs. 100, 103–112). In Late Hellenistic times, figural wall-paintings became more common, but their artistic level was lower. Among the paintings, the Hellenistic ship representations on a wall in Nymphaion are among the most important sources for our knowledge of ships of this period. Several pebble mosaics from the Kerch region, Chersonesos, and Olbia are comparable with Mediterranean examples (Dunbabin 1999: 16–17); of Late Hellenistic tessellated mosaics, only fragments have been found (Bouzek 1990: 134–135).

The best metal vessels and jewelry preserved in Scythian and Thracian tombs were produced directly for Scythians and Thracians themselves. The Greek masters did not impose their iconography or ideals on to their clients and were able to adapt their style to the taste of their customers, who gave them the raw gold and silver (see Chapter 10). These artistic objects are correctly called Scythian and Thracian, even if they are thought to have been made primarily by Greeks. As opposed to the objects made of precious metals, bronze items were produced for the market and many of them were imported

from Greece – from the Peloponnese, Athens, and northern Greece (Bouzek 1990: 110–128; Mordvinceva and Treister 2007).

Large terracottas of high artistic quality were produced in Hellenistic Chersonesos, while large-size clay heads, masks, and figures from 2nd c. Colchis were probably imports from Asia Minor. Small terracotta figurines first followed the style and iconography of Ionian mother cities, shifting in the 5th c. to Attic models, and in the 3rd c. to first Boeotian (Tanagras) and later Anatolian (Ionian) models. In Hellenistic times, good-quality terracottas were made especially in Amnisos and Kallatis (Bouzek 1990: 103–109, 131–132.).

The fine painted pottery discovered in Greek Black Sea cities, dating from late 7th and 6th c., comes mainly from Ionia. Wild Goat Style examples come from Miletos and its secondary centers, Fikellura from Miletos, and Chian and Klazomenian styles, as well as bird and rosette bowls, from Samos and elsewhere (see Chapter 4). During the late 6th c., Attica provided the most imported pottery (black- and red-figure), a position it held until the mid 3rd c., when later Hellenistic centers in Asia Minor again took the lead. Corinthian imports are rare. Potters in Greek cities produced large amounts of commonware, and sometimes painted pottery imitating East Greek models in Archaic and Classical times (Cook and Dupont 1998: 66–67, 89–90). In the 4th/early 3rd c. the ‘aquarel pelikai’, imitating Attic ‘Kerch’ vases in a simpler multicolor painting technique, and in the Hellenistic period molded bowls with relief decoration (so-called ‘Megarian’ bowls) were produced at Pantikapaion, Olbia, and elsewhere (Boardman 2001a: 122–125; Bouzek 2007c; see [Figure 1.1](#)).

Glass vessels were imported from the late 6th c. BC until Late Hellenistic times. Glass and faience beads were probably made in North Pontic centers by Phoenician *metoikoi* (metics). Phoenician and Cypriot products also appeared as dedications in sanctuaries of Artemis in some Greek cities. North Pontic glass beads were popular in large parts of the Balkans and in Central Europe. Faience beads, imported or made locally, are known primarily from Olbia, Berezan, and Histria; their more sophisticated varieties with human heads and figures (Harpokrates?) show closer relations with Egypt (Bouzek 1990: 129).

18.10 Graves and Burials

The *necropoleis* of Greek Pontic cities were extramural, with single graves and family tombs, mainly inhumations (a small number of cremation graves occur in nearly all colonies), marked on the surface

by a small mound and stele. The earliest Greek stelai bore only the name of the deceased. Stelai with floral acroteria and rosettes became usual from the 5th c. BC. In the late 5th and 4th c., some Attic funerary stelai were imported, and tombstones with representations of the deceased were also common in Hellenistic cities in the area. In the North Pontic area, the painted stelai of Chersonesos are comparable to those from Thessaly and Macedonia, but are less well published (Carter and Posamentir 2006).

Small children were often inhumed in amphorae or pithoi. Larger barrows were mainly graves of Scythian and Thracian aristocracy, but exceptions exist, such as a grave of the hero-founder of the colony of Orgame, resembling Homeric burials. In the 6th–5th c. BC, Greek burial customs in the Pontic cities correspond with those in the Greek homeland, but some native influence is already marked. From the 4th c., barrows and large grave chambers appear also in Greek cemeteries. Some of them belong to Scythian, Thracian, and other non-Greek inhabitants of Greek cities and their territories, some probably to ‘mixhellenoi’ (cf. Polyb. 1.76.7) or to rich Greeks, who followed the more lavish burial customs of their neighbors. Painted burial chambers and sarcophagi of marble and wood were popular in the Bosporean kingdom. Wooden sarcophagi of the 4th–3rd c. are preserved in some moist tombs of the area; these are unknown from Greece proper. Appliques of ivory, terracotta, and some other materials became usual on wooden sarcophagi during the 5th c. The famous plaster appliques were used during the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods.

Thracian chamber tombs developed during the late 5th c. BC. Their predecessors were dolmens (portal tombs) in southeast Thrace and stone cists, sometimes with painted decoration; the most monumental Thracian tombs date from the 4th and early 3rd c. Fine carvings and paintings in Thracian tombs were apparently created by Greek craftsmen, and are of a quality comparable to the average Macedonian tombs. Rich Scythian barrows were constructed from the 7th to the 4th c., but the later Scythians used subterranean chambers, or ‘cellars’ (Bouzek 1990: 143; 2005: 83–92).

18.11 Greeks and Scythians

While the early phase of Scythian art, during the second and third quarters of the 7th c. BC, came under the strong influence of Assyrian art, around 640 BC Ionian influence became the more prominent, and it remained so until the end of the 6th c. for both jewelry and

toreutics (Bouzek 1990: 181–186; Galanina 1997). For terracottas, connected with traditional cults introduced by the colonists, non-Greeks had less interest in adopting foreign models. But with regard to male and female jewelry and toreutics, the Scythians were willing to be served by their Greek neighbors, since their works were accessible to them, and the Greeks were willing to work for their Scythian customers (see Chapter 10). This Ionizing period of Scythian art ended in the early 5th c. BC, when Attic artisans took over from the Ionians (Bouzek 1990: 116ff.)

In the early 5th c. BC, Athenian influence became dominant in the artistic style produced for the Scythians, while the nomadic Animal Style continued. The plaque with a bird predator and a fish from Maikop and Zhurovka, and jewelry from the kurgans of the Seven Brothers and from Nymphaion, are good examples of this stage (Boardman 1999: figs. 300, 302). In the early period, the first-class Scythian items of art were probably produced in Olbia, which had stood under a Scythian protectorate since the end of the Persian campaign, and was located in the central part of the Bosporan kingdom. The art of gold jewelry held on longer to the Ionizing tradition, accepting more Attic elements only in the 5th c., while its ‘barbarian’ variety shows only a few traits of Greek inspiration (see [Figure 10.2](#)). The Late Archaic krater from Myartorosha can be compared with the vessels from Trebenishte (Boardman 1999: fig. 280). At Piščanovo, a small boat found with a bronze service of the 5th c. was apparently made in a Peloponnesian workshop (Ganina 1970). The grain trade with the Bosporan kingdom was important for the growing population of Athens, and Perikles’s naval expedition into the Black Sea in 439 was to confirm an Athenian position in the Greek cities and among other peoples inhabiting the region. A special class of horse-harness parts, with some Greek inspiration transmitted via Thrace, existed in western Scythia and Northern Thrace. This koine may have been the result of long-distance horse trade between the two elite groups.

The ‘classical’ Greco-Scythian art of the 4th c. BC was fond of the human figure. Among its first oeuvres is the comb from the Solokha barrow (Boardman 1996: fig. 186), comparable in style to the Dexileos stele in Athens (Boardman 1995: fig. 120). Most stylistic features of 4th c. art can be compared with Attic style, though some elements may speak also for North Greek and Macedonian participation among the artists working for Scythian customers. The Greek masters of the 4th c. travelled, and their art was ‘international’. The best 4th c. artistic objects produced for the Scythians by leading Greek craftsmen have traditionally been divided into several workshop groups: the Group of the Kul Oba pectoral and that of Tostaya Mogila ([Figure](#)

18.2). Another group is identified based on the Solokha phiale and scabbard, comprising scabbards and goryta with representations of the life of Achilles (Jacobson 1995: 213–219).

Figure 18.2 Gold pectoral from Tolstaya Mogila, Ukraine. 4th c. BC (Kiev, Historical Museum, Ukraine/Photo © Boltin Picture Library/The Bridgeman Art Library).



The number of ateliers of this art hardly exceeded ten, while other workshops worked in a traditional Animal Style. The scenes with Achilles show that the hero was also admired and worshipped by the Scythians. Herodotus's version of the origin of the Scythians, deriving from Herakles and the Snake Goddess 'Echidna' (4.4–8), is reflected on the Kul Oba Vase (Figure 18.3). According to the refinement of chronology of Scythian royal tombs based on transport amphorae (Monakhov 1999), these burials ceased by the end of the 4th c., and only a few of them are later than the defeat of Scythian king Ateas by Philip II in 339 BC. After this defeat, the Scythian empire was much

weakened, and during the 3rd c. the Sarmatians replaced the Scythians as masters of the North Pontic steppes. Their art was slower to accept Greek impulses (Mordvinceva and Treister 2007; Bouzek 1990: 174–186).

Figure 18.3 Gold vessel decorated in relief from Kul Oba (Crimea). Herakles with Scythian warriors. Second half of the 4th c. BC (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum K-O 11. akg-images/Electa).



18.12 Greeks and Thracians

While Thracians were considered by the Greeks to be ‘barbarians’, their religion was admired: Dionysos came to Greece via Thrace, Orpheus was a legendary Thracian king, the ritual language in the sanctuary of Samothrace was Thracian, and even the priestly family at

Eleusis claimed a Thracian descent. Thracian art first followed Ionian models (including works made in the Anatolian satrapy of Persia), from the 5th c. Athenian (cf. the engraved silver vases from Duvanli; [Figure 18.4](#)), and later Macedonian. Thrace was split into a number of tribal kingdoms, from which during the 5th and 4th c. BC larger empires arose; the most important were the Odrysians in the southeast, the Geti in the northeast, and the Triballoi further west (Rogozen). In these areas, several artistic provinces developed, alongside another in Bithynia (cf. the Panagjurishte hoard; [Figure 18.5](#)). Individual schools of Thracian art follow the pattern of their kingdoms, and the artists worked mainly for the courts of local rulers. After the conquest of Thrace by Philip II, Thrace was again united under Lysimachus. In 279/8, its cities were mainly destroyed by the Celts, and the country remained split again into small kingdoms until the Roman conquest in the 2nd–1st c. BC. The last independent tribal kingdoms were annexed in the 1st c. AD. Many Greeks lived in Thrace outside the Greek colonies as tradesmen and artisans from the 5th c. BC onwards, including some inland *emporion* protected by Thracian kings. Inter-marriages between the Greeks and Thracians were common. Thracian slaves were highly esteemed in Greece, and Thracian peltasts were employed there. Many Thracians fought in the armies of Alexander the Great, the *diadochi*, and later Hellenistic rulers, including that of Mithridates VI. In the later 3rd and early 2nd c., their leading aristocracy was much influenced by the Celts, but around 100 BC, the Celtic character of their culture disappeared and they returned to earlier traditions; this is most notable in the art of the phalera, whose western province in the northeast Balkans represents a revival of Thracian artistic tradition, while its eastern province belongs to the Sarmatians.

Figure 18.4 Silver phiale from Duvanli (Bulgaria). Chariot race. Late 5th c. BC (Bashova Tumulus, Plovdiv, Bulgaria. © The Art Archive/Alamy).



Figure 18.5 Silver phiale from the Rogozen treasure (Bulgaria). Herakles and Auge. 4th c. BC (Vratsa, Regional Historical Museum NIM 22304. INTERFOTO/Alamy).



Celtic campaigns also affected the Black Sea in the 3rd c. BC. In southeast Thrace, the Celtic kingdom of Tyllis existed for 70 years, and – as in Asia Minor – Greek cities there had to pay taxes for their ‘protection’; its last king, Kavaros, even served as mediator in quarrels between them. Shortly before 200, the Tyllis kingdom disappeared and the Balkan Celts joined the Galatian kingdom in Asia Minor, which became part of the Roman Empire in the year 25 BC. The Bastarni living in the territory of present-day Moldavia, beginning in the early 3rd c., were first probably a Celtic tribe, but later became ‘Germanic’. In 179 BC, they invaded the Balkans up to the Rila Mountains, but later they had no comparable military success. In the second quarter of the 1st c. BC, King Burebista unified Geto-Dacians and attacked Greek towns in the area, but after the final defeat of Mithridates, whom they supported, all Greek West Pontic cities were brought into the Roman Empire, and the Bosporean kingdom became a Roman protectorate (Bouzek 2005: 79–83, 105–111). The artistic ideas of the Greco-Thracian koine persisted during the Roman Empire, especially the motif of the Thracian hero-rider (Figure 18.6; Dimitrova 2002).

Figure 18.6 Marble relief from Plevna (Bulgaria). A Thracian hero. 2nd c. AD (Pleven, Regional Historical Museum. Drawing by D. Weiss).



18.13 Eastern and Southern Black Sea

Colchis was the country from which the Argonauts brought the Golden Fleece to Greece. The area was rich in metals (gold, iron, copper) and very fertile. The Greeks settled there in several *poleis* (esp. Phasis) and also in small *emporía*, where they lived together with the local populations, as at Pichvnari and Simagre. The capital of the Colchidean kingdom Vani had many Greek imports, the earliest of which date from the 6th c. BC. In the 5th–4th c. their number

increased. Colchis stood culturally under the influence of Greece and Persia, notably of its Anatolian satrapies. In the late 4th c., monumental architecture appeared in Vani, and in the 3rd–2nd c., Vani participated in the Hellenistic koine and imported and exported wine.

More to the north, in Abchazia, several Greek *emporía* are known, though Dioskourias at modern Sukhumi is now at the bottom of the sea. Other *emporía* are known in the Kuban area of Russia (Torik). The acculturation of local people started in the 6th c., such as at Maeotis to the north, where 5th c. imports are common; from c. 400 BC, Maeotian pottery forms became influenced by Greek shapes. These links continued during the 3rd c., but later, under the influence of the Sarmatians, the Greek impact gradually disappeared. The Sarmatians started to accept more Hellenistic influence in the 2nd c. The Tauroi in the Crimea were rather wild mountain people. Their sanctuaries show little Greek influence, with the exception of the *chora* of Chersonesos, into which some of their villages were annexed.

On the southern shores of the Black Sea there are narrow strips of lowland, and high mountains south of them. The Greek cities there all became part of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Pontos and Bithynia; their relations with the Anatolian plateau are little known, and were apparently not extensive (Erciyas 2006; cf. Maximova 1956; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2007: 1179–1220).

Clearly, the art of the Greeks in the Black Sea was influenced by the taste of their Thracian, Scythian, Sarmatian, and Colchidian neighbors, as well as by others, including the Persian Empire. Greek artistic ideals were transferred to their neighbors, but even more so, the Greeks created works of art according to the tastes of their clients. The mutual dependence was one of the main factors accounting for the rise of the koine of Black Sea artistic provinces, which lasted until the Roman occupation in most parts of the Black Sea shores.

FURTHER READING

The main surveys for individual Greek cities can be found in Grammenos and Petropoulos Vols I and II (2003, 2007), Bouzek (1990), and Tsetschladze (1998). For the West Pontic cities, see Oppermann (2004); for the north, an excellent survey in Russian of Koshelenko et al. (1984). For relations between the Thracians and Greeks, see especially Bouzek (2005); and for Scytho–Greek relations, see Guldager Bilde (2008) and Braund (2005).

Several well-illustrated catalogues have been devoted to Scythian and Thracian arts: Trofimova (2007), Reeder (1999), and Marazov

(1998). A good brief survey for all subjects on the Internet is the *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World 2: The Black Sea* (Foundation of the Hellenic World 2009).

The two last surveys of the Black Sea in *Archaeological Reports* provide an updated bibliography and recent discoveries, covering 1982–2007: G.F. Hind (1992–1993: 2–119); and P. Guldager Bilde et al. (2007–2008: 115–173). An updated, annotated bibliography of new material for the Black Sea region is summed up each year by Bouzek in *Eirene (Studia Graeca et Latina)*, published in Prague. Periodicals and conference volumes of importance include *Black Sea Studies*, published by the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies, University of Aarhus; a series of published 'International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of the Black Sea Area' held in Vani, Georgia; and the International Congresses of Black Sea Antiquities, held in Turkey, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria. There is also much of relevance in the journal *Ancient West and East*.

CHAPTER 19

Sicily and South Italy

Clemente Marconi

19.1 Introduction

Between the second half of the 8th c. BC and the beginning of the 6th, the Greeks expanded towards the West, by settling at numerous sites in Sicily, South Italy ([Map 6](#)), and the south of France and Spain (Pugliese Carratelli 1996; Boardman 1999). The terms traditionally used to describe this process and its results, ‘colony’ and ‘colonization’, are still convenient labels in consideration of the disparity between the Greek and the various native cultures (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002). However, both terms are incorrect and, to some extent, misleading (Osborne 1998b). This is not only because ‘colony’ derives from Latin (*colonia*), while the Greeks had a different word for these settlements abroad, *apoikia*, meaning ‘home away from home’. The main problem is that ‘colony’ and ‘colonization’ are not neutral terms: they have strong ‘statist’ associations, which are not appropriate for the settlement processes of the Archaic period, which were linked more to the initiative of single individuals, or single groups, than to city-states. Greek colonization of the Archaic period, unlike modern colonization, consisted of the foundation of independent city-states, not ‘colonies’ in the modern sense. Along similar lines, we should refrain from looking at the Greek expansion towards the West through the prism of the modern colonial experience.

Map 6 Southern Italy and Sicily (source: Rhodes, *A History of the Classical World*, [map 2](#); adapted by D. Weiss).



For the history of Greek art and architecture, this expansion towards the West marks an important moment. New territories and foundations were available for the development of land division, urbanism, and architecture. At the same time, the wealth and power of several colonies stimulated a heightened interest in monumental building and in the production and consumption of images, all of which were critical in constructing the cultural identity of the new communities and strengthening their feeling of being at ‘home away from home’. In addition, the Western Greeks played a critical role in the transmission of Greek art and architecture to the local populations of Sicily, the Italian peninsula, and regions beyond the Alps.

This essay outlines the history of the urbanism, architecture, and visual arts of the Greeks in South Italy and Sicily (a region also referred to as Magna Graecia, or ‘Great Greece’), from the foundation of the Greek colonies to the advent of Rome in the 3rd c. BC. The presentation will follow the conventional division into periods of ancient Greek history, and, within each period, it will introduce first the city-plans, then the buildings, and finally the visual arts. This contextual approach is meant to emphasize the strong interrelation between urban form, monuments of architecture, and images that is so characteristic of ancient Greek culture. In the discussion, I will treat Sicily and South Italy as two distinct areas. The developments in these two regions show, in fact, along with similarities, significant differences that cannot be ignored.

Other parts of the West that saw Greek presence, such as France and Spain, are beyond the scope of this chapter. Also beyond the scope of this chapter is a detailed account of the relations with the

non-Greeks. At the time of the foundation of the Greek colonies in Sicily and South Italy, native populations inhabited both regions. In addition, the Phoenicians were installed at three important sites in western Sicily, while the Etruscans were settled in Campania. Although the relations between the Greek colonists and the natives could vary, in general the degree of interaction was high, and it led to a process of acculturation of the native populations, particularly of their elites. The reverse did not happen, and as a result the influences of the non-Greeks on the urbanism, architecture, and visual arts of the Greek colonies in Sicily and South Italy were minimal. The Greek colonization in the West did not produce phenomena of hybridization in the architecture and the visual arts comparable to those generated by modern colonization. The situation with the Phoenicians (and later the Carthaginians) in Sicily, and with the Etruscans in South Italy, was somewhat different. Their interaction with the Greek colonists was significant, but, over time, relations became strained, leading to several confrontations and ultimately, in Sicily, to territorial domination over former Greek territory. As a result, while the dissemination of Greek culture, lifestyle, and technology was consistent over much of the Phoenician/Carthaginian and Etruscan territory, in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the expansion of Carthage on Sicily resulted in the presence of several Punic elements in the culture of former Greek cities.

19.2 Late Geometric and Orientalizing

The evidence for the material culture in the period concerning the earliest stages of the Greek colonization of Sicily and South Italy (c. 730–600 BC) is relatively poor, compared with later periods. As regards urbanism (Mertens 2006: 36–62), a critical factor in choosing the area for the settlement of colonies in both regions was the availability of enough arable land to sustain the population and ensure economic growth. The existence of good water sources also played an important role. The selection of the specific site to settle was mainly dictated by the need for defensibility as well as easy transportation and supply, with preference given to islands opposite the mainland, peninsulas, or hills close to the sea.

In Sicily, the best-known settlements are the 8th c. foundations of Megara Hyblaia and Syracuse (De Angelis 2003; Gras et al. 2004; Mertens 2006: 63–76). We have limited knowledge of the layout of

these two settlements at the time of their foundations, but a systematic occupation and division of their land generally took place within the first generation. In this division of the land, particular attention was devoted to the plots for residential housing, which were meant to be equal in size. Later, population growth and increased density of habitation led to a better-articulated division of the settlements into residential, religious, and civic areas. Finally, the public areas were monumentalized, generally starting with the second or third generation of colonists. Unlike in Sicily, evidence for early urbanism in South Italy is minimal.

Concerning monumental architecture, the creation of cult places happened at the time of the colonial foundation in both regions, but few sacred buildings were erected in the early stages of the settlements (Mertens 2006: 90–97; Lippolis et al. 2007: 108–128). In the entire West, only one such structure (at Syracuse) can be dated to the 8th c., and its architecture was far from imposing. It was only in the 7th c., in both Sicily and South Italy, that the temple emerged as the leading building type, a position it retained down to the end of the 5th c. BC. Characteristic of temples were their large size, sophistication of design, durability of materials, and richness of decoration: no other structure within the settlement achieved a comparable degree of monumentality. In Sicily, the evidence for sacred buildings of nearly monumental forms dates back to the last quarter of the 7th c., and mainly comes from Megara Hyblaia (c. 625–600). This colony also provides evidence for another type of public building, the stoa, two of which were built in the area of the agora. Early monumental architecture has left few traces in South Italy, except for a Temple at Lokroi Epizephyrioi dated to c. 600.

In both Sicily and South Italy, the relatively underdeveloped built environment of the early settlements was paralleled by a limited diffusion of the visual arts. There is, in fact, little evidence for images in Sicily during the Late Geometric period. An interesting piece is the bronze statuette of a horse from Syracuse (Rolley 1994–1999: I 108). This figurine is reminiscent of similar bronze statuettes from Perachora, and should thus be attributed to a Corinthian workshop. Such a relationship is a testament to the ties between colony, Syracuse, and mother-city, Corinth, in the years following the foundation. Later, during the Orientalizing period, stone-carving in Sicily was limited, as was metalworking. In this period, the colonies appear to have relied mostly on imports, some of which were high-quality and fine representatives of the Dedalic style (Rolley 1994–1999: I 150–151; see Chapter 5). This style was widespread in the island through the diffusion of terracotta figurines, both imports and local products, and in coroplastic art, Dedalic forms lingered well into

the 6th c., mainly for reasons of religious conservatism (Böhm 2007). Prominent among the visual arts produced in Sicily during the Orientalizing period was vase-painting (Boardman 1998: 53, 114; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 53–65). Painted vases were produced at various centers, and some of them have interesting mythological subjects, which point to the larger diffusion of Greek culture in the island, associated with the arrival of the new colonists.

The record concerning the visual arts in South Italy is similar to that in Sicily. A series of vases of Euboean inspiration from Pithekoussai that date to the Late Geometric period represent the earliest instance of artistic production among the Western Greeks (Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 34–41). Particularly remarkable are a krater (725–700 BC) featuring a shipwreck scene and a fragment bearing the first known signature of a Greek potter (Boardman 1998: figs. 161, 162). Vase-painting was practiced at several centers during the Orientalizing period (Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 47–53). The most important piece is the krater signed by Aristonothos (c. 650; [Figure 19.1](#)), which was found in Cerveteri and was likely produced in Cumae (near modern Naples). This krater features the Blinding of Polyphemos on one side and a sea battle on the other (Boardman 1998: fig. 282). Unlike vase-painting, there is no evidence for stone sculpture in South Italy during the Orientalizing period, and, like in Sicily, metalworking appears to have been very limited. Terracottas, instead, were widely produced in this region, and from rather early on (Rolley 1994–1999: I 151–154). The beginning of coroplastic production in South Italy dates in fact back to the middle of the 7th c., and consists in large part of statuettes and pinakes of Dedalic style, which were dedicated as votive offerings at both urban and extra-urban sanctuaries. Relief vases, such as the impressive *perirrhanterion* (ritual water basin) from Incoronata of c. 640–630 (Orlandini 1983: figs. 318–322), were another important form of coroplastic production, which was mainly intended for sanctuaries.

Figure 19.1 Krater from Cerveteri, signed by Aristonothos. Odysseus and his men blind the cyclops Polyphemos. Mid 7th c. BC (Rome, Capitoline Museums Ca 172. © Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis).



19.3 Archaic

During the Archaic period, several colonies in both Sicily and South Italy saw a considerable rise in their prosperity and demographic growth, which was often connected with territorial expansion. This trend is clearly reflected in the urban and architectural developments at various centers, which saw a new definition of their urban form along with the monumentalization of the main sanctuaries. Links between specific political systems – such as tyranny, which was widespread (Luraghi 1994) – and these advances in urbanism and monumental architecture are difficult to pinpoint, given the general lack of sources concerning the early history of the colonies. Still, this new development in urbanism and monumental architecture can be easily explained by a new need for social organization (De Angelis

2003; Marconi 2007).

In Sicily, Selinus and Himera provide the best evidence for city-planning (Mertens 2006: 173–192). At Selinus, a major restructuring of the urban settlement took place around 580–570 BC, following a clearly planned project that took a few decades to complete. First, the residential part of the city was divided into parallel strips of land generated by a system of avenues and streets, and the strips were filled with housing blocks of regular width and variable length. The second step consisted of the careful delimitation of the public spaces – the urban sanctuary and the agora, with its characteristic trapezoidal shape – from the residential quarters. Finally, the city was surrounded with a wall, with gates that corresponded to the main avenues. This restructuring of the urban plan was followed by the monumentalization of the urban and extra-urban sanctuaries. Unlike in Sicily, we have only limited knowledge of city-planning in South Italy in the 6th c. BC.

Turning to monumental architecture in the 7th c. (Mertens 2006: 99–112; Lippolis et al. 2007: 163–172, 258–273; Marconi 2007: 29–60, 77–88), the walls of temples had a bottom course of stone and a mud-brick superstructure. A crucial development in Sicily during the first half of the 6th c. led to the systematic use of stone for the elevation of major buildings. At the forefront of this movement were Selinus and Syracuse, both of which were rich in limestone, which was good for building. The earliest stone temples, which are found in Selinus, do not have a peristyle and their walls are not decorated by a frieze, but rather are crowned by simple geisa (see Chapter 6). Of far greater size and complexity is the Apollonion at Syracuse (580 BC), a large building with a peristyle of 6×17 columns. The monolithic columns of the Apollonion are narrowly spaced and have squat proportions, two solutions that are symptomatic of the concerns arising from the task of erecting the first stone colonnade on the island. The Apollonion was the model for a series of Doric peripteral temples built in Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia, and Gela in the following decades. The Doric design was further refined at Selinus, where the peripteral temple made its appearance slightly before 550 (Temple Y). In this city, an impressive series of peripteral temples (C, F, D, G) was subsequently built between the middle of the 6th c. BC and the beginning of the 5th (Mertens 2006: 227–235; Marconi 2007: 127–133).

As for monumental architecture in South Italy during the Archaic period (Mertens 2006: 129–130, 136–155, 216–241; Lippolis et al. 2007: 163–172, 265–271, 335–348), in the first half of the 6th c. this region trailed behind Sicily, except for the so-called Temple of Poseidon at Taras. By around 550, the situation changed, owing to

two centers, Metapontion (Metapontum) and Poseidonia (Paestum), which share several features in their architecture. At Metapontion, particularly important were the urban Temples of Hera (A II) and Apollo (B II) (540–530) and the extra-urban Temple of Hera (520–500). For Paestum, one may mention the extra-urban Temple of Hera II (510–500) at Foce del Sele and the urban Temples of Hera I (the so-called Basilica; 550–510) and Athena (500). The plan of the Basilica is remarkable for the presence, in the naos (cella), of a central colonnade, which required an odd number of columns on the front facades. This design solution dates back to the late 7th c. BC, but it was retained here and at other centers of South Italy for reasons of religious conservatism. In the Late Archaic period, the design of temples in this region underwent significant transformations: supports were eliminated from the interior of the cella, and an even number of columns, generally six, was adopted for the front facades. Both solutions are in play in the Temple of Athena at Paestum, which also has interior staircases between the pronaos and the naos (Miles 1998–1999). The so-called Temple of Herakles at Akragas (c. 500 BC), which has the same features, shows that similar developments were taking place in the monumental architecture of Sicily at the turn of the 5th c. A characteristic of the Doric order in South Italy during the Archaic period is the use of ornamental motifs to enrich the capitals and the entablature. Such use of ornamentation is an example of regional variation at a time in which the Doric order still allowed for some flexibility on the part of the architect. A case in point is the Temple of Athena at Paestum, which featured, in addition to the ornamental motifs of the Doric order on the exterior, Ionic columns on the front of the pronaos. This is one of the best instances of Ionic influence on Western Greek architecture, an interesting development of the last quarter of the 6th c. (Barletta 1983; Costabile 1997; Mertens 2006: 241–249; Lippolis et al. 2007: 348–353).

Besides sacred architecture, South Italy offers an important example of civic building. This is the so-called *ekklesterion* (550–540) in the agora of Metapontion, a wide amphitheater-like structure built on top of an earlier wooden structure (Mertens 2006: 161–163; Lippolis et al. 2007: 173–175). The *ekklesterion* accommodated some 7500 people, and taking into consideration its location facing the urban sanctuary, it may have served not only for political gatherings but also for spectacles on the occasion of religious festivals.

As in Sicily, Archaic houses in South Italy were generally small, consisting of three rooms accessed through a large roofed space in front (Mannino and D’Andria 1996; Mertens 2006). More is known of funerary architecture in this region, including a series of large tomb chambers from Taras, marked above the ground by *naiskoi* with

figural decoration (Mertens 2006: 130).

The best evidence for Archaic sculpture in both Sicily and South Italy comes from the decoration of buildings. Several Archaic temples in Sicily were adorned with figural decoration, which could include acroteria, pedimental figures, metopes, and antefixes, made of terracotta or local limestone (Danner 1996, 1997; Marconi 2007; and see Chapter 7). Particularly remarkable are horse-and-rider acroteria, in which the body of the horse forms the cover tile for the ridgepole. These acroteria, which are also found in South Italy, reflect the long-standing equestrian and cavalry tradition of the Western Greeks. For much of the 6th c. BC, the decoration of pediments consisted of large gorgoneia, featured on large terracotta slabs. These gorgoneia were meant to create a sense of awe and fear, and thus prepare the worshippers for the encounter with the divine. By the end of the 6th c., gorgoneia were replaced with new subjects, including animal fights. Selinus offers the best evidence for carved metopes (Marconi 2007). The first series consists of the so-called Small Metopes (560–550), whose subjects include gods, heroic scenes, and monsters. Of the decoration of Temple C (540/30–510), best known are the metopes featuring the epiphany of Apollo in a frontal quadriga, Perseus killing Medusa in the presence of Athena, and Herakles carrying the Kerkopes. Unlike the earlier series, the metopes of Temple F (490–480) featured only one subject, the Gigantomachy, with each metope picturing a duel between a god and a giant. It seems clear that on the metopes of Selinus, the display of the pantheon of the city was as important as heroic myths.

In Sicily, the evidence for statuary is more limited than for architectural sculpture. Some early representations of gods may have served as either cult statues or votive offerings, such as the so-called Laganello Head of c. 580 BC, found near Syracuse (Rolley 1994–1999: I 307). Carved in local limestone, this head offers the earliest evidence for monumental sculpture in the West. Equally unclear is the original function of the two acrolithic statues thought to come from Morgantina (c. 530–520), identified with Demeter and Persephone (Marconi 2008). These are the earliest-known acroliths in Greek sculpture – statues that originally combined a body of wood with extremities of stone (Thasian marble in the case of our two sculptures) – a technique often used in the West. The record concerning marble koraï is scanty, and marble kouroi seem to have been used comparatively more often, both as votives in sanctuaries and as grave-markers (Rolley 1994–1999: I 299–301; Barletta 2006). The earliest examples date to around the middle of the 6th c. BC, such as the torso from Megara Hyblaia, made of Cycladic marble and probably the work of a sculptor from Naxos (Holloway 1975: figs. 196–198). An

inscription carved on the right leg of this kouros states that the statue marked the grave of a physician named Sombrotidas, son of Mandrokles. The largest number of marble kouroi date to the Late Archaic period, when this type seems to have been in some demand by the local elites, as a status symbol. Marble kouroi come from various centers, including Leontinoi, Grammichele, Megara Hyblaia, and Syracuse. It is debated whether these marble statues were imported from Greece already finished or whether they were carved or simply finished at their final destination, by local workshops or itinerant sculptors from Greece. Greek sculptors were already on the move during the Archaic period, and it is not unlikely that the new demand for kouroi in Sicily during the Late Archaic period attracted a number of them to the island. Turning to seated statues, the limestone *kourotrophos* from the northern cemetery of Megara Hyblaia (c. 550), featuring a seated woman with two children in her lap in swaddling clothes, suckling from her breasts, deserves a special mention (Holloway 1975: 34). In comparison with statuary, the evidence for votive and funerary reliefs in Sicily during the Archaic period is fairly limited.

Bronze figurines and vessels were used in large numbers in Sicily during the Archaic period, as votive offerings, burial goods, and for domestic purposes (De Miro 1976). Some of these bronzes were imported, but some are probably local products, although no workshop has been securely identified on the island.

The Archaic votive deposits of urban and extra-urban sanctuaries in Sicily present an impressive amount of terracotta figurines, which continued to be both produced locally and imported, particularly from East Greece (Quarles Van Ufford 1940; Dewailly 1992). A characteristic form of terracotta production is represented by the *arulae*, small portable altars, often decorated with figures in relief, which were used in both sanctuaries and cemeteries (Van der Meijden 1993). The subject matter of *arulae* includes gorgons, animal fights, and mythological scenes, such as Eos and Kephalos. Another important type of terracotta figure, which became popular in later periods but first appeared around 500, is the female bust (Kilmer 1977). Busts generally come from sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, and they are thought to represent one of these two goddesses.

Turning to South Italy, and to architectural decoration, at the beginning of the 6th c. BC the use of relief friezes for the decoration of the geison revetment is apparent at various sites (Mertens-Horn 1992; Marconi 2007: 14–16; Osanna 2009: 157–175). At Metapontion, one frieze features the departure of a warrior, while another shows a religious procession. Fragments of friezes depicting the same scene come from Siris and Francavilla near Sybaris, pointing to a wide

circulation of molds. This use of terracotta friezes, which may have originally taken its inspiration from the Cyclades, came to an end around the middle of the 6th c., concurrent with the rise of monumental architecture in stone. By this time, the adoption of the Doric order favored the use of carved metopes, of which the earliest known examples are the 38 reliefs belonging to the decoration of the Temple of Hera I at Foce del Sele (Conti 1994; Greco 2001; Marconi 2007: 200–204). These metopes represent one of the largest galleries of mythological representations composed by the Western Greeks. While stone was regularly used for metopes or continuous friezes, terracotta remained the favorite medium for acroteria (Danner 1997), pedimental figures, and simas with lion's-head waterspouts.

Marble sculpture was rare in South Italy, but by the end of the 6th c. demand for it increased, as it had in Sicily (Steininger 1996; Adornato 2010). From Metapontion (de Siena 2001: 71–88) and Taras (Belli Pasqua 1995) come a number of more or less fragmentary kouroi and korai, which appear to have been predominantly used as votive offerings in sanctuaries. As was the case for the kouroi from Sicily, it is debated as to whether these marble statues were carved by local workshops or by immigrants: an unfinished kore from Taras of c. 500 shows that some carving did take place close to the destination of the imported marble. Acrolithic statues were particularly popular in South Italy between the Late Archaic and the Classical periods (Häger-Weigel 1997). Several probably served as cult images, but some may have had a votive function. In addition to marble, polychrome terracotta was often used for statuary throughout the period (Holloway 1975). Literary sources mention the names of bronze sculptors from South Italy who were of great renown and took commissions in Greece, including Klearchos of Rhegion (c. 550–500 BC). Unfortunately, there is only one extant bronze statue from our region, the small Zeus from Ugentum (c. 530), probably made at Taras (Rolley 1994–1999: I 301–303). Dedicated in a native, Messapian sanctuary, and installed on top of a Doric column, the statue features the striding god holding a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his extended left hand.

The Archaic period saw a significant increase in metalworking in South Italy. Workshops at various sites, including Taras and Lokroi, produced a significant number of bronze objects, including statuettes, vessels, mirrors, tripods, and weapons (Rolley 1982). The quality of these bronzes often made them suitable for export. The Archaic period also saw a significant surge in the production of terracottas (Orlandini 1983: 379–402). This surge was linked to the substantial increase in the dedication of figurines in urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, a ritual practice that had now extended to the inland, non-Greek

centers. In the first half of the 6th c., terracottas still retained Dedalic forms, but over time this 'sub-Dedalic' style gave way to updated forms of East Greek inspiration. One may mention the type of the banqueter reclining on a *kline*, or couch, holding a cup and a lyre. Because statuettes of this type have been found in both sanctuaries and tombs, the banqueter has been identified with either a god such as Dionysos or Hades, or with the heroized dead. As was the case in Sicily, *arulae* were also popular in South Italy, particularly at Lokroi.

With the advent of the Archaic period, concurrent with an increase in the number of imports, the local production of painted pottery decreased, in both South Italy and Sicily (Boardman 1998: 217–219; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 67–95). Chalkidian vases (c. 550–510 BC), a lively fabric of black-figure pottery of Attic and Corinthian inspiration, are a significant exception to this trend, as they were produced in a workshop based in a Chalkidian colony of the West, probably Rhegion.

19.4 Early Classical

In the years between the Archaic and the Early Classical periods (c. 480–450 BC), the architecture and the visual arts of the Western Greeks reached their zenith. The driving force was the tyrants of Syracuse and Akragas (Luraghi 1994), who engaged in an aggressive policy of territorial domination that led to a series of dramatic but successful confrontations, first with the Carthaginians, and then with the Etruscans. These tyrants were particularly interested in promoting their image as patrons of the arts, both at home and in mainland Greece, and, as a result, they sponsored both monumental architecture and sculpture.

In Sicily, Akragas offers the best evidence for city-planning (Mertens 2006: 315–323). In the first decades of the 5th c., the area south of the acropolis was divided according to a grid formed by six *plateiai* (main streets) running east–west and by a series of *stenopoi* (narrow streets), which generated long housing blocks by meeting the *plateiai* at right angles. The sanctuaries were located on the edges of the grid, while the agora was placed in the center. Literary sources are emphatic about the aqueducts which provided this city with a good water supply, going so far as to mention the name of the engineer, Phaiax, responsible for them. In South Italy, the plan of Neapolis (modern Naples), founded *ex novo* c. 470, probably resembled that of Akragas (Mertens 2006: 340–343).

Turning to monumental architecture, in Sicily three buildings have

traditionally been linked to the victory of Syracuse and Akragas over the Carthaginians at Himera (480): the so-called Temple of Victory at Himera, regarded as a memorial placed near to the battlefield, and the Temples of Olympian Zeus at Akragas and Athena at Syracuse (Mertens 2006: 258–273; Lippolis et al. 2007: 394–406). The Olympieion is unique, not only because of its colossal size, but also in its plan and particularly in its elevation, which included ‘atlantes’ supporting the entablature, the first instance of male supports in Greek architecture (Marconi 1997; Vonderstein 2000). The temples at Himera and Syracuse are very similar. Both buildings include a cella symmetrically placed within the peristyle, use the double contraction at the corners to solve the Doric corner conflict, and have the cella articulated into pronaos, naos, and opisthodomos. Additional similarities include the fact that neither temple has columns in its naos and both have staircases between the pronaos and the naos. These last two features were anticipated in the Late Archaic period, but in general the design of the temples at Himera and Syracuse was innovative, and set the canon for the Doric temples built in Sicily in the following decades. For the Early Classical period, Selinus offers the most interesting example of domestic architecture in the entire West, consisting of houses built entirely of ashlar masonry (Mertens 2006: 323–332).

In South Italy, two important Doric temples were the Temple of Hera Lakinia near Kroton, dated c. 470, the design of which probably took its source of inspiration from Sicily, and the so-called Temple of Poseidon at Paestum of c. 460 (Figure 19.2; Mertens 2006: 276–278, 283–295; Lippolis et al. 2007: 406–413). The latter has often been compared to the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Chapter 6), although its design owes much to the local architectural tradition. The Early Classical period saw the construction of an interesting Ionic temple, Temple D at Metapontion, dated c. 470 BC (Mertens 2006: 296–302; Lippolis et al. 2007: 415–417). This building has been explained by the presence of refugees from Ionia following the catastrophic revolt of the Greeks against the Persians (499–493). In the early 5th c., the *ekklesiasterion* at Metapontion underwent a renovation, and a similar, but smaller, structure was built at Paestum (Mertens 2006: 334–339; Lippolis et al. 2007: 418–419). This last building was placed in the center of the agora, and its function must have been eminently political.

Figure 19.2 The so-called ‘Temple of Poseidon’, Paestum. c. 460 BC
(© Jim Zuckerman/Corbis).



With regard to Early Classical architectural sculpture, figural decoration was still used on buildings in Sicily. The Olympieion at Akragas was decorated, in addition to the atlantes, with mythological scenes on both pediments, and the Temple of Victory at Himera and the Temple of Athena at Syracuse may also have carried sculptures. Once again, the best evidence for architectural sculpture comes from Selinus, where the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) (460–450 BC) deserve particular mention (Figure 19.3; Marconi 1994). Of the original twelve reliefs decorating the facades of the pronaos and opisthodomos, four are better preserved: those depicting the *hieros gamos* (sacred wedding) of Zeus and Hera, the punishment of Aktaion by Artemis, Herakles fighting the Amazon, and Athena killing Enkelados. As in the Archaic period, at Selinus the display of the pantheon of the city was as important as mythological narrative. Made of local limestone, with inserts in Parian marble for the exposed female parts, these metopes are good evidence for the diffusion of the Early Classical style in Sicily around 460. The Early Classical period saw a substantial increase in the use of lion's-head waterspouts on the simas of monumental temples (Mertens-Horn 1988). Rather than being confined to the corners, these lion heads were extended throughout the flanks. Unlike large, monumental temples, the decoration of smaller buildings included equestrian acroteria and antefixes.

Figure 19.3 Selinus, limestone metope from ‘Temple E’. Hieros Gamos between Zeus and Hera. c. 460–450 BC (Palermo, Regional Archaeological Museum ‘Antonino Salinas’ 3921B. Photo Scala,



Turning to Early Classical statuary, marble continued to be important in Sicily. From Akragas come the statue of an ephebe (480–470 BC), which bears some resemblance to the Kritios Boy (Bell 2005), and the fragments of a group featuring a dying warrior (c. 470–460 BC), probably from a votive dedication (Adornato 2003). The most important statue, however, comes from the Phoenician center of Motya (Bonacasa and Buttitta 1988; Bell 1995; Pavese 1996). This sculpture represents a young man with a powerful athletic physique, wearing a long, diaphanous chiton. The figure stands with his weight on his left leg, his head turned three-quarters to the viewer's right. His left hand is placed on his hip in a display of self-confidence, while his right arm was raised above horizontally. The dating, identification, and original provenance of this statue are all debated, but the sculpture most likely dates to c. 460 and depicts a charioteer. This may not be a coincidence, since, in this period, chariot races enjoyed great popularity in Sicily. The sculptor of the so-called 'Mozia

Charioteer' was clearly familiar with the sculptural trends in the Cyclades and Attica (see [Figure 5.3](#)). Such interest in marble did not affect the production of terracotta statues, which were still popular. The local production of bronze sculpture, though apparently not first-rate, is attested by the bronze ephebe from Selinus of c. 460–450 (Rolley 1994–1999: I 303–304).

Bronze statuettes and vessels were still in demand in Sicily during the Early Classical period, and the same holds true for terracottas, for which one may mention a series of busts from Grammichele (c. 470–450) (Kilmer 1977) and a group of pinakes from Francavilla (c. 470–450) (Spigo 2000a, 2000b), similar to the better-known examples from Lokroi.

Turning to South Italy, and to architectural sculpture, there is some evidence for both limestone and terracotta figural decoration in the Early Classical period, but it is mostly fragmentary. In statuary, the interest in marble that started in South Italy with the Late Archaic period continued throughout the Early Classical. The enthroned goddess now in Berlin (c. 470–460 BC) is one of the best examples (Rolley 1994–1999: I 384–385). Stylistically, this statue is remarkable for its combination of Late Archaic and Early Classical traits. There are also several acrolithic statues documented for this period, such as the so-called Ludovisi Acrolith of c. 460, found in Rome and generally thought to have come from Lokroi (Häger-Weigel 1997: 115–146, 260–261). As was the case in Sicily, terracotta was often still used for statuary. In the Early Classical period, one of the leading Greek bronze sculptors of the 5th c., Pythagoras of Samos, who moved to Rhegion to work with Klearchos (Rolley 1994–1999: I 338), flourished in South Italy. Pythagoras was best known for his representations of athletes, and from literary and epigraphical sources we learn that his work was found in Greece, Sicily, and South Italy. Unfortunately, no original or Roman copy can be safely associated with Pythagoras and so his artistic personality remains shadowy.

In the Early Classical period, the coroplastic arts continued to flourish in South Italy, particularly at Lokroi, Medma, and Taras. Lokroi has provided the most interesting type of terracotta from this period, the pinakes from the sanctuary of Persephone (Mannella) dated c. 470–450 (Cardosa et al. 1996–1999; Grillo et al. 2000–2003; Barelllo et al. 2004–2007). Mold-made and originally enlivened by a rich polychromy, these tablets feature a large variety of subjects connected with the myth and cult of Kore-Persephone.

The so-called Tomb of the Diver at Paestum of c. 480–470 offers unique evidence for 5th c. free-painting in the Greek world ([Figure 8.2](#)). The slabs lining this grave were painted using rich, flat colors, with scenes depicting a banquet on the walls, and a young man diving

into a river on the lid. This last image has often been credited with an allegorical meaning, alluding to the passage of the deceased into the afterlife. The inspiration for this use of wall- paintings may have come from Etruria.

19.5 High Classical

In the decades which followed the fall of the tyrannies in Syracuse and Akragas (c. 450–400 BC), Sicily and South Italy continued to flourish. These relatively prosperous conditions, which were only challenged by the Athenian expedition (415–413 BC), came to an abrupt end towards the close of the 5th c. BC. In Sicily, this was due to the devastating impact of the Carthaginian invasion; between 409 and 406, a span of only four years, the Carthaginian armies managed to seize and destroy five major Greek colonies: Selinus, Himera, Akragas, Gela, and Kamarina. In South Italy, the close of the 5th c. saw increased tensions between natives and Greeks, often to the detriment of the latter.

Regarding city-planning in Sicily, the evidence for this period is concealed by the later 4th c. phases. Thurii (444–443), a Panhellenic foundation led by Athens, should be considered the most important case of urbanism in South Italy (Mertens 2006: 361–367; Greco 2009). Built upon the remains of Sybaris, the layout of Thurii is described at some length by Diodoros (12.10–11), who refers to the city as having an orthogonal plan, with plateiai meeting each other at right angles and with stenopoi subdividing the resulting areas into housing blocks. Literary sources mention Hippodamos as one of the colonists of Thurii, and he has consequently been regarded as the author of this layout (see Chapter 6). Restoring the plan of Thurii has proved difficult, except perhaps for the proportions of the housing blocks, which were unusually short by Western Greek standards.

A discussion of monumental architecture in Sicily must begin with the impressive series of peripteral temples built at Akragas (Mertens 2006: 381–399; Lippolis et al. 2007: 413–414, 481–484). These temples were powerful symbols of the prosperity achieved by this city in the second half of the 5th c. BC, due, according to later literary sources (Diodoros 13.81.4–5), to the export of olives and wine to Carthage. In contrast with the Olympieion, a hubristic building sponsored by the tyranny, this new generation of temples at Akragas displayed standard dimensions and uniformity of size and plan, and lacked figural decoration. After the fall of Akragas's tyrants, the city was run by a democratic government: the new trend in temple

architecture is consistent with this change of regime. The best-known among the temples of Akragas are the so-called Temple of Hera Lakinia of 460 BC and Temple of Concord of 440, both of which have been attributed to the same workshop. These temples each have a colonnade of 6×13 columns, and each has the cella placed symmetrically within the peristyle. In addition, both buildings make use of the double contraction, though they lack optical refinements such as the curvature of the stylobate and the inclination of the columns. The canon set by these two temples was followed not only at Akragas, but also at Selinus and Segesta (Mertens 2006: 400–416; Lippolis et al. 2007: 484–448). In contrast with Sicily and with earlier periods, in South Italy the Classical period saw little monumental building.

Turning to sculpture, in Sicily the use of figural decoration was generally avoided on monumental stone temples of the High Classical period. The evidence for statuary is limited but remarkable. A case in point is the so-called Getty Goddess (c. 410), one of the best examples of Greek stone statuary of the High Classical period, which may have served either a cultic or a votive function (Cult Statue 2007; Marconi forthcoming). This statue, which combines limestone for the torso with Parian marble for the extremities, depicts a goddess with a mature body, wearing a chiton and himation. In the absence of her attributes, the figure has been variously identified as Aphrodite, Demeter, Persephone, or Hera. The contrapposto of the pose and the treatment of the drapery are characteristic of the so-called Rich Style. Its artist was clearly familiar with contemporary Athenian sculpture of the generation after Pheidias, but the pseudo-acrolithic technique appears characteristic of Sicily, and the limestone comes from the southeastern part of this island. The statue must come from Sicily, and Morgantina seems a likely provenance (it has recently been relocated to the Aidone Museum). While the evidence for small bronzes is limited, coroplastic production was still going strong in Sicily during this time.

From Sicily may have come one of the most important Greek painters of the 5th c.: Zeuxis from Heraklea (c. 430) – thought to be Heraklea Minoa – who produced a series of paintings for cities in Sicily and South Italy before moving on to Athens and Macedonia (see Chapter 8).

For a good part of the 5th c. BC, red-figure vase-painting in South Italy and Sicily was very limited. The situation changed between 440 and 430, when production started at various centers in South Italy, causing a decline in imports from Athens. The first Sicilian red-figure vases (Trendall 1967, 1989; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 165–171), which date to a few years later (c. 410), are so close to contemporary

Attic vases that they have been credited to captives of the Athenian expedition. An alternative view holds that these vases should be attributed to painters who had left Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The first early Sicilian red-figure artist is the Chequer Painter, whose style closely resembles that of the Jena Painter in Athens. One of his pupils, the Dirce Painter, established the main traits of the Sicilian fabric, and was one of the forerunners of Campanian and Paestan vase-painting.

In South Italy, the main evidence for architectural sculpture consists of two marble statues from Lokroi, featuring the Dioskouroi (c. 400), and serving as the decoration of the Ionic temple (Rolley 1994–1999: II 195–196). Acrolithic sculpture offers the best examples for statuary, including the Cirò Apollo dated c. 430 (Despinis 2004: 274–276). Found in the cella of the Temple of Apollo Alaios near Kroton, this sculpture was probably commissioned to complement an earlier cult image of the god.

In the 5th c. BC, Lokroi became one of the main centers for the production of many types of metal objects, including mirrors, candelabra, and appliques (Orlandini 1983: 443–457). The main demand for these bronze objects came from the local oligarchy. The mirrors were often placed in tombs of young women. Particularly remarkable is an example of c. 400 BC featuring Elektra mourning over the tomb of Agamemnon, a subject that reflects the popularity of drama in this region towards the end of the 5th c. Scenes from drama were also depicted on *arulae*, one of the most characteristic forms of coroplastic production of this period (Paoletti 1982).

As in the case of the work of Zeuxis, the paintings displayed in public settings in South Italy and mentioned by literary sources are entirely lost to us. There is, however, some evidence for tomb decoration, at both Greek and non-Greek centers (Pontrandolfo 2002). As for vase-painting, the theory of a connection between the installation of red-figure workshops in South Italy and the foundation of Thurii awaits archaeological confirmation (Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 97–99). The earliest South Italian workshop belonged to the Pisticci Painter, an Early Lucanian artist whose earliest work closely resembles Attic vase-painting of the 430s (Trendall 1967, 1989: 18–19; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 99–111). A few years later, Early Lucanian vase-painting found its own way, thanks to the work of the Amykos Painter, who was the most productive and important artist of this phase, with an interest in mythological narrative. It remains unclear whether the workshops of Early Apulian vase-painters were already located in Taras (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978–1992; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 119–129). The beginning of red-figure vase-painting in Apulia may date to only a few years after its introduction in

Lucania. The work of the first vase-painters is characterized by close similarities with Attic models, and by a predilection for large vases and mythological subjects. At the head of early Apulian vase-painting stands the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, but the best representative of this first generation is the Sisyphos Painter.

19.6 Late Classical

After a period of stagnation, the 'Age of Timoleon' (344–337 BC) saw the revival of Greek Sicily. This was due both to the containment of the Carthaginians and to the arrival of new settlers from South Italy and the rest of the Greek world. The repopulation of the island stimulated economic growth and urban development, which both continued after the death of Timoleon. In South Italy, the Late Classical period saw the political leadership of Taras, which flourished under Archytas during the first half of the 4th c. Taras took control over the Italiot League and was able to repel attacks from Dionysios I (405–367), the tyrant of Syracuse, and from the native populations, particularly the Lucanians.

In Sicily, the depopulation and economic depression caused by the Carthaginian invasions at the end of the 5th c., and the military and political instability of the following decades, were not favorable for urban development. The economic revival under Timoleon (344–337 BC) prompted a new phase of monumental building, and according to literary sources (Diodoros 16.83.1–3), temples were restored, theaters and other public buildings were enlarged or built *ex novo*, and fortifications were rebuilt or erected for the first time. Rebuilding and new planning are archaeologically documented at various sites, particularly at Heraklea Minoa, Gela, and Kamarina (Di Vita 1996). In South Italy, Laos offers the most interesting instance of city-planning (Greco 1996). Laos was a sub-colony of Sybaris and was occupied by the Lucanians and systematically rebuilt in the second half of the 4th c. BC, following an orthogonal plan. In spite of this adoption of a typical Greek layout, the domestic units of Laos were unusually large (700–800 m²), pointing to their use for extended family groups.

The military events towards the end of the 5th c. BC, coupled with the depopulation and economic depression of the following decades, explain the new trend in monumental architecture, where an interest in fortifications overshadowed temple architecture. Thus, at Syracuse, the experience of the siege by the Athenians resulted in the construction of a large system of fortifications, which included the plateau of Epipolai (Mertens 2006: 424–432). This impressive wall

was built under the initiative of Dionysios I, within a short span of time (c. 401–398). Only known from literary sources are the palace in Ortygia and the agora in Achradina built by this same ruler. In South Italy, the walls of Lokroi and Hipponion confirm that with the advent of the 4th c., fortifications had become critical in the West (Tréziny 1996). As was the case in Sicily, no new monumental temples were built, although efforts were made to preserve existing ones.

The difficult political and economic situation of Sicily during part of the 4th c. BC is reflected in its limited record concerning the visual arts. One exception is the coroplastic production (Bell 1972; Portale 2000b). A series of busts from Akragas are reminiscent in their style of late 5th c. Sicilian art. These busts were probably made in the second half of the 4th c., during a phase of revival of the High Classical style. Another partial exception concerns vase-painting (Trendall 1967, 1989: ch. 7; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1986; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 171–179). The instability of the first half of the 4th c. limited the manufacture of painted pottery, but the revival under Timoleon led to an increase in its production. In this new phase, the Sicilian fabric was characterized by uniformity of shapes, subject matter, and decoration. The vases have been divided into three groups, named, based on their areas of provenance, the Lentini-Manfria Group, the Etna Group, and the Lipari Group. Characteristic of the subject matter of Sicilian vases is their emphasis on women and on the private world of the bride.

As was the case in Sicily, terracottas and red-figure vases were also the two main productions in the visual arts of South Italy during the Late Classical period. Some terracottas display the same classicizing approach found in Sicily. A striking example is the group of the so-called Orpheus and the Sirens, at the Getty (J. Paul Getty Museum 2002: 116–117). This group features a man flanked by two sirens, seated on a chair, holding a plectrum in his right hand and, originally, plucking the strings of a kithara with his left. The presence of sirens suggests that the original context of the group was funerary, probably a chamber tomb in a non-Greek center in the hinterland of Taras.

Turning to painting in South Italy, one should first mention an interesting series of wall-paintings from Paestum that decorated the tombs of the members of the Lucanian elite from the period after the Lucanians had conquered the Greek colony (Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992; Cipriani et al. 1997; Andreae and Schepkowski 2007). The style of these paintings is generally Greek, but the needs of the patrons emerge in the subject matter. Many of the paintings depict the games held in celebration of the dead or the funeral. Other paintings privilege an idealized presentation of the dead, featuring scenes of the return of the warrior or of women spinning.

The production of red-figure vases in South Italy became particularly consistent in this period. To the second generation of Lucanian vase-painters (Trendall 1967, 1989: ch. 3; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 111–117) belong the Anabates, Kreusa, and Dolon Painters. This group, active in the first quarter of the 4th c. BC, was based in Metapontion, as is revealed by excavations in the local Potters' Quarter. After about 375, vase-painters moved to inland centers, and in the second half of the century production declined. An exception is the Primato Painter, who was probably based in Anzi or Armentum.

At Taras (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978–1982; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 130–163), the Tarporley Painter and the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, two artists of the second generation active in the first quarter of the 4th c. BC, represent two distinct trends within Apulian vase-painting, called, respectively, the Plain and Ornate Styles. These styles can be regarded as two distinct ways of approaching the decoration of vases, depending on their size. Vases of the Plain Style consist mainly of bell- and column-kraters, hydriai, pelikai, and smaller vases. These vases are decorated with simple compositions, containing a maximum of four figures, and favorite subjects are the world of Dionysos, scenes of daily life, and single heads. By contrast, vases of the Ornate Style are usually larger, generally volute-kraters, amphorae, and loutrophoroi. Besides a rich ornamentation, these vases are decorated with elaborate compositions, which can include twenty or more figures arranged on different levels. The subjects are mythological and, starting c. 360, funerary. A particular group of vases created in Apulia in the early 4th c. is the so-called 'phlyax' vases (Figure 19.4). Named after their decoration with scenes from phlyax plays (a burlesque dramatic form characteristic of this region) and Attic comedy, these vases feature actors performing on stage, with their costumes and masks (see Chapter 28). These phlyax scenes are later found on Paestan and Sicilian red-figure vases. In general, the popularity of Attic drama – both comedy and, particularly, tragedy – in South Italy and Sicily remained significant throughout the Late Classical period, and this is often reflected in the subjects chosen for the decoration of the vases (Todisco 2002, 2003; Taplin 2007). The trend in Apulian vase-painting towards monumental vessels with elaborate decorations reached its height with the work of the Darius Painter (c. 350–320 BC). His workshop painted a series of Underworld scenes, which show several characters, including gods, heroes, demons, and sinners, gathered around the palace of Hades and Persephone. In its first phase, the demand for Apulian vases came primarily from Taras. In this city, painted pottery was used at *symposia*, for cultic activities, and as part of funerary

ritual, including the use of large vases as grave-markers. The funerary use of Apulian vases appears to have had some bearing on their subject matter (Giuliani 1995). This is evident in the case of the representations of the Underworld, but such a connection might also be posited for Dionysiac subjects, given the association of Dionysos with beliefs about the afterlife. Some other mythological scenes may also have had an allegorical meaning within the context of funerary ritual. Indeed, the mourning of Niobe over the loss of her children may have been intended to console the bereaved, while the liberation of Andromeda by Perseus may have served to point out the beauty (Andromeda) or the courage (Perseus) of the deceased. The assimilation of Greek social practices by the non-Greek populations led to a wide circulation of Apulian vases in the inland centers, which in the end became the main importers of these vessels. This helps explain why, in the second half of the 4th c., some Apulian artists left Taras for inland centers, such as Ruvo and Canosa. A case in point is the Baltimore Painter, the last great representative of Apulian vase-painting, who was active towards the end of the 4th c.

Figure 19.4 Apulian red-figure 'phlyax' vase. Chiron and Apollo. c. 380–370 BC (London, British Museum F151. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Production of red-figure vases in Campania (Trendall 1967, 1989: ch. 5; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 195–202) started shortly before the middle of the 4th c. This production is attributed to three main fabrics: two based in Capua, and one later on in Cumae. Notable among the painters of the first fabric in Capua is the Ixion Painter (c. 330–320), who favored monumental vases with large compositions. The second fabric in Capua is best known for representations of Samnite warriors, which are also popular on vases of the third fabric, the one produced in Cumae. Evidently the local populations were counted among the consumers of Campanian pottery, though the style of its decoration remained essentially Greek throughout the period.

As with Campanian vases, the origins of Paestan vases (Trendall 1987, 1989: ch. 6; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 181–195) go back to early 4th c. Sicilian vase-painting. After Asteas and Python established its stylistic canons (c. 360–330), the Paestan fabric remained consistent, and generally closed to external influence, except for a later Apulianizing phase (from c. 330). The use of signatures by Asteas

and Python, some conservatism in the vase-shapes, and a preference for Dionysiac subjects are characteristic of Paestan vase-painting.

19.7 Hellenistic

In Sicily, the conditions of economic prosperity and urban development begun with Timoleon continued under Agathokles (317–289 BC). Agathokles, who confronted and defeated the Carthaginians, was the first ruler of Syracuse to style himself king. Under Hieron II (269–251 BC), eastern Sicily was the only part of the island that continued flourishing, thanks to the alliance between the Romans and the Syracusan ruler. Instead, western and southern Sicily was greatly affected by the fight between Rome and Carthage on the occasion of the First Punic War (264–241 BC). During the Second Punic War (218–201 BC), Rome conquered Syracuse (212 BC) and established its dominion over the entire island. Having become a granary for Rome and having been pacified, Sicily was relatively prosperous down to the end of the Hellenistic period. During this time, the island remained resolutely Greek and Punic.

In South Italy, the increasing pressure by the native populations forced Taras to call on a series of generals from Greece, including Archidamos III and Alexander I, King of Molossia, for help. Ultimately, in 282, Pyrrhos was called upon for help against the Roman conquest, but without success, and in 272 Taras fell to Rome. The occupation of South Italy by Rome did not favor prosperity and towards the end of the 3rd c. BC, the Hannibalic War brought devastation and economic crisis to most of this region.

As regards urbanism, Syracuse underwent the most significant changes in Sicily during the Hellenistic period, due to its transformation into a royal capital under Agathokles and Hieron II (Lehmler 2005). A royal palace was built on Ortygia, and the city was expanded on the mainland. The theater and the Great Altar of Zeus Eleutherios, built by Hieron II, are the two most important landmarks from this period.

In South Italy, the building activity that started in the Late Classical period at various centers continued for several decades, conforming to the pre-existing plans. These plans also provided the framework for urban development during the Roman period. A case in point is Paestum, where a Latin colony was founded in 273 (Pedley 1990; Greco et al. 2000; Crawford 2006): the old street system was retained and the temples were preserved, but the civic center was radically transformed by razing the agora and building the forum in

its place.

In Sicily there was a greater interest in civic, rather than religious, architecture. Favored types were the stoa, used for political and commercial functions, the theater, for spectacles and public assemblies, and the *bouleuterion*, for the meetings of the civic council. The best example is provided by the agora of Morgantina (Bell 1999), which under Hieron II was furnished with an impressive series of buildings, including three stoas, a *bouleuterion*, a theater, two public granaries, and a monumental fountain. The Hellenistic period also saw significant developments in domestic architecture. The elites were more ostentatious than before, and they came to favor the peristyle house, which is found at various centers (Tsakirgis 1984; Dalcher 1994). Before the pacification imposed by the Romans, fortifications remained important (Tréziny 1996), such as the Euryalos Castle at Syracuse (4th–3rd c. BC) and the North Gate at Selinus (early 3rd c. BC) (Mertens 2003).

In South Italy, the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia near Kroton was provided with a *katagogion* (a residence for pilgrims) and a *hestiatorion* (a dining hall used for sacrificial meals) towards the end of the 4th c. BC (Spadea 2006). The nearby Sanctuary of Apollo Alaios probably received similar structures, but here the most significant project was the replacement of the Early Archaic temple with a stone building, whose plan surprisingly echoed that of its predecessor (Mertens 1993).

As regards sculpture, in Sicily the growing popularity of theater buildings was accompanied by the diffusion of atlantes and caryatids, which were used for the decoration of the proscenium at Syracuse, Iaitas, and Segesta. Atlantes also decorated the Altar of Zeus Eleutherios and Hieron II's lavish ship, the *Syrakosia*. Created at Akragas in the first half of the 5th c., these male supports seem to have become popular in Sicily during the Hellenistic period (Campagna 2004).

The only extant cult statue is the enthroned Zeus from Soluntum (c. 150–100), an over-life-sized sculpture carved in the pseudo-acrolithic technique (Bonacasa and Joly 1985: 296; Vlizos 1999: 32–34). Literary and epigraphic sources attest to the existence of portraits, including bronze ones, but only a few marble examples are preserved. Literary sources also mention the use of statues for the decoration of the royal palaces in Syracuse. The life-size bronze figure of a ram in Palermo, often dated to the early 3rd c. BC (but by some to the Roman period), has sometimes been identified as one of these sculptures (Bonacasa and Joly 1985: 292–293). However, the original provenance of this statue, once part of a pair of bronze rams decorating the entrance to the Medieval-period Maniace Castle, on the tip of Ortygia, remains unknown. The practice of displaying sculptures

in the royal palaces eventually was transmitted to private houses, as attested by both literary sources and occasional finds within residential quarters. During the Hellenistic period, the use of votive reliefs became widespread (Bonacasa and Joly 1985: 308–310). Some of these reliefs were of high quality, but the majority were quite simple, consisting of small, limestone tablets; these were originally inserted in niches cut in the perpendicular walls of quarries.

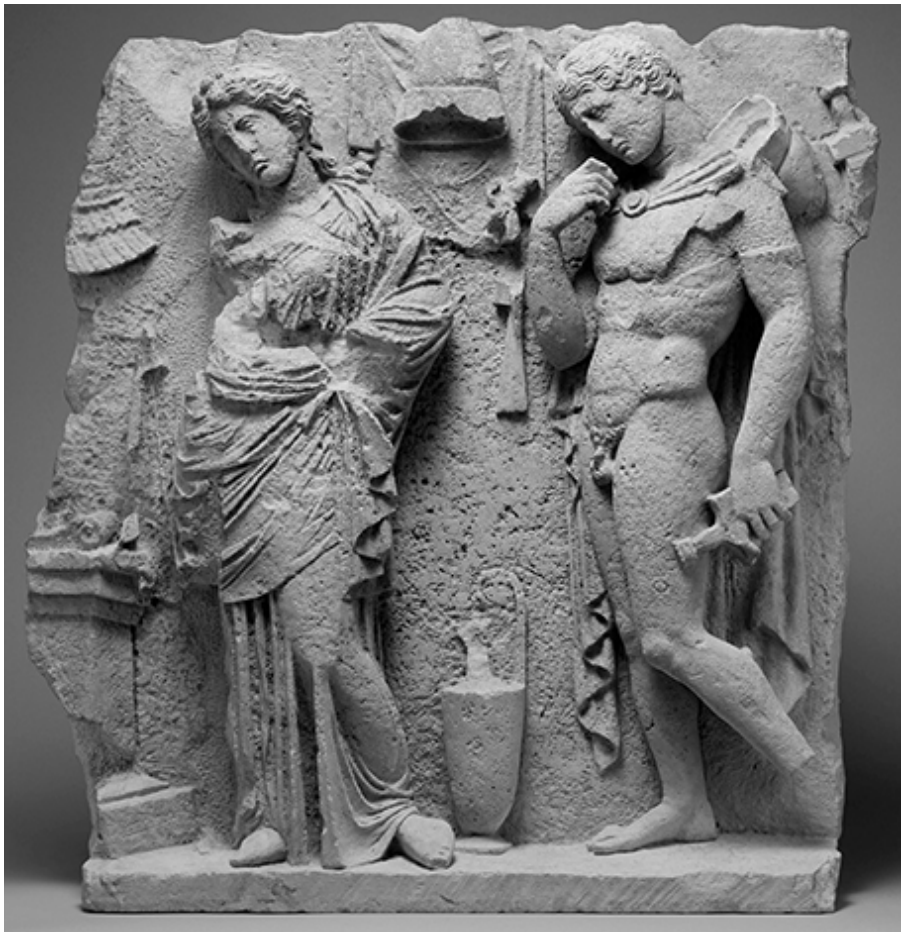
The coroplastic art continued to flourish in Sicily during the Hellenistic period (Bell 1981; see Chapter 11), and terracotta figurines were now used not only in sanctuaries and tombs, but also in the domestic sphere. The local tradition of busts continued between the end of the 4th c. BC and the end of the 3rd. However, the 3rd c. saw the adoption of types common in the rest of the Hellenistic world. A case in point is the large diffusion of Tanagra figurines (cf. [Figure 11.4](#)), used not only as burial gifts, but also as votive offerings and within houses (Bell 1993). The theatrical masks from Lipari, locally produced between 370 and 252 BC, are the most interesting type of terracottas from this period (Bernabò Brea 1981). Inspired by both tragedy and comedy, and generally used as burial gifts, these terracottas attest to the strong connection between theater, the cult of Dionysos, and beliefs about the afterlife. Literary sources make reference to the importance of plate and jewelry in relation to both the rulers in Syracuse and the local elites. The scant evidence includes a spectacular silver treasury thought to be from Morgantina (Guzzo 2003). Some of these vessels were made at Taras, but a local Sicilian production should not be ruled out, particularly at Syracuse (Lippolis 2008).

Literary sources point to the importance of free-painting in Hellenistic Sicily by mentioning paintings inside temples (Cic. II *Verr.* 4.55.122–23) or in private collections owned by the local rich (e.g. Cic. II *Verr.* 2.34.83). All we are left with, however, is the decoration of buildings, mostly private, particularly at Gela, Morgantina, and Soluntum (Bonacasa and Joly 1985: 332–338). This decoration consists of mural paintings of the so-called First and Second Styles, and of pebble and tesserae mosaics, or simple *opus signinum*, covering the floors. One of the characteristic productions of the Hellenistic period was a type of polychrome vase manufactured at Centuripae (3rd–2nd c.) (Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 212–214). Features of the paintings applied to the surfaces of these vases include a pink background and the use of shading and highlights.

In South Italy, the largest body of evidence concerning sculpture consists of the reliefs – friezes, metopes, and pedimental sculptures – used for the decoration of funerary monuments in Taras ([Figure 19.5](#); Carter 1975; Lippolis 1996). These reliefs are carved in a local soft

stone, and they were originally covered with stucco and painted. The production of these reliefs may have started around 300, and it might have continued until at least the middle of the 2nd c. BC. While some reliefs depict quiet scenes at the tomb, the majority of them feature battles, such as Herakles and the Amazons, or the seizure of Troilos by Achilles. The Hellenistic period saw an increase in the production of terracotta antefixes in Taras, and they were now exported not only to South Italy, but also to Sicily (Orlandini 1983: 504–505). These antefixes depict the heads of a vast array of gods, goddesses, and mythological figures.

Figure 19.5 Limestone grave relief from Taras. Young warrior and woman in front of an altar (Elektra and Orestes?). c. 300 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art Fletcher Fund, 1929. Acc.n.: 29.54. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).



As for statuary, there is some marble sculpture from Taras,

including a series of female heads, some of which are acrolithic (Belli Pasqua 1995). The production of terracotta statuary continued, and includes a series of remarkable pieces from near Herakleia (Orlandini 1983: 501–502). From literary sources, we know of two bronzes made by Lysippos for Taras, but the only significant extant bronze is a statuette featuring one of the Dioskouroi dating c. 300 (Orlandini 1983: 501).

During the Hellenistic period, Taras was an important center for coroplastic production (Graepler 1997). The making of terracottas was not interrupted by the Roman conquest of 272 BC or the Hannibalic War, and it continued until the Late Republic. Some of these products have a local character, like the pinakes featuring the Dioskouroi, which were used for a local cult. In general, however, the prevailing types were those standard for the Hellenistic period, including draped women, dancers, actors, and images of Aphrodite, erotes, satyrs, and maenads. In Taras, terracottas were sometimes used as grave goods, particularly for the graves of children, and within this burial context they seem to have carried a symbolic meaning reflective of the age, sex, rank, and social role of the deceased. Between the 4th and the 2nd c. BC, Taras was also a major center for the production of metal vessels and jewelry, both of which were widely exported to the rest of Apulia, Lucania, and Sicily (De Juliis 1985; Guzzo 1993).

In the Hellenistic period, in Campania and Apulia, painting was widely used for the decoration of not only houses, but also tombs, the inspiration for which came from Macedonia (see Chapter 8). On the other hand, at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, the production of red-figure vases came to an end in both regions. After the conquest of Taras by the Romans (272 BC), the only significant pottery produced in South Italy was Canosine vases, a group of polychrome vases whose shapes belong to the native tradition, and which carry a rich decoration consisting of figures in relief and statuettes attached to the body of the vessel (Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 212–214).

19.8 Conclusion

For much of the 20th c., scholars have sought to define the principal features of the visual culture and architecture of the Western Greeks (see e.g. Langlotz 1965 and Mertens 1990). Among these features are a lack of *sophrosyne* (moderation), a preference for decoration and pictorial effects over structure and organic form, and an interest in realism and psychological expression. These features, which according to this trend of scholarship distinguish the visual culture and

architecture of this region from the rest of the Greek world, have sometimes been explained as the result of mixing Greek colonists with native populations (e.g. Langlotz 1965). Such an inherently racist interpretation is problematic, not least because it fails to acknowledge the general process of acculturation to Greek culture, including visual arts and architecture, of the native populations in both South Italy and Sicily. No less problematic, however, is the effort to define recurring features of the visual culture and architecture of this particular region of the Greek world. This can only be done at the cost of ignoring significant historical changes and differences that marked this region between the Geometric and Hellenistic periods: changes and differences which deeply affected the government, prosperity, and population of the Greek colonies. Among the Western Greeks, the course of art was particularly connected with the course of history; historical changes and differences greatly affected the production of art and architecture. At the same time, the bewildering variety of forms of visual culture from South Italy and Sicily is reflective of the significant variety of makers and consumers responsible for its production, and can therefore hardly be reduced to a few formulas.

If for a Plinian or art-historical tradition (Smith 2002) – ascribing the main motive force in ancient images to the creative interest of the artist – the art of the Western Greeks might sound provincial. For a historically based approach – exploring the links between art, consumers, and context – the close connection between the course of art and the course of history in South Italy and Sicily makes the Western Greeks a particularly rich and promising field of exploration.

FURTHER READING

Holloway (1991), Pugliese Carratelli (1996), Boardman (1999: ch. 5), and Bennet and Paul (2002) are all useful introductions, in English, to the art and archaeology of the Western Greeks. Berve and Gruben (1963), although outdated, remains one of the most comprehensive treatments, in English, of the monumental architecture in South Italy and Sicily. Also outdated but still valuable is the discussion of sculpture in Langlotz (1965), to which one may add Holloway (1975, 1991) and Boardman (1995). Also, see most recently Adornato (2010). Boardman (1998) and Trendall (1989) offer thorough overviews of vase-painting of, respectively, the Archaic and Classical periods.

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A COMPANION TO GREEK ART

Volume II

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PART IV

IMAGES AND MEANINGS

CHAPTER 20

Olympian Gods at Home and Abroad

H.A. Shapiro

20.1 Introduction

In the Archaic and Classical periods, almost all works of figural art, in sculpture and painting, depict scenes from myth, usually including one or more of the gods. It would therefore be foolhardy to try to survey the endless assortment of Greek mythological imagery in the visual arts in the space of this brief chapter. The recently completed, eight-volume *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981–1997) now makes it possible to find quickly most or all of the representations of every myth in extant Greek (and Etruscan and Roman) art. The subtle art of recognizing and interpreting the vast array of gods, heroes, and stories constitutes that branch of the study of Greek art commonly known as iconography. It is based on a combination of tools and techniques that range from the mundane matching of standard attributes with their bearers and wearers (thunderbolt for Zeus, aegis for Athena, club and lionskin for Herakles) to the nuanced understanding of mythological narrative in Greek poetic texts and the ways in which visual artists adapted and translated these stories into their own medium (Small 2003).

In order to explore a broad range of imagery within the compass of a single theme, this chapter will focus on representations that bring all (or most) of the Olympian gods together. The evidence will be temple sculpture and vase-paintings of the 6th and 5th c. BC, most of it from Athens. Since gods come in only two genders and markers of age can be tricky in dealing with immortals, differentiating clearly among a dozen gods could present a challenge to artist and viewer alike.

Images of the Olympian family of gods also raise other iconographical, historical, and religious questions: do the gods always come together for a specific purpose or action, as part of a larger narrative, or can the gathering be an end in itself? Since we know of corporate cults of the Twelve Gods, in Athens and elsewhere, does the gathering of the gods in art always have a religious significance, or can it be merely decorative? Finally, leaving attributes aside, what do the different groupings of the gods in different contexts tell us about their nature and function for the Greeks? This, too, is part of iconography.

20.2 The Gods on the Parthenon Frieze

Perhaps the best-known surviving depiction of the twelve Olympian gods is found on the east frieze of the Parthenon, completed about 432 BC (Berger and Ghisler-Huwiler 1996; Neils 2001; see [Plate 5](#)). It is also generally agreed that this monument established for the first time (at least in Classical Athens) a canonical list of the twelve. This would not be the first time that a work of sculpture shaped Greek religious belief as authoritatively as any poetic text. A generation earlier, the twelve metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia had established the definitive canon of the Twelve Labors of Herakles (Brommer 1986). For the Olympian gods, there was little doubt about which ones made up the essential core, ever since the time of Homer and Hesiod, but at the edges, there was room for doubt as to who was in and who was out. The Parthenon frieze, for example, established Dionysos as definitely in, while Hestia – whom most Greeks of the Archaic period would have considered an indispensable Olympian – was now out.

The twelve gods on the frieze are shown as six pairs, but the pairings range from the obvious to the seemingly random. Hera and Zeus (E29 and E30), at the left of the peplos scene, are the most obvious couple: husband/wife/brother/sister and parents of most of the others, either together (of Ares) or, more often, separately. The throne on which Zeus sits, alone of all the company, marks him as the Homeric ‘father of gods and men’, while the veil that Hera draws aside alludes to the ‘sacred marriage’ (*hieros gamos*) that unites them and to her role as patron of marriage. Alongside the couple stands a winged young woman holding out a wreath. She is one of two figures whose standing pose indicates that she is not counted among the twelve Olympians, the other being Eros at the far right end of the group. But unlike Eros, whose size, wings, and proximity to his mother Aphrodite

leave no doubt about his identity, this young female tests the limits of our iconographical skills. A case could be made for either Iris or Nike, both goddesses intimately associated with Zeus, the one as his messenger, the other as the symbol of his power and authority. To complicate matters, a third candidate has recently been proposed, Hebe, the daughter whom Hera will marry off to Herakles, her nemesis, after his apotheosis (Neils 2001: 164–165).

To the left of Hera and Zeus is the pair that seems most random: Ares (E27), a bit of his spear still clinging to his ankle, and Demeter (E28), holding the torch that alludes to her search for her abducted daughter Persephone. The randomness of the pairing (as if by process of elimination) is underscored by the fact that they are the only pair who do not seem to interact at all with one another. Ares's unusual pose, with hands clasping the drawn-up right knee, has been read as signaling his impatience to leave this tranquil gathering and get back to his natural environment, the battlefield, while Demeter's chin resting in her right hand suggests that her thoughts are far away, with her lost daughter. The pose and the torch direct our own thoughts both to Persephone and to her captor, Hades, the one member of this divine family who never joins his kinsmen on Olympos, but prefers to stay in his Underworld realm. At the far left, one youthful god rests his elbow casually on another, a picture of brotherly affection. They are Dionysos (E25), who may have held a painted *thyrsos* (fennel-stalk) in his upraised left hand, and Hermes (E24), whose *petasos*, or traveler's cap, sits in his lap. Numerous vase-paintings depict these two brothers sharing a drink or a picnic (Zanker 1965: 45–46), and Dionysos's relaxed and expansive pose here could make one think of the wine that was his gift to gods and men alike. He is also the only one of the group who sits upon a cushion, which marks him as the archetypal symposiast.

On the right side, just beyond the scene of the folding of the peplos, sits the garment's recipient, Athena (E36), accompanied by Hephaistos (E37). In an unusual touch, she has removed her aegis and placed it in her lap, as if to suggest that she is, like Hermes, 'off duty' on this occasion. The staff in the crook of Hephaistos's arm could be a discreet reference to his lameness, which is only rarely shown explicitly in Greek art (Brommer 1978). Most interesting is that the two turn toward each other in intimate conversation. Only a true Athenian would appreciate both the irony and the religious significance of this unexpected pairing. It was here on the Acropolis that Hephaistos and Athena had a fateful encounter that would have far-reaching consequences for the city and her people. The virgin Athena rejected Hephaistos's amorous pursuit, and when he ejaculated, the seed fell on the earth and engendered the divine child

Erichthonios, later king of Athens under the name Erechtheus. The subsequent reconciliation of the two surrogate parents portrayed here is echoed on many vases of this period, which show the Birth of Erichthonios, presented by Mother Earth (Ge or Gaia) to Athena in the presence of a proud Hephaistos (Reeder 1995: 250–268; Shapiro 1998). The child, most likely a boy, standing just behind Athena (E35), helping to fold the peplos (but cf. Palagia 2008, who argues for a girl), is a latter-day version of the boy Erichthonios, who is shown on Early Classical vases under the protection of Athena (Kron 1976: 73–75). Beyond this particular association, Athena and Hephaistos were always closely linked in Athenian life and cult, both patrons of artisans and craftsmen. Their joint worship in the Temple of Hephaistos overlooking the Agora was represented in the pair of cult statues by Alkamenes that were to be set up in that temple nearly two decades after the completion of the Parthenon (Harrison 1977).

To the right of this pair, an older and a younger god join in lively conversation: not brothers this time, but uncle and nephew, Poseidon (E38) and Apollo (E39). We can only suppose that their attributes – trident for Poseidon, laurel wreath for Apollo – were added in other materials (the drill holes for Apollo's bronze wreath can be clearly seen). The last pair comprises two goddesses, Artemis (40) and Aphrodite (41), of opposite temperament, the one a stern virgin and hunter, the other all about love and sex. Their relationship here is cordial but not close, as Aphrodite ignores Artemis and instead extends one hand, as if to point something out to her young son Eros. Equally significant is the pairing of the twin siblings Artemis and Apollo, though seated back to back and not engaged with each other at this moment.

That gesture of Aphrodite's is one of the clearest indications that the gods are to be thought of as present on Earth, as observers of the procession as it approaches, and as recipients of the ritual being enacted. Bringing the gods down from Olympos is a novel idea not seen before in Greek art and is typical of the bold vision of the designer of the frieze, who may have been Pheidias himself (see Chapter 6). That the gods seem to turn their backs on the ritual of the peplos has troubled many commentators, but has recently found a plausible explanation: if we imagine this portion of the frieze as the two-dimensional projection of a scene taking place in the round, then the peplos is at the center and the audience of gods grouped in two arcs (Neils 1999). The grouping embodies both Panhellenic ideas of divine genealogy codified by Hesiod (e.g. Zeus and Hera) and specific references to Athenian cult (Hephaistos and Athena).

Just a few years after the Parthenon was dedicated in 432 BC, an Athenian vase-painter conventionally known as the Kodros Painter

produced his own version of a partial gathering of the Olympian gods, in the guise of participants in a *symposion* (Figure 20.1; Carpenter 1995; Avramidou 2006). It is instructive to compare the groupings, once again in pairs, with those on the Parthenon. The closest parallel is Zeus and Hera: again she is veiled, as the goddess of marriage, only now Zeus reaches out tenderly to pull aside her veil. But here the similarities end. Unlike the intentional diversity of the frieze's pairs (two gods, two goddesses, several versions of goddess and god), each couple on the Codrus Painter's cup consists of a bearded god and his female companion. This means introducing three goddesses who do not number among the Olympians: Amphitrite beside Poseidon; Ariadne with Dionysos; and Persephone with Hades/Plouton. The placement of the latter couple in the cup's tondo may be a sly reference to their usual separation from the rest of the Olympians. This is not the only touch of subtle humor on the cup. While the standard *symposion* attendant, a beautiful servant boy, stands at the right on one side (labeled as Ganymede, cupbearer and sometime beloved of Zeus), on the other side he is replaced by a balding and not-so-beautiful satyr (Komos, or 'revelry') beside the reclining Dionysos. And what are we to make of the other pair on this side, Aphrodite and Ares? Aphrodite is the only one of the goddesses who does not share the *kline* (dining couch) with her partner, but rather stands demurely by the side, holding up a toiletry box (pyxis), as Ares reaches out one hand, as if inviting her to move closer. This is, of course, not a 'legitimate' couple, as are all the others (even Persephone, after her abduction, was regarded as Queen of Hades), but rather an adulterous pair, most famously celebrated (and mocked) in Demodokos's song to the Phaiakians in Homer's *Odyssey* (8. 266–366). Aphrodite's proper (if despised) husband, Hephaistos, is nowhere to be seen. Even Homer suggests that Hephaistos does not really partake in the banquets of the gods, but instead bustles around trying to make himself useful, more a servant than a member of the family (*Il.* 1.597–600). Nor are those Olympians included on the cup who had no partner at all (Athena, Artemis) or too many (Apollo, Hermes). Clearly the message of this gathering is very different from that of the Parthenon frieze. While the cup is suffused by the eroticism of the sympotic context, even if the nudity often seen at a mortal *symposion* is absent (see Chapter 27), the frieze presents a religious occasion, its solemnity leavened by the casual poses and conversations of some of the participants.

Figure 20.1 Athenian red-figure cup. A banquet of the gods. c. 440–430 BC (London, British Museum E 82. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



20.3 Gods on Earth: The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis

As different as the two contemporary gatherings of gods, carved on the frieze and painted on the cup, may be in mood and occasion, what they have in common is that there is no suggestion of a larger mythological narrative. Both images illustrate what one German scholar has famously termed *Daseinsbilder*, or ‘pictures of just being there’ (Himmelman 1959). But if we look for the origins of divine gatherings in Archaic painting and sculpture of the preceding century, we find that they are, in almost all cases, motivated by a narrative event. It is the Classical images that are the exception.

The best known celebratory occasion that was said to have brought all the gods together was the glittering Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the future parents of the hero Achilles. Two of the earliest Athenian black-figure painters whose names are known to us from their signatures, Sophilos and Kleitias, each produced majestic processions of the gods, in chariots and on foot, as they make their way to the home of Peleus for the wedding celebration. For many years, Kleitias, author of the great François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)) of the years c. 570 and now in Florence (see Chapter 30), was thought to be the originator of this motif, which fills the principal frieze of his multilayered masterpiece and continues around the entire circumference of the

krater. But the discovery in 1971 of the dinos by Sophilos now in the British Museum ([Figure 3.3](#)) proved that this artist might have created the motif about a decade earlier than the François Vase (Williams 1983). A comparison of the two versions reveals many subtle differences in the choice and grouping of the gods (Stewart 1983), but the underlying principle shared by both scenes is clear: as this is a ‘family wedding’ for one of their own (Thetis, who was compelled to marry a mortal man, Peleus, and perhaps received this splendid wedding in compensation), the disposition of the gods emphasizes their official status as one extended and harmonious family. Let us look at Sophilos’s version first.

Most of the gods ride in chariots, in pairs, and some are predictable: Zeus with Hera, Poseidon with Amphitrite, Athena with Artemis (the two spinsters). Ares arriving with his paramour Aphrodite would seem to be in questionable taste at a wedding (her long-suffering husband, Hephaistos, and his mule bring up the rear of the procession, as also on the François Vase). Apollo and Hermes might also seem an odd couple, if we recall their adversarial relationship (Hermes as the mischievous younger brother, stealing Apollo’s cattle while still an infant) portrayed in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. But since Hermes is here the elder (he is bearded, Apollo not), that story was probably far from the painter’s mind. Three Olympians are on foot and all, significantly, in the cluster that walks ahead of the chariots and arrives first at the house of Peleus: Demeter, Hestia, and Dionysos. This is our earliest indication that Hestia, who kept the hearth for the Olympian family, was originally considered an indispensable member. Whether or not Dionysos was ‘officially’ an Olympian at this time, he is surely important to the occasion, a stately figure carrying his gift of the vine, and he will be even more conspicuous on the François Vase, in the very center of the main frieze, carrying a heavy amphora and turning to look out at the viewer.

Though the equivalent frieze on the François Vase is less well preserved and more of the inscriptions are lost, it appears that most of the pairings of gods were the same (Cristofani 1981). Apollo may have shared his chariot with his mother Leto, who walks up front on the Sophilos dinos, rather than with Hermes, who is paired with *his* mother Maia further back in the line. Motherhood may be an even more important theme on both vases – looking ahead to Thetis’s giving birth to Achilles, who appears several times on the François Vase – than ‘couplehood’. The remainder of the divine guests comprise an assortment of minor goddesses: Muses, nymphs, Horai (Seasons), Charites (Graces), Moirai (Fates).

The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis would remain a favorite subject

for Greek art for more than a century, but the grand version bringing together all the gods did not outlive these two masterpieces by Sophilos and Kleitias. By the middle of the 6th c. BC, a very different treatment was introduced by black-figure painters, with the bridal couple together in their chariot, surrounded by only a handful of gods (Apollo playing his kithara is usually the easiest to recognize). This version better suited the rectangular frame of the amphora and hydria, the preferred shapes of mature black-figure, than the long procession circling the dinos and krater.

20.4 Warfare and the Gods

The Olympian gods come together on other occasions too. A century before the Parthenon frieze, the sculptors of the Ionic Siphnian Treasury at Delphi ([Figure 7.1](#)) created groups of gods on not one but two sides of the building, in radically different settings (Neer 2001). On the east frieze, a battle at Troy rages below, in the right half of the frieze, as the gods observe from Olympos, a motif that is astonishingly reminiscent of many scenes in the *Iliad*. Thanks to additional inscriptions first discovered in the 1980s, however (Brinkmann 1985: 111), we now know that the episode is not one told in the *Iliad* itself, but in a now-lost part of the Epic Cycle that continued the story of Troy after the death of Hektor. Antilochos, the son of wise Nestor, has been killed in a duel with the Ethiopian prince Memnon, fighting as an ally of the Trojans. Now Achilles and Memnon face off over the corpse of Antilochos, each seconded by a comrade, Aeneas on the Trojan side, perhaps Ajax behind Achilles. (An inscription also proves that Nestor stood at the far right, watching the struggle for his son's body). The gods do not surround the central action, as on the Parthenon frieze; rather, they are each on separate blocks to the left of it, yet their lively exchanges among themselves leave no doubt that their gathering is occasioned by the battle nearby. Eight gods survive, and the broken slab near the middle right suggests that perhaps two more have been lost.

Through a combination of inscriptions (four have been read, and there must have been more), attributes, and the Trojan War context, it becomes clear that the gods have literally 'taken sides', grouped around Zeus, who, as on the Parthenon frieze, is distinguished by his ornate throne. Those on the left side are pro-Trojan (Ares, Artemis, Apollo), while those on the right side are pro-Greek (Hera and Athena, the latter's aegis visible over her outstretched arm). Furthermore, the divine mothers of the two protagonists on the battlefield are present

to plead their cases before Zeus, depicted as mirror images of one another as each bends forward and stretches out an imploring hand: Eos the Dawn, mother of Memnon (the inscription survives) on the left; Thetis, mother of Achilles, on the right. As the viewer well knew, Achilles would soon kill Memnon in single combat, a scene repeated many times in vase-painting, often with the two frantic mothers watching from the sidelines (Figure 20.2). But here the outcome still hangs in the balance. Indeed, some scholars have completed the missing portion between Athena and Zeus with not only another pro-Greek god (probably Poseidon), but also Hermes standing before Zeus and holding the scales that weigh the fates of the two heroes. This motif, known variously as the *Psychostasia* or *Kerostasia* ('weighing of souls'), is in fact known from the vases that depict Achilles and Memnon and must have formed part of the episode as told in the lost epic. Zeus is ostensibly neutral, though the fact that he sits facing the pro-Greek faction, his back to the Trojan sympathizers, may hint at the eventual outcome.

Figure 20.2 Athenian red-figure cup. Duel of Achilles and Memnon, and *Psychostasia*. c. 520 BC (Rome, Villa Giulia 57912. By permission of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali - Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale).



Just around the corner from this scene, on the north frieze, is a gathering of (mostly) Olympian gods of a very different kind. Far from the petty, leisured divinities who observe mortal warfare like a spectator sport, these gods are caught up in the struggle of their immortal lives. The Gigantomachy, or Battle of Gods and Giants, is perhaps the only myth that finds all the gods roused to real action, a story that was Panhellenic in its appeal (hence well suited to the sanctuary at Delphi) but also had a special resonance in Athens (Vian 1952). From Hesiod's *Theogony* (185–186) we learn of a race of giants,

born from the earth (Gaia), who stormed the citadel of Mt Olympos to try to overthrow the dominion of Zeus. In the effort to defend against them, no god – or goddess – could stay aloof, and the teamwork on display is in striking contrast to the frequent polarization and bickering of the gods, as on the neighboring east frieze.

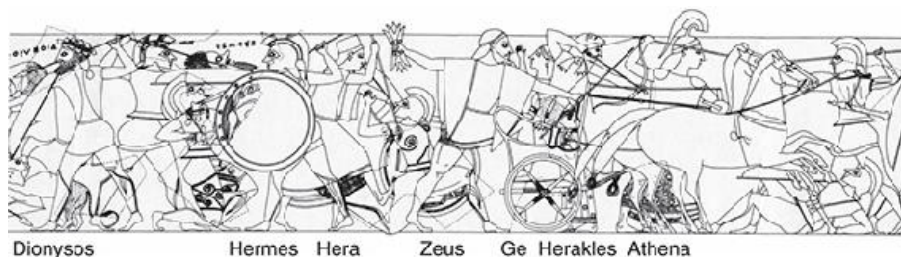
Twelve gods are fully or mostly preserved, and several more can be assumed to have occupied the now-missing sections in the middle and near both ends (Moore 1977). A few are clearly marked by attributes: Hephaistos's big bellows (for forging the gods' weapons) anchoring the left end of the frieze, Athena's aegis once again, Apollo and Artemis as twin archers fighting side by side; and inscriptions probably once identified all of them. The discovery of two more of these inscriptions in the early 1980s upended a century of discussion of the liveliest passage in the frieze and showed that the 'rules' of iconography are more flexible than we like to think (Brinkmann 1985: 123). In the left half of the frieze, a goddess drives a car drawn by a pair of lions who also join the fray, one sinking his teeth into the flank of a giant. Alongside the car strides a bearded male wearing the skin of a feline over his short garment, its paws tied over his chest. The lion-drawn chariot inevitably suggested Cybele, the Anatolian mother goddess who in Greece would become identified with the goddess Rhea or, more simply, be called Meter, the Mother of the Gods. But the question of just when she crossed from Phrygia into Greece has long been debated, and recent scholarly opinion has inclined toward a date well into the 5th c. BC (Munn 2006). The 'Cybele' of the Siphnian frieze was one of the arguments for an earlier arrival – until the inscription revealed the figure to be Themis, a goddess of the generation of Titans and embodiment of justice and righteousness. It then became clear that the chariot is not hers, but belongs rather to Dionysos, the god in the panther skin, as also confirmed by an inscription. Some earlier scholars had already recognized Dionysos (Lenzen 1946; Simon 1983), while others, mistaking the panther skin for a lion, had wanted to see him as Herakles, since a widespread version of the Gigantomachy story held that the gods could not prevail without the aid of the mortal hero who would one day join their company after his death and apotheosis. If Herakles was indeed included on this frieze, then he must have appeared in the missing central section, alongside his father Zeus, whose team of horses is to the right of the break.

Themis is not, strictly speaking, an Olympian, as she belongs to the previous generation, but her presence illustrates how conscious the designer of the frieze was of his setting. For Themis was believed to have governed the sanctuary at Delphi in the distance days before Apollo's arrival (Aesch. *Eum.* 2–4). Her essential presence among the

Olympians, especially as a wise counselor to Zeus, was already recognized by Sophilos when he included her among the wedding guests at the front of the procession, just behind Chiron ([Figure 3.3](#)). On that occasion, her advice to Zeus and Poseidon was to end their rivalry for the affections of Thetis and marry her off to a harmless mortal, as she was destined to give birth to a son greater than his father.

At the time that the Siphnian Treasury went up at Delphi (530–525 BC), the Gigantomachy had already been a favorite subject of Attic black-figure for a full generation. If Sophilos was the genius behind the grand gathering of gods for the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the creative force behind the Gigantomachy was the prolific and inventive painter of the next generation who signed his work as Lydos (‘the Lydian’; see Chapter 3). Early in his career, c. 560, he decorated a big dinos (the same shape Sophilos had favored) with a panoramic rendering of the Gigantomachy running entirely around the bowl ([Figure 20.3](#)). Although this once magnificent vase is now a mass of small sherds, thanks to a combination of numerous surviving inscriptions, a few attributes, and careful detective work (Moore 1979), we can be certain that almost all of the Olympians who would later become canonical on the Parthenon frieze participated: Zeus and Hera, Poseidon (assisted by Amphitrite, who drives his chariot), Hephaistos, Aphrodite, Ares, Hermes, Dionysos, Apollo and Artemis, and Athena. Only Demeter, the least warlike of the gods, is absent, as is Hestia, who must keep the home fires burning when all the others are away.

Figure 20.3 Athenian black-figure dinos. Gigantomachy. c. 560 BC (Athens, Acropolis Museum 607; reconstruction drawing by D. Weiss, adapted from M. Moore).



Herakles, who may or may not have been included on the Siphnian Treasury frieze, is certainly on Lydos’s dinos, and his position is especially significant. Drawing and aiming an arrow at a fallen giant, he stands between Zeus, who is mounting his chariot, and Athena on the far side of the horses, recognizable by her helmet. This threesome will recur on many Attic vases depicting the Gigantomachy that

include far fewer of the gods, and will become emblematic of the special place that Herakles held in Athenian belief (Schefold 1992: 56, fig. 59). According to Pausanias, the Athenians were the first Greek people to recognize and accept Herakles as a god, and in the moment of his apotheosis, as shown on many paintings and sculptures, it is Athena who escorts him to Olympos, and Zeus, his father, who receives him (Figure 20.4). Seen in this light, the Gigantomachy may have been a kind of prelude, one of Herakles's many services to the gods (and to his fellow men) that ultimately earned him a place on Olympos.

Figure 20.4 Athenian black-figure cup. Introduction of Herakles to Olympos. c. 560–550 BC (London, British Museum B 424. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



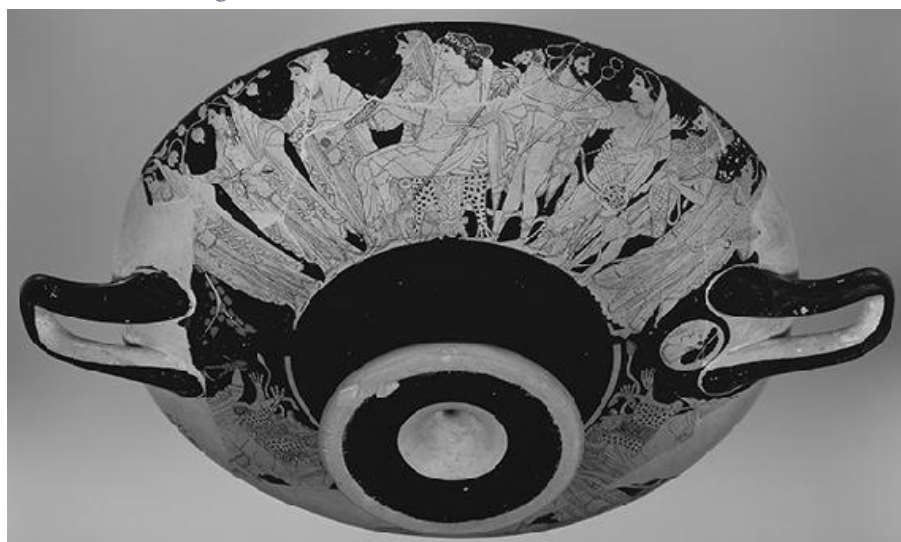
There is one other aspect of Lydos's dinos that makes it of unusual significance among early representations of the Gigantomachy: it was made to be dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, and may have been signed by Lydos as both potter and painter (Beazley 1986: 38). We may recall that before Sophilos decorated the dinos that is now in London (and had been exported to Etruria in antiquity), he painted another version of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on a second dinos for dedication on the Acropolis, of which only a few fragments survive (Stewart 1983: 58–59, fig. 4.4). What better gift for Athena than a splendid bowl that depicts her in the company of all the Olympian gods, whether at peace or at war? The same idea lay behind one of Athena's most precious gifts, the peplos that was presented to her every year (cf. the Parthenon frieze) and was embroidered with a scene of the Gigantomachy (Barber 1992).

20.5 A Hero Among the Gods

There is one last, happy occasion that brought the gods together, to

which we have already briefly alluded. In the earliest depictions of Herakles's apotheosis (Figure 20.4), of the second quarter of the 6th c. BC, the essential figures are Zeus and Athena. A small, gaily painted limestone pediment on the Acropolis of the same period adds Hera alongside Zeus, as well as Iris as the divine escort (Boardman 1978: fig. 194). Over the next half-century, the cast of characters steadily grew along with Herakles's importance to the Athenians, until his arrival in their midst became the excuse for some of the liveliest and most crowded gatherings ever seen on Mt Olympos. One of the best examples is on a red-figure cup signed by a painter known as the Sosias Painter (because he collaborated with a potter named Sosias) (Figure 20.5), a close stylistic companion of the great Euphronios – so close that it has been suggested they could be one and the same man (Tiverios 1977).

Figure 20.5 Athenian red-figure cup. Introduction of Herakles to Olympos. c. 500 (Berlin, Archaeological Museum 2278. bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB/Johannes Laurentius).



An uncharacteristically timid Herakles enters slowly from the right side, wearing his lion skin and displaying his club and quiver. Three of the Olympians escort the hero, a goddess on either side of him and Hermes in the lead, holding a live ram along with his *kerykeion* (caduceus) and looking back to make sure everything is all right. The goddess before Herakles should be Artemis, since a slender deer walks alongside her and she holds a tortoise-shell lyre that must belong to her absent brother Apollo. The goddess behind, who has slipped her right hand behind Herakles's back as if to nudge him along, ought to be Athena, though she is lacking her usual attributes, aegis and

helmet. She does, however, hold a long thin object that could be her spear.

The assembled gods have yet to acknowledge Herakles's presence, or indeed any of this foursome. On this side of the cup they include two matronly goddesses seated side by side, one labeled as Hestia, the other Amphitrite, though the latter inscription may be a slip, since Amphitrite clearly sits with her partner Poseidon on the other side of the cup. She should instead be Demeter (Simon 1981: 102–103). Poseidon and Amphitrite (who holds an unmistakably large fish) join Zeus and Hera, and the four are served nectar by Hebe, her resplendent wings filling much of the empty space. The other gods on this fragmentarily preserved side include Dionysos and his companion (Ariadne?) as well as Ares and Aphrodite (both names preserved).

Thus the only god missing, besides Apollo, is Hephaistos. There would have been plenty of room for both of them on the Herakles side, but the painter has chosen instead to fill the left end with a trio of goddesses holding branches of fruit: the Horai, or Seasons. From the time of Homer, they are known as guardians of the gates of Olympos (*Il.* 5.749). One last inscription deserves mention: alongside Herakles, '*Zeū phile*' ('Dear Zeus'), a cry of greeting to his divine father to announce the hero's arrival. The informality is a little startling, but it underscores the subtle humor of the scene. The hero has arrived as the gods sit down to a feast, and they seem more interested in the nectar being doled out, eagerly stretching out their phialai (libation bowls), than in the new arrival. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the abundance of food (ram, fish, fruits) is a nod to Herakles's notoriously large appetite (Simon 1981: 103), or perhaps it merely signals that the gods have augmented their normal diet of nectar and ambrosia in deference to the eagerly anticipated mortal guest.

The Sosias Painter has therefore not gone out of his way to represent exactly twelve gods, and his inclusion of both Hestia and Dionysos implies that this was never an either/or choice. Nevertheless, it is difficult to escape the notion that such elaborate scenes of the Olympian gods on vases of the late 6th c. BC are responding in some way to the recent establishment (in 522) of the Altar of the Twelve Gods by a member of the tyrant family, Peisistratos the Younger, in a prominent location on the north side of the Agora (Shapiro 1989: 133–141). No ancient author or inscription provides an authoritative list of these Twelve, because the point of the cult was that they were worshiped as a corporate entity (*Dodekatheon*). They did not need to be named. The designer of the Parthenon frieze retained the number twelve, which by then would have had a sacred aura, but for the first time 'spelled out' in visual terms who they were.

20.6 Epilogue: Gods and Mortals on the Parthenon

We have now come full circle, back to the Parthenon, which played such a key role in defining the images of the Olympian gods for the rest of antiquity, and not on the frieze alone. The base of the great gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos showed Pandora in the company of no fewer than twenty gods (Plin. *HN* 36. 18; Hurwit 1995). The east pediment had as its main subject the Birth of Athena (Figure 7.3), as we learn from Pausanias (the key figures are all lost), but the surviving figures make it clear that the ‘audience’ for this momentous event was none other than the rest of the gods, or as many as would fit in the awkward triangular space (Palagia 1993). The east metopes had the by-now familiar story of the Battle of Gods and Giants, but the panels have been so badly damaged that the identification of individual figures is far from easy (Schwab 2005). In order to fill the fourteen metopes without repeating a divinity, several seem to have been added: Herakles (as expected), Amphitrite on a metope adjacent to Poseidon, and – most surprisingly – Helios, the sun. As on the dinos by Lydos (Figure 20.3), Demeter remains aloof from the fray. Lastly, ancient sources tell us that there was yet another Gigantomachy inside the Parthenon, either painted or in low relief on the interior of the big bronze shield that rested against the statue of Athena Parthenos (Lapatin 2005).

If we imagine the ancient viewer standing before the entrance to the Parthenon at its eastern end, he/she would look up to see three iterations of the Olympian gods, at different levels and in very different contexts. Highest up, on the pediment, the setting is the peak of Mt Olympos. The new-born (but fully grown) Athena, to whom the temple was dedicated, stands beside her father Zeus as the other gods looked on in amazement and welcomed the newest member of the family. Just below, these same gods are roused to stave off their greatest challenge, fighting the giants on the slopes of Olympos to protect their eternal home. Athenians may well have been reminded of the Persians, who, a half-century earlier, had scaled the Acropolis and – though not beaten back that day – were ultimately repulsed with the help of the gods and some very shrewd commanders. Finally, lowering the gaze slightly and peering through the exterior columns, our viewer would see the gods come down to earth to receive the offerings of the Athenian people and guarantee their favor. The visual impression is of gods who mingle freely with the mortal parade and, as in Aphrodite’s casual gesture, behave like excited tourists in a foreign land. For the proud Athenians, it was perhaps like being transported back to the

Golden Age at the beginning of the world, when, as Hesiod describes it:

They lived as if they were gods,
Their hearts free from all sorrow ...
They took their pleasure in festivals,
And lived without troubles ...
prosperous in flocks, on friendly terms
with the blessed immortals.

Works and Days 112–120, trans.

R. Lattimore

FURTHER READING

The most comprehensive studies of the twelve Olympian gods as a group are those of Long (1980), Knell (1965), Shapiro (1989: 133–141), and Berger-Doer (1986). For a comparison of the treatment and grouping of the gods by Sophilos and by Kleitias in their versions of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, see especially Stewart (1983). For the gods on the Parthenon frieze, see the most recent study by Neils (2005b). Schefold (1992) is well-illustrated and touches on most of the themes discussed here as they are depicted in the art of the 6th c. For the Classical period, see Schefold and Jung (1981). The best treatment of the nature of each of the Olympian gods and their relationship to one another, with copious illustrations, is that of Simon (1997), in German; for an introduction in English, see Carpenter (1991).

CHAPTER 21

Politics and Society

Eleni Manakidou

21.1 Introduction

Creators of ancient Greek art were not just craftsmen (e.g. architects, sculptors, painters, potters, coroplasts, metalworkers), but also representatives of the social milieu, from which they received impulses and inspiration for their artistic repertoire, as well as specific orders for producing particular works of art on a practical level. This more or less holds true for all periods and regions of the ancient Greek world, without any temporal or geographical limitations. In investigating this relationship, we must always take into account the specific sociopolitical and cross-cultural conditions that have defined Greek society.

The multidimensional, symbolic value of Greek art, as well as the role it played in conveying political messages and in expressing social needs, has been pointed out repeatedly by scholars and must therefore always be taken into consideration by anyone who is studying ancient Greek civilization. The relationship between visual arts and political ideology which is sometimes evident, though in other cases somehow concealed, can often be traced in individual works of art, groups of official public monuments, or even private artifacts. Most certainly, this relationship is of primary importance for interpretation and further evaluation.

Numerous episodes from Greek mythology with gods and heroes, as well as scenes drawn from religious and everyday life, in which contemporaneous individuals (prominent figures or anonymous people) feature as protagonists, were part of the repertoire of Greek art. They were presented in a wide range of variations, anachronisms, symbolisms – sometimes even intentionally vague – and they were

reproduced in a multiformity of artistic expression. These divine, heroic, or even mortal figures, drawn, carved, or engraved on monuments and artifacts of every form and size, public and private, were meant to educate as well as entertain. As a result, their Greek audience was able to grasp the multiple, often concealed meanings of these artworks – such as the multilayered symbolism of some major public monuments, for example the Parthenon’s sculptural decoration (Knell 1990: 95–126; Neils 2001). These representations and visual embodiments provide us with a considerable amount of material, which, when combined with known historical facts, enables us to search further for information concerning their relevance within a specific sociopolitical context and their relationship to particular circumstances. We thus ameliorate our understanding of the role art played in the structure and organization of ancient Greek society.

Furthermore, the buildings themselves (secular, religious, and funerary), or the objects on which images are depicted, convey complex meanings which served the political aspirations of the elite class, as well as the social, economical, and cultic needs and expectations of the people. In several cases, the construction of public buildings or the offering of various monuments was motivated by specific important political, agonistic, or military events and can be seen as their reflection. In other cases, the motive is to be found in the dedicator’s social gratification or even in a desire to display wealth.

21.2 Burial and Cultic Evidence, Iconography, and Iron Age Society

Owing to the lack of written documentation, archaeological data shine a light on the so-called ‘Dark Ages’ (or Early Iron Age) and on the Geometric period, and are our best means for tracing social, political, and eventually economical and cultural structures and their interrelations (Whitley 2001: 78–98; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2008: 86–246). For instance, funerary evidence (the number and size of the cemeteries, the types of tombs, the grave markers and offerings inside and outside the tombs, the funerary practices and ceremonies honoring the dead) and settlement data (architectural remains of dwellings, both secular and cultic) provide us with the proper background for the study of the social and political structures of the early Greek world; they also offer us valuable information about

social stratification and the structure of the 'proto-polis' and its connections with other communities, both native and non-Greek.

Of equal significance to the study of social organization in this early historical period is the evidence deriving from the earlier phases, whenever they are detected, of certain major sanctuaries dating back to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. These suggest cultic continuity, in the same location, during subsequent centuries (e.g. Olympia, Delphi, Kalapodi, Achaia, Isthmia, Amyklai). Their geographical position, the pre-existence or not of older cultic activities, the organization of the cultic area and its contacts with adjacent settlements, the relevant excavation data, and the finds (vessels associated with food and liquid consumption, warrior and animal figurines early on; tripod-cauldrons, miscellaneous figurines as votive offerings, and a wider variety of recipients later on) all indicate a form of social coherence (Morgan 1999, 2009: 53–54). The existence of these 'congregation areas', where collective meals and cultic practices were held at a predetermined location and time, bear witness to the connection between religious and artistic needs. They also serve as evidence for subsequent changes concerning the organization of these sanctuaries brought by the passage of time and changes in religious or social conditions (Osborne 1996: 88–102; Morgan 2003: 107–163).

The homogeneity (a sort of koine) that significantly underlines Geometric art, concerning craftsmanship, know-how, typology, and iconography, allows us to recognize relevant 'common patterns' with similar characteristics underlying the political and social organization of the local Greek communities at that time. Since written and other historical testimonies to which we have access are both sparse and fragmentary, iconography constitutes a rather rich, albeit indirect source of information for the study of Greek society during that period. The artistic forms and media, mostly vessels and figurines, come from diverse workshops and have a direct connection to the locations where they are found, whether they are local products or imports. They belong mainly to burial assemblages and sanctuaries, and less frequently to settlements. Our extensive knowledge of the Early Iron Age cemeteries of Athens and Attica, due to systematic excavations in the areas of the Kerameikos, the Athenian Agora, and the Attic countryside, contributes not only to the study of Geometric artifacts but also to the understanding of funerary customs and eventually social organization. This material is therefore an invaluable source for the period between the 11th and 8th c. BC, providing us with adequate, useful information for statistical analyses and comparisons with other Greek areas (Morris 2000: 195).

Moreover, the earlier cemeteries of the settlement of Lefkandi in

Euboea (especially the graves containing elaborate and precious objects and the burials of the two distinguished dead in the ‘heroon’ – a male cremation and a female burial (Whitley 2001: 87, [figs. 5.3, 5.4](#); 95, [fig. 5.9](#); 119, [fig. 6.7](#); see Chapter 6) – offer plenty of information concerning the relations of this community with the Near East and with other parts of the Greek world (e.g. Thessaly, Northern Aegean). They also shed light on the circulation of valuable ‘exotic’ goods (from Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt) and other ‘symbolic’ artifacts (e.g. horse pyxides, model granaries, seals, jewels, weapons), which were destined for the local elite and were distributed to a restricted degree, as well as for a local king (*anax*), who possibly upheld political, religious, and military leadership, while being himself also a person of wealth. Moreover, the stratification of Geometric society and the specialization of artistic production are well attested through the exchange of valuable gifts and the ascertained presence of a kind of ‘proto-trade’ (Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006).

Contemporaneously with the cryptographic use of the Geometric decorative motifs, a series of iconographic patterns was being formed (Rombos 1988; Langdon 1997, 2008). Initially, these portrayed individual figures (horse, deer, mourning woman, and hoplite); yet in some areas, such as Crete, with a strong earlier tradition and close Near Eastern ties, we can already detect more complex scenes. From the Middle Geometric period, these include narrative scenes, such as the funerary *prothesis* and *ekphora* (see Chapter 24), battles on land and sea, rows of chariots combined with hoplites, dancers accompanied by music, and athletic and hunting scenes. In other cases, they form pseudo-narrative images (animal, chariot, or walking hoplite friezes). The presence of several nontypical figures or uncommon iconographical details (such as ‘Siamese twin’ warriors, Dipylon-type shields, rattles in the hands of seated men, a wrestling scene of a man with a lion, and scenes of shipwrecks; Snodgrass 1998: 20, [figs. 7, 8](#); 27, [fig. 10](#); 35–36, [fig. 14](#)) has enabled us to attempt specific interpretations of some of these representations. Whether these scenes can be correlated with contemporary epic poetry and known mythical episodes, or whether they originate from Eastern prototypes (pictorial and/or literary), has been a highly controversial issue for archaeologists studying Geometric art and society (Snodgrass 1998: 38, 164).

Undoubtedly, a people’s beliefs depend on their ancestral traditions and on phyletic differentiation, on stories they have heard (e.g. from epic poetry), and on the claims of the dominant class; however, in this early period they were characterized by many common features – the same koine that can be attested in visual arts. In particular, the cult of dead ancestors in older, pre-existing graves, and later various heroic

cults, mostly of local character, provide us with evidence of the close bonds between generations and of the intensity with which the past was alive in the present. Many practices revealed by unearthed burials (cremations, offering trenches, sacrificed animals, swords ritually 'killed' by fire and wrapped around the necks of funeral vessels, imported precious-metal objects, vessels, armor, jewels, and bones wrapped in cloth) have been traced to Homeric descriptions of heroic burials – even though these burials actually preceded Homeric poetry. The reuse of earlier graves, since Protogeometric times (mainly in the case of the Mycenaean chamber tombs); the deposition of ceramic and metal vessels, figurines, and other objects in them; the existence of circular platforms or grave circles above or around them (to serve collective meals): all demonstrate that the early establishment of tomb cult was related to the ancestors. They also underline the concern shown by the residents of a community or by a family's members for kinship or ancestral lineage and their need to preserve the memory of the dead (Antonaccio 1995).

The establishment of hero cults with eponymous or anonymous recipients in several locations (Lakonia, Argolid, Messenia, Attica, from the late 8th–7th c. BC) denotes some common characteristics. This concerns only a common tomb cult, but has a much wider impact on the cohesion of the community's members, and expresses, up to a point, a common sociopolitical ideology (Boehrer 2006). Heroes are not only attested in the Homeric epics, but also in the cities' 'mythical' pasts (local hero-founders: *oikestes* or *archigetes*); they are associated with the history, the traditions, the special conditions, and the necessities of a certain place (or primarily of a specific group, like *hetairoi*, priests/clergy, *oikoi*) and they put it under their protection. Their cult appears to have enjoyed a fixed and recurrent ritual, which can be more or less complex, and takes place at a given location (oldest grave, altar or *eschara*, grave circle, temple, dwelling, or sacred house). Ancestral cult, including that of local heroes, definitely strengthens collective memory and underlines unity, especially in times of crisis, while also having an impact on contemporary artistic creation.

The huge clay vases used in funerary practice as grave markers for the outstanding dead (Whitley 1991), and the large metal tripod-cauldrons, often with figural attachments, dedicated as precious offerings by the wealthy elite in the ritual practice at the Panhellenic and local sanctuaries (Papalexandrou 2004), are two characteristic examples of the eloquent association between social stratification and artistic production evident already in the Late Geometric period. At the same time, both groups carry distinct material and symbolic connotations, equally legible at home and abroad. These prestige

objects emphasize their owners' wealth, social supremacy, family virtue (*kleos*, *arete*), and religious piety.

If we consider that the dispute between 'elitist' and 'middling' cultural traditions (Morris 2000, 2009) is deeply rooted in the 'Orientalizing' movement, we can understand better the receptive attitude of the society and its embracing of many innovative artistic features, iconographic patterns, and cultic practices; and, to take this one step further, the formation of the city-state (*polis*) itself.

21.3 Tyrants, Aristocrats, and their Impact on Art in the Archaic Period

The 7th and 6th c. BC are characterized by intense mobility inside and outside the borders of the Hellenic world and by significant political and social changes. The formation and further development of the majority of Greek city-states played a decisive role in the flourishing of craft production and the shaping of different artistic categories according to local tradition and outside influences (Morgan 2003: 4–104). The appropriate conditions for the implementation of aspiring political and military projects, social acts, financial and religious reforms, and artistic creations were set and supported by several fundamental factors, such as: intense colonial activity, development of Panhellenic sanctuaries as communicational meeting points and places of political bonding and rivalry, establishment of first alliances but also of hostilities, and relations between aristocratic families at both the inner- and the intra-city level (Fisher and van Wees 1998; Dougherty and Kurke 2003; Shapiro 2007).

The early establishment and expansion of athletic games at the significant Panhellenic sanctuaries (Olympia 776 BC, Isthmia 680 BC, Pythia 586 BC, Nemea 583 or 573 BC), as derived from archaeological data and written testimonies, is a good example of the interests and claims of the adjacent cities, which placed them under their protection with the hope of keeping them within their sphere of influence. Functioning primarily as places of contact and confrontation for members of local and foreign aristocracy, they then evolved into places where the political power of the city-states was on display. The construction of treasuries (*thesauroi*), porticoes (*stoaï*), and other gathering and dining places (*leschai* and *hestiatoria*), combined with the dedication of monumental votives that were offered by cities

(*metropoleis* and colonies), had been known ever since the Early Archaic period.

Of similar importance were the numerous personal offerings, which sometimes resembled each other, and at other times varied considerably, in a remarkable range of types, materials, and sizes, according to the cultic demands and the social-financial status of the dedicators (Linders and Nordquist 1987; Whitley 2001: 140–146). A further testimony to the fame that such dedications provided to their donors are the frequent references in the ancient sources and the evidence from many inscriptions on luxurious offerings of kings and tyrants from the Eastern kingdoms and satrapies in the Archaic age – a practice which will be recalled in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. In particular, excellence in athletic games was often for the winners a definite means of achieving their political aspirations (e.g. Alkmeon, Kylon) and a reason for triumph in their city, thereby providing an appropriate occasion for private and public dedications.

The early interference of Panhellenic sanctuaries, especially of Apollo's oracle at Delphi, in the colonial activities of Greek cities is also noteworthy. In the case of Delphi, its role as a Panhellenic religious, political, and cultural center was decidedly marked by the establishment of the Pylian Amphiktyony's seat at this site, grouping the cities of Thessaly and central Greece probably already in the 7th c. BC. An analogous central position in the religious and social life of wider areas, promoting at the same time artistic production and the circulation of artistic goods, defines some peripheral sanctuaries too as places of cultural interaction (e.g. Heraion at Samos, the sacred precinct of Poseidon at Cape Monodendri as the seat of the Panionic Amphiktyony, Poseidon's sanctuary at Onchestos as the seat of the Boeotian Amphiktyony).

The iconography of the early Archaic period, with a prevalence of animal groups and monsters (*'deina pelora'*), generalized combat scenes (heroic battles, war chariots, duels), certain episodes from the Trojan Cycle, and several heroes attacking legendary hybrid creatures (Perseus versus the gorgons, Bellerophon versus Chimaira, Herakles versus centaurs, the Blinding of Polyphemos, the Hunt of the Kalydonian Boar), reflects political and military confrontations not only between cities but also between adversary parties from the same city (*'stasis'*). At the same time, these scenes express the citizens' wish for social order and the safety offered by the organized city-state as opposed to the instability and insecurity governing life outside it.

The tyrants' direct involvement during the Archaic period in the imposition, planning, and implementation of several monumental buildings – especially temples – and other works of art, and the reflection of their will in contemporary art, has been repeatedly

examined, leading to both positive and negative assumptions and evaluations (Knell 1990: 1–17). The long, though not continuous, presence of Peisistratos and his sons (564–511 BC) on the Athenian political scene is a distinct example. Undoubtedly, these tyrants did not cause every other opponent to disappear from the picture. Besides, it is known that the powerful aristocratic families were able to assume their role anytime they decided to do so. Despite the sparse historical, epigraphical, and literary sources, many of the great monuments of that time, in Attica and elsewhere (e.g. Delphi: Temple of Apollo 520/510 BC; Delos: first Temple of Apollo) are connected to the Peisistratids or their rival aristocrats (Alkmeonids, Philaids). In the 6th c. BC, building activity in general is considerable, and in combination with the iconographical evidence can lead to assumptions concerning the degree of influence these groups exerted and their political and financial power.

The same holds true, although in a more definite way, for the intense activity of tyrants in other Greek cities (Pheidon in Argos, Kypselos and his son Periander in Corinth, Kleisthenes in Sikyon, Theagenes in Megara, Lygdamis in Naxos, Polykrates in Samos). This refers either to conspicuous constructive and technical works (impressive temples, treasuries, fountain-buildings, the Tunnel of Eupalinos in Samos, the Corinth Canal and Diolkos), to sumptuous offerings to Panhellenic sanctuaries (statues, Chest of Kypselos), to internal reforms (land redistribution, debt relief (*seisachtheia*), fleet organization, ship-building, coinage, import of weights and measures, establishment of religious and athletic events), or to military conflicts and alliances both amongst themselves and with foreign tyrants (Osborne 1996: 190–197, 272–285; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2009). The tyrants' role in the molding of their respective cities' intellectual and artistic lives, especially relating to monumental art, cannot be questioned, even if some of the above can be conceived of as fiction or is attested only through the written tradition. The next generation of tyrants, who were now to be found in the Greek cities of South Italy and mainly in Sicily (e.g. Deinomenids) and ruled throughout the 5th and 4th c. BC, followed in their footsteps. They too made a display of their wealth and power by the ostentatious buildings they erected in their cities on the one hand, and by their equestrian victories at Olympia and Delphi, as well as by their valuable offerings to those sanctuaries (such as the offering for the victory at Himera), on the other (Osborne 1996: 344–350).

Many scholars have dealt with the question of whether a relationship ever existed between politics and the choice of imagery, especially in Archaic art; that is, a kind of indirect political 'propaganda' of the dominant groups (tyrants, aristocratic clans) or a

sort of ideological manifestation to the people. Even if we consider that this holds true to an extent, it is very difficult to verify the degree of acceptance or rejection of these messages by those individuals or groups to whom they would have been addressed.

In general, some of the most important developments in Athens during the Peisistratid era were the reorganization of the Greater Panathenaia and of the Panathenaic Games (reflected in black-figure vases with cultic processions, rhapsodic recitations, athletic contests, and the early Panathenaic amphorae), the introduction and patronage of certain cults (Eleusinian deities, Artemis Brauronia, Dionysos Eleuthereus), the construction of imposing buildings (water-supply system, ancient Athena Temple on the Acropolis, Olympieion), the standardization of Homeric poems by Hipparchos, and the promotion of popular spectacles and festivities (Boersma 1970: 11–27; Shapiro 1989: 2–15, 40–47, 64–65, 78–83, 85–88). The tyrants' family relationship with contemporary intellectuals (poets such as Anakreon of Teos and Simonides of Keos, the chresmologue Onomakritos), as well as with the rulers of other cities, even Persians, must also have influenced their ambitious cultural and artistic projects (Shapiro 1989; Angiolillo 1997; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000).

Despite the claims of some scholars that the Peisistratid contribution to the above was neither definite nor exclusive, it is certain that many of the new features of cultic practice and artistic production in Athens were introduced in their time. Their rivalry with other aristocratic families certainly had a positive and creative effect on several occasions, if not on a political level, then at least on a financial and cultural one. As for the former, there is plenty of evidence about the flourishing of trade and craftsmanship, first advanced in the age of Solon; and for the latter, the presence of rhapsodes and poets, the institution of public religious ceremonies, and the increasing artistic activity seem to have been evident almost to everyone within the city. Moreover, some of the significant events of this period which must have impressed people may have had an impact on the scenes of the vessels (e.g. returns of Peisistratos to power with the aid of Athena/Phye and of club-bearers/*corynephoroi*; also his purification of Delos, reflected on the vase-representations of the Delian Triad; Shapiro 1989: 15–16, 56–58).

Recent archaeological research has linked two of the most popular and frequently depicted heroes to one side or the other. Dorian Herakles has been interpreted as the alter ego of Peisistratos, as is demonstrated by his repeated presence in Athenian iconography throughout the second half of the 6th c. BC. Many of the episodes in which he has the leading role have been associated with political claims made by Peisistratos and his sons (apotheosis and introduction

to Olympos, struggle with Triton or Nereus, struggle with Alkyoneus, struggle with Apollo for the Delphic tripod, as musician; Boardman 1974: figs. 123, 165, 168, 188, 205, 213, 228, 320; Shapiro 1989: 61–64, 158–163) and the hero has been considered as the mythical example par excellence for the tyrant's family. By contrast, in this period, Ionian Theseus has been taken to represent the aristocratic side, where the traditional Attic hero Ajax from Salamis, the Spartan Dioskouroi, and the Thessalians Peleus and Achilles are also to be found; though beginning c. 510, Theseus appears to have been relocated to the democratic side (Shapiro 1989: 143–157). Surely the popularity of these heroes in the repertoire of contemporary Athenian art cannot be doubted, but perhaps the reasons for this popularity are different from what they seem.

In the broader spectrum, scenes of anachronistic (departures of warriors, battle scenes with chariots, duel combats) and conventional (wedding and other cultic processions, *symposia*, athletic and musical games) themes are a better manifestation of the aristocratic clientele's preferences, which, up to a point, were shared by other groups of the local population as well (Verbanck-Piérard and Viviers 1995). Perhaps the frequent scenes of divine assemblies, in action or in peaceful setting, autonomous or in combination with some mythological episodes (Gigantomachy, Athena's Birth, Apotheosis of Herakles, Peleus and Thetis's Wedding), in vase-painting and sculpture (architectural and free-standing) indicate a more socialized and normative approach to the divine (see Chapter 20). An analogous codification is presented in several other mythological scenes selected as decoration on vases and in other works of art (architectural, funerary and votive reliefs, weaponry).

The structures of Athenian society were conservative enough and it seems that they remained so even during the first decades following Kleisthenes's political reforms. Several retrogressions can be observed until the first quarter of the 5th c. BC at both a political and a social level, while in iconography – official and private – there are but a few differentiations, of which the most striking example is the persistent quantity of elaborate *symposia* scenes on early red-figure vases (Boardman 1975: figs. 25, 27, 32, 35, 38, 46; Steiner 2007: 239–245, [figs. 11.1–4](#)). New themes to be found in the same period are rare (e.g. ship representations on late black-figure vases; *dokimasia*, dithyrambic chorus, and school and voting scenes on early red-figure cups regarding the *ephebeia* and other civic institutions; Neer 2002: 139, figs. 59, 60; 143, fig. 62; Steiner 2007: 123–127, figs. 6.24–26; 162–164, figs. 7.30–32; 190; 192, figs. 8.22, 8.23).

Theseus is a 'new' hero not only in his iconographic representations but also to the mythological foreground of Attica. His

personal story (the cycle of his labors, including the victorious confrontation of obstacles and villains during his return to Athens) was shaped in the late 6th c. and reflects a novel Athenian heroic perception, inspired by the achievements and the '*kleos*' of the mythical heroes, yet introduced into the contemporary reality (Neils 1987; Shapiro 1994: 109–117; Servadei 2005). This is one of the reasons why scenes of Theseus's deeds and other episodes of his life are favored on vases and in architectural sculpture during the 5th c. (though they were present also in later Archaic art). His coexistence with Herakles on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (Figure 6.7), immediately after 490 BC, is of some significance (Knell 1990: 52–63). By being supported by Kimon especially, Theseus was pronounced the ultimate hero of the Athenian Empire and gained his importance in both cult and art (Neer 2002: 154–163).

21.4 Images and Dedications of Famous and Anonymous People

The first historical figures to be officially eternalized were two real Athenian citizens, the aristocrats Harmodios and Aristogeiton. They were proclaimed heroes as 'Tyrannicides' thanks to their undertaking during the Panathenaia of 514. The newly-formed Athenian democracy designated the heroic twosome as its first martyrs and rewarded them for their self-sacrifice; although the impact of Hipparchos's murder, which was based on private motives, and Hippias's banishment four years later (concurrent with the collapse of tyranny), cannot safely be assessed. The renowned sculptor Antenor was immediately commissioned to construct statues of the two, and when they were stolen and taken to Susa, their replacement was assigned to the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes in 477 BC (see Chapter 5). The creation of the second monument (Figure 21.1) cannot be irrelevant to the recent victory at Marathon. Their placement on public display in the Agora, as a reminder of their actions and as role models for citizens, was the greatest honor the city could offer these men. The adoption of Harmodios's motif for the depiction of young heroes (e.g. Theseus) or Athenian adolescents and athletes on vases and sculptures stands as proof of the influential role of these statues as an artistic and ethical paradigm throughout the 5th c. BC (Fehr 1984; Taylor 1991; Neer 2002: 168–181). Of equal significance was the heroon dedicated to them by the city in the Academy (Paus. 1.29.15).

Figure 21.1 Marble statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Tyrannicides. Roman copies of the lost bronze statuary group by Kritios and Nesiotes, c. 477 BC (Naples, National Archaeological Museum G103-4. © Photoservice Electa/SuperStock).



On many vase representations of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, local aristocrats as well as common citizens are often portrayed as komasts, symposiasts, athletes, hoplites, *hippeis*, worshippers, spectators, craftsmen, or customers in workshops, sometimes named, in other cases generally mentioned as '*kalos*'; the same goes for their wives and daughters who appear in what seem to be everyday or generic scenes (household themes, fountain and orchard scenes, weddings and funerals, ritual dining, dances and choruses). They are all marked by some kind of realism in their expressions and postures, despite their apparent lack of emotion and passivity. Historical personalities are distinguished by the addition of their name next to the *kalos* label, such as Leagros, a young man in c. 520–515 and a general in 480–475 BC, active in both the social and

the political scene of his homeland; and there were many others like him, mostly belonging to the Athenian *jeunesse dorée* or aspiring to it. In this way, two main components of civic and private activities, the sympotic and the agonistic spirit, are strongly present in the iconography of that time, thereby expressing these widespread values in both the aristocratic and the democratic setting, but always within the framework of the city (Neer 2002: 87–134).

Numerous types of statue (korai, kouroi, horsemen, seated figures) and other votives (painted vases and pinakes, figurines, metal vessels, weapons, inscribed and sculptured statue bases) found on the Athenian Acropolis, as in many other sanctuaries, bear testimony to the abundance and variety of votive offerings available during the 6th c. BC (Karakasi 2003; Keesling 2005b). Their size and value reflect the social and financial status of the dedicators. During the Late Archaic period, the presence of dedications and vase representations not only of the Athenian elite but also of craftsmen and athletes attests the elevated status of the latter as a possible corollary of the principle of isonomy and of the newly coined democracy. Several other buildings and works of art (Bouleuterion, Royal Stoa, Monument of the Tyrant Slayers) or institutions (restriction of grave luxury, performance of dithyrambic choruses, annual election of the ten generals) seem to be in accordance with the above development (Boersma 1970: 28–41).

Sanctuaries accepted offerings dedicated not only by city-states and individual worshippers but also by famous Greeks and foreigners (Alkmeonids, Midas from Phrygia, Gyges and Croesus from Lydia, Amasis from Egypt), and even anonymous foreign donors (Phoenicians, Etruscans). Many votives, dedicated by individuals or groups of worshippers to several gods and goddesses whom they considered to be their patrons, were often the first fruits or the tenth part of their profit (*aparche*, *dekate*), a practice perhaps fostered by the city-state.

Official votives, which were found in both Panhellenic and local sanctuaries and commemorated either collective military victories or personal athletic achievements expressed to a great extent the political will of the ruling class and up to a certain degree that of the city itself. Apart from various trophies and victory prizes, those that stand out are the impressive statuary groups and the triumphal chariots (e.g. one erected on the Athenian Acropolis commemorating the victory over Boeotians and Chalkidians in 506 BC), most of them unfortunately not preserved (Schollmeyer 2001: 53–61; Jünger 2006: 181–202, 225–249).

Political conditions and their impact on contemporary sociality are often reflected by the representation of historical figures (such as foreign kings – Arkesilas of Cyrene, Croesus of Lydia – and Greek

poets and athletes) in narrative scenes depicted on vases and in other media during the 6th and 5th c. BC (Figure 21.2). Moreover, there is evidence regarding the representation of contemporary figures on known, but sadly lost, monuments of Athens (e.g. Miltiades on the Marathon monument at Delphi by Pheidias: Paus. 10.10.1; Miltiades, Kallinikos, and Kynaigyros in the Battle of Marathon painting at the Stoa Poikile: Paus. 1.15.3; Elpinike, Kimon's sister and Polygnotos's mistress, as Laodike in the Sack of Troy at the same stoa: Plut. *Cim.* 4.5; Themistocles in a painting on the Acropolis and a bronze statue at the Temple of Artemis Aristoboule: Paus. 1.1.3 and Plut. *Vit. Them.* 22; statues of Perikles by Kresilas on the Acropolis: Paus. 1.25.1 and 1, 28.3).

Figure 21.2 Athenian red-figure amphora. Croesus on the pyre. c. 500–490 BC (Paris, Louvre G197. © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski).



21.5 The Impact of the Persian Wars on Early Classical Art (c. 490–450 BC)

Although ancient Greek cities possess a hectic history of warfare, no other war has left such distinct traces, direct or indirect, on ancient cult and art as the Persian Wars. Especially in Attica, official monumental art in combination with public religion and the literary arts during the second and third quarters of the 5th c. BC has left brilliant marks – a comparison could be made with the poor evidence left, for example, from Sparta.

Early on, following the termination of every ground or naval military operation (Marathon, Salamis, Plataia, Mykale, Eurymedon, Eion, Salamis in Cyprus), Greek victories became part of the Greek collective subconscious, creating for the first time a sense of Panhellenic cohesion and supremacy. The equal distribution of spoils to all cities that participated at Plataia and the collective character of the votive monuments and trophies (tripod on a serpent column at Delphi, statues of Zeus at Olympia and Poseidon at Isthmus, Phoenician ships as *acrothoinia* at Isthmia, Sounion, and Salamis; Jung 2006: 241–258) leave no room for doubt about equality between the allies. At the same time, every city had the right to invest their share in any way they saw fit (e.g. the ‘Meidian Stoa’ was erected in Sparta, the Temple of Athena Areia in Plataia, the bronze statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias in Athens: Paus. 3.11.3, 9.4.1, 1.28.2). We must also consider the amount of luxury goods (weapons, furniture, jewelry, coins) carried and worn by Persian officers and soldiers, and left on the battlefield or buried elsewhere during the Persian campaign and invasion in Attica (Thuc. 2, 13.3–5), and its impact on contemporary art (Hölscher 1973: 38–49; Miller 1997).

Above all, the military victories and material gain bolstered the economy of the cities and simultaneously gave reason for collective pride to the citizens. Being the torchbearers, the Athenians made sure to spotlight their role and to emphasize the importance of their city and its leaders. This can be inferred by the monuments that were erected inside and outside the city’s territories as reminders of the events, either immediately (Nike of Kallimachos on the Acropolis, statuary group of Attic heroes at Delphi commissioned by Miltiades, possibly a treasury and a stoa at Delphi; Jung 2006: 72–108) or some time after the termination of all military operations, during the Pentecontaetia (Stoa Poikile or *Peisianaktios*, restoration of the Marathon trophy, offering of a second statuary *syntagma* at Delphi,

Hermai at the West Stoa in the Agora; Boersma 1970: 42–64; Jung 2006: 109–125).

Furthermore, the establishment of cult and the representation of certain heroes and gods who helped in the battles on contemporary state monuments (Herakles and Herakleia Empylia at the Marathonian Tetrapolis, Artemis Agrotera, Iakchos, Zeus Eleutherios and Eleutheria) denote the state's desire not only to monumentalize and exalt the recent past with the aid of ancestral heroes and gods, but also to integrate all ranks of citizens – especially those of rural *demoi* – into the Athenian political reality (Jung 2006: 27–60). Moreover, it is the first time that a recent historical event, the Battle of Marathon, is depicted in a much-frequented public building, the Stoa Poikile (Painted Stoa), and equated with the glorious mythical past (Amazonomachy, *Ilioupersis* – Sack of Troy). Such an attempt will be repeated later, when the battle between Greeks and Persians is chosen for the south frieze of the Athena Nike Temple (Hölscher 1973: 91–98; Knell 1990: 145–148).

The return of Theseus's bones to Athens from Skyros and the establishment of the Theseion (476/7 BC) by Kimon were acts that aimed to promote Athenian supremacy and to strengthen social cohesion. The selection of the scenes which were represented on this monument, as well as on other contemporary and later buildings, was not random but rather the result of careful political programming with predefined consequences (Castriota 1992: 42–62; Shapiro 1994: 117–123). Of utmost importance was the promotion of Athens's greatness as protagonist during the victorious wars against the Persians, along with the emphasis on her political and military power compared to other cities, which enabled her to claim the leading position in the Greek world.

The frequent representation of episodes from the Thessalian Centauromachy and the Athenian Amazonomachy, as well as some other mythological subjects (Gigantomachy, Theseus's visit to the bottom of the sea, the Sack of Troy, slaying of the suitors by Odysseus, Nekyia, Seven against Thebes), in some of the most outstanding public buildings of Athens and its allies (Theseion, Stoa Poikile, Anakeion, Parthenon, Hephaisteion, Temple of Artemis Agrotera at Ilissos, Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, Temple of Athena Areia at Plataia, Knidian Lesche at Delphi) served to strengthen the position of Athens as rescuer, leader, and fair punisher, as well as a prominent link to the Delian League.

A dominant strategy of Athenian public art from this time on seems to be the use of mythical paradigms in a positive or negative way, and thereby their association with historical events. Centaurs and Amazons became the chief negative paradigms, which recall the Persians' *hubris*

and are represented accordingly, while *dike* ('justice') and *eunomia* ('order') are found on the Greek side (Castriota 1992: 11–13, 36–37, 56–58, 82–84). The paradigmatic value of myth and of mythological heroes (mostly local Attic heroes, with Theseus the leading one) played a significant role not only in Athenian society but in other Greek cities as well during the 5th c., as attested by both visual and literary arts.

Free adaptations (to different degrees) of the abovementioned themes depicted on lost large-scale mural paintings in public buildings during the Pentecontaetia (479–431 BC) can be found in representations on Athenian red-figure vases (mainly large vessels such as kraters, lebetes, and stamnoi; Boardman 1989: figs. 1–2, 6, 9–10, 12, 15–17, 50, 129–130, 132–133, 135, 147, 158–159, 185–186, 222, 225, 230–231), where similar themes are selected, giving us a glimpse into some of the achievements of Classical monumental painting (Figures 21.3 and 21.4). In the same way, reverberations of the prevailing euphoria and supremacy, orchestrated by gifted politicians like Kimon and Perikles, can be traced in some other groups of current vase-scenes, such as Greek hoplite combats against Persians (Figure 21.5) – sometimes with sexual connotations – or symposiasts in 'oriental' costumes (Boardman 1975: figs. 279, 303, 360; Boardman 1989a: 101, fig. 29; Neer 2002: 166–167, figs. 79–81). Athena and Nikes are also depicted holding trophies or *aplustres* (*aphlasta*). Poseidon and Boreas appear at the same time, indicating Athenian naval power and its sea victories (Boardman 1975: figs. 352, 353, 357, 366; Neer 2002: 164–165). Furthermore, Apollo's frequent presence in cult and art, being the patrimonial god of Ionians and Athenians as well as the dominant god of Delos, could be interpreted in the same context, even when the seat of the alliance was transferred to the Athenian Acropolis from 454 BC (e.g. frequent representations of the Delian Triad: Shapiro 1996).

Figure 21.3 Central medallion (tondo) of an Athenian red-figure cup, signed by Euphronios as potter. Theseus receiving a golden wreath from Amphitrite in the presence of Athena. Possibly echoes a lost mural painting in the Theseion. c. 500–490 BC (Paris, Louvre G104. Photo: Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 21.4 Athenian red-figure cauldron (lebes or dinos). Amazonomachy between Greek hoplites on foot and Amazons on horseback, probably inspired by some contemporary monumental painting. c. 440–430 BC (London, British Museum 1899,0721.5. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 21.5 Athenian red-figure oinochoe. Greek hoplite attacking Persian archer. c. 460 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.196. Francis Bartlett Donation/The Bridgeman Art Library).



21.6 Interaction of Civic Life and Visual Arts during the Classical Period

In the case of democratic Athens, the city appears to have favored its ancestral heroes and its most important patron gods (Athena, Zeus, Apollo), by consent of the authorities. Athena's figure naturally stands out through both the various statuary types that are being created (Athena Promachos and Athena Lemnia by Pheidias, the latter identified with the Dresden-Bologna type (Boardman 1985: 203–204, fig. 183); Athena Sounias, possibly the Giustiniani type (Boardman 1985: fig. 203); Athena Areia in Plataia by Pheidias, recognized as the

Medici type (Boardman 1985: fig. 200); Athena Ourania by Pheidias or Kolotes in Elis; Athena Itonia by Agorakritos for Koroneia in Boeotia (Boardman 1985: fig. 201); Athena Hephaisteia by Alkamenes (Boardman 1985: figs. 202, 205)) and the representations of mythological episodes that are directly associated with her (the birth itself, the birth of Erichonios, conflict with Poseidon, contest with Marsyas).

Through the works of art that adorned the city and aided in promoting its virtues not only to citizens but also to allies and foreign visitors, the *ethos* and dignity of the *polis* were demonstrated. Other public events such as religious processions, public dining (*syssitia*), dramatic performances, tribal contests, epitaphs addressed in honor of casualties of war – where all the great deeds, mythical and historical, were listed – and the burial of war dead at the Demosion Sema in the Kerameikos (Jung 2006: 61–63) seem to serve similar purposes. Moreover, the city's prosperity and military power, made a significant contribution to the development of various forms of artistic production and of constructive technology, since they favored the planning and implementation of state building programs, the construction of fortifications, ships, and relevant equipment, the shaping of new artistic perceptions, and the creation of monumental works of art (Boedecker and Raaflaub 1998; Coulson et al. 2004; Barringer and Hurwitt 2005).

The frequency of procession and sacrifice scenes in the art of the second and third quarters of the 5th c. BC, culminating with the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon frieze (Plate 5), as well as the commemorative votive monuments (such as inscribed reliefs and choragic tripods), can also be considered strong indications of the significant role, emphasis, and financial support given to public celebrations and events (drama, music, and athletic games) by the state. The increase in religious and political activities with the citizens' participation is also indicated by the construction of conspicuous temples apart from the ambitious building program on the Acropolis (four other temples were built during the third quarter of the 5th c. BC: Hephaisteion on the Kolonos Agoraios, Poseidon's Temple at Sounion, Athena Pallenis at Pallene, and Nemesis's at Rhamnous) and other secular or administrative buildings (such as the New Bouleuterion at the Agora, the Pompeion at Kerameikos, the Odeion of Perikles, the ship-sheds at Piraeus) during the second half of the 5th c. BC. All of these clearly demonstrate not only the city's general prosperity but also its religious and political engagement (Boersma 1970: 65–81; Pollitt 1972: 64–110; Whitley 2001: 342–359). The celebration of all kinds of festivals, organized from civic, tribal, or communal authorities, along with their perpetuation through the

various forms of art, reflects the will of the city itself and its citizens' needs (Bažant 1985; Bérard 1989; Tiverios 2008a).

Furthermore, the antisumptuary laws for luxurious grave monuments, along with the austere appearance and modest size of the citizens' houses, are also part and parcel of the general democratic policy and the expansion of isonomy to all Athenian citizens, with direct impact on the development of the arts during the 5th c. Further strategic acts, such as Piraeus's urban planning and fortification (around 470 BC), the clerouch-settlements at Chalkis, Lemnos, and Samos, and the foundation of Thourioi (in 443 BC), also had positive effects on the population as a whole.

Respective parallel phenomena can be identified during the same period in Corinth and in Argos, where intense building activity related to important state constructions is testified (e.g. double cistern and *hestiatorion* in the Heraion at Perachora; hypostyle building, theater, Aphrodite's Temple, and portico in the Agora at Argos; South Stoa and *hestiatorion* in the Argive Heraion (Whitley 2001: 295–301)). Something similar can be observed in Panhellenic sanctuaries, where most of the prominent dedications, either edifices or sculptures, during the 5th c. come from different city-states. Also, the huge chryselephantine cult statues with their elaborate sculptured bases represent a new cult practice, signifying a collective religious spirit under the community's supervision.

Placing the renowned architect Hippodamos of Miletos in these years is not accidental. Already in antiquity it was to him that the invention of a democratic grid town plan was attributed (the so-called 'Hippodamian plan'; Hoepfner and Schuller 1989; Whitley 2001: 315–319). This found application in the 5th and 4th c. as well as in later times (e.g. Piraeus, Thourioi, Halieis, Olynthos, Abdera, Miletos, Priene, Orraon, Kassope, Chersonesos), even though it is obvious that similar rectangular city planning was known already in the 6th c., for instance in some Greek colonies in Magna Graecia.

In times of crisis, such as during the difficult years of the Peloponnesian War, the state sought alternative ways to encourage and comfort the citizens who faced hardships on a daily basis. The proven presence of indigenous kings and heroes (Erechtheus, Kekrops and his daughters, Pandion, Aegeus, Kodros), in both cult practice and in art of the last quarter of the 5th c., provided such support (Shapiro 1998: 127–151). A similar yet new trend emerges with the introduction of the cult of gods and heroes bearing mystical features and coming from outside the borders of the Hellenic world (Bendis, Sabazios, Cybele, Adonis) and the amplification of healing gods and hero cults (Asklepios, Amphiaraos), which also became very popular.

In general, art during these times of adversity tries to compensate: human figures are embellished and idealized (the 'rich style' in sculpture and vase-painting, Classical grave reliefs; Pollitt 1972: 115–125; Palagia 2009), personifications of civic values are increased (especially those concerning peaceful, stable, and lawful life, such as Eirene (Peace), Eunomia (Justice), Eudaimonia (Bliss), Eukleia (Fame), Harmonia (Harmony), Peitho (Persuasion), Nemesis (Retribution), Themis (Civility), Hygeia (Health) on the vases of the Eretria Painter, Meidias Painter, and their circle (see Chapter 22)), and idyllic scenes from the world of gods and heroes as well as from everyday, especially women's, lives project ideal situations. At the same time, reminders of the consequences of war are not absent, yet the heroic imagery is somehow predominant there too (e.g. hoplites and riders on red-figure loutrophoroi and grave reliefs; Hölscher 1973: 102–110). Unpleasant contemporary events are neither presented in a direct way nor even implied in any of the artistic categories of this period. Just after the end of the war, new iconographic trends appear, which can be linked to the actual political situation (e.g. Poseidon and his cult in Athens promoted by the pro-Spartan oligarchic fraction; Tiverios 2008b).

The reappearance of family grave circles and sepulchral monuments and the gradual transformation of size and furnishings of private houses (in Attica, Eretria, Corinth, Sikyon) reflect the same tendencies. If Alkibiades's demand for his house to be decorated by the prominent painter Agatharchos sounded scandalous – in much the same way as how he led his life – in his time, during the 4th c. such a claim would be considered completely rational. The paintings of Aglaophon on the Acropolis, representing Alkibiades, and commemorating his victories in the Olympic, Pythian, and Nemean Games, as well as a statue of his offered by the Samians at Hera's Temple in Olympia, also provoked contradictory reactions (Paus. 1.22.7, 6.3.16; Plut. *Alcib.* 16; Jünger 2006: 203–212).

During the 4th c. the Athenian state, and therefore Athenian society, changes its attitude regarding the representation of historical persons. This becomes obvious through the statues of politicians and scholars erected at this time, publicly or privately commissioned, in public places or buildings (e.g. Miltiades and Themistocles in the Theater of Dionysos and in the Prytaneion: Paus. 1.18.3; Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in the Theater of Dionysos: Paus. 1.21.1–2; Socrates in the Pompeion: Diog. Laert. 2.43; Plato in the Academy: Paus. 1.30.3; Isocrates in the Olympieion of Athens and in Eleusis: Paus. 1.18.8). At the same time, there appear family dedications of the portraits of public figures (such as Konon and his son Timotheos near the Basileios Stoa in the Agora and on the Acropolis: Paus. 1.3.2,

1.24.3), foregrounding their personal prominence and the services they had offered the city (Krumeich 1997). Recent and previous historical events, especially battle scenes, occur more often in relief sculpture and monumental painting, reflecting political aims (Hölscher 1973: 112–121).

A novel way of expressing the state's will is through representations of the personified Athenian Demos on 'record reliefs' (Figure 21.6) from the beginning of the 4th c. BC (Meyer 1989; Glowacki 2003). Although his cult, together with the nymphs on the Acropolis, is testified by inscriptions from about 462 BC, his personification first appears on a painting of Parrhasios in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios from the last quarter of the 5th c. BC. On the 'honorary decrees' of the 4th c., he is shown as a mature man who crowns the mortal honorands, and he is often depicted together with other female political personifications that also gained importance at that time, such as Democracy (Demokratia), Good Order (Eutaxia), and Council (Boule). The same tendency is valued by other Greek cities, where cults, statues, and relief representations of these, as well of other local *demoi* are attested. In the 4th c., just as in times past (e.g. re-establishment of democracy after the fall of the thirty tyrants, Macedonian expansion and threats), the virtues of democracy and traditional moral values are emphasized (e.g. bronze statues of Arete and Hellas by Euphranor: Plin. *HN* 34.19.78; wall-painting with Demos, Demokratia, and Theseus by Euphranor of Isthmia: Paus. 1.3.3–4; cult of Demokratia, Tyche, and Eirene in Athens; statues and cult of Agathe Tyche along with Philia and Agathos Daimon).

Figure 21.6 Athenian document relief. Demokratia crowning Demos on a decree against tyranny. 337/6 BC (Athens, Agora Archaeological Museum 16524. Photograph: Hans Rupprecht Goette, DAI, Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-2001/708. All rights reserved).



During the same period, public votives from numerous city-states in Panhellenic sanctuaries increase in order to gain favor and to make their good relations known to other cities, thereby improving and strengthening their status (e.g. at Delphi: statuary group dedicated by the Thessalian tetrarch Daochos II in 336–332 BC, dancers' column of the Athenians in 330/320 BC, quadriga of the Rhodians). Just like other cities, the Macedonian kingdom tries to state its presence through impressive offerings. Its dynamic appearance is attested not only through political and military events but also through the older votives made by Macedonian kings or aristocrats at the most important sanctuaries (e.g. Philippeion and perhaps the Echo Stoa at Olympia, new stadium at Isthmia, Krateros monument at Delphi).

In 4th c. BC Greek cities, state buildings, even those donated by prosperous citizens, exalt the political power and financial flourishing of the community and are closely linked to specific historical circumstances or periods of stability and prosperity (Theater of Dionysos and Panathenaic Stadium suggested by Lykourgos; new

Monument of the Eponymous Attic Heroes, Klepsydra and Rectangular Peristylon as Court House in the Athenian Agora; Arsenal/*Skeuotheke* of Philon in Piraeus and his stoa in front of the Telesterion in Eleusis; Thersilion in Megalopolis as center of the Arcadian League). Among the most representative monuments of this period in Athens are the elegant choragic monuments in *naiskos* form with tripods on the top, honoring tribal victories in dramatic or dithyrambic games, such as the well-preserved Monument of Lysikrates on the 'Street of the Tripods' (Figure 28.8).

The impressive architectural and sculptural works created by distinguished eponymous architects and sculptors upon commission by cities or their rulers are also increased, not only in the mainland (Athena Alea Temple at Tegea, Zeus Temple at Nemea, *tholoi* in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi and of Asklepios at Epidauros) but especially in the periphery of the Greek world, pointing towards the East (e.g. Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, Athena Polias Temple in Priene, Nereid Monument in Xanthos (Figure 17.7), heroon in Trysa; Boardman 1995: 187–192).

21.7 Epilogue: Hellenistic Art, Rulers, and Society

The expansion of the Macedonian kingdom and its interference in the matters of southern Greece, followed by the concomitant enfeeblement of the dominant city-states (Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Corinth, Argos), had an immediate impact on the political, cultural, and artistic development of all of these regions. The local rulers, who in several cases were appointed by the Macedonians, influenced most aspects of literary and artistic creation in a decisive way. An illustrative example is the legislative restrictions of Demetrios of Phaleron in Athens, regarding the exaggerated display of wealth by private citizens; this act brought the construction of choragic monuments to an end and caused the abolishment of impressive grave reliefs. The political changes and the ups and downs in the political scene of the same city primarily led to the approval and construction of statues in honor of various rulers (such as Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios Poliorcetes, followed by Ptolemy III Euergetes) and later on to their *damnatio memoriae*, or the destruction of a significant number of works of art in cases of invasions or reprisals (e.g. Philip V against the cultural heritage of Attica, and vice versa).

Alexander the Great and his successors' conquests in the East and

in Egypt, followed by the creation of Hellenistic kingdoms and the foundation of new cities, pioneered ways to express artistic potential in both the monumental and minor arts (Stewart 1993). The Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleucids in Syria, and the Attalids in Pergamon (Figure 21.7), with their presence and through their decisions, had a considerable impact not only on political matters and military events but also on the artistic developments that took place in their kingdoms. They are presented, more or less, as patrons of the people as well as for their cultural and artistic achievements (Brinkmann et al. 1995–2000; Kotsidu 2000). Their status is elevated above the common mortals and they are directly compared to specific divine and heroic models, following thus Alexander's politics (e.g. Ptolemies as 'new Dionysos', Herakles, Poseidon, Zeus Olympios or Ammon Zeus; Pollitt 1986). In the visual arts they are represented with various attributes and in the known statuary types of gods and heroes.

Figure 21.7 Portrait of Attalos I (241–197 BC), ruler of Pergamon. 240–230 BC (Berlin, Pergamon Museum P 130. bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Johannes Laurentius).



The commission and dedication of monumental works of art, which often originates from Hellenistic rulers' victories against their opponents, express the desire to spotlight their supremacy, their role as saviors, and their heroic genealogy through certain mythological themes (often with allegoric meanings) (e.g. Athena Temple at Ilion; Attalid bronze statuary dedications on the Acropolis at Pergamon and Athens: Smith 1991: 99–104; Altar of Zeus at Pergamon ([Figure 7.2](#)): Knell 1990: 170–189; Smith 1991: 157–180; perhaps the Nike of Samothrace ([Figure 35.1](#)): Smith 1991: 77–79; or the hanging Marsyas and the Scythian 'Knifegrinder Group'; Smith 1991: 106–107). The same need to display a ruler's bravery and magnanimity served the dedication of sumptuous monuments that represented royal hunts and turbulent battles in painting, mosaic, and sculpture, following an artistic tradition already inaugurated in the age of Alexander (Pollitt 1986).

At the same time, and despite any local particularities, a prevalence of 'common' modes of expression can be noticed in the

construction of different kinds of buildings or monuments as well as in all other works of art. On the one hand, there are representations of gods (Dionysian scenes are prevalent: Smith 1991: 127–131; Anatolian and Egyptian deities are now increased), heroes, and other mythological or personified figures (Good Fortune (Tyche), Opportunity (Kairos; see [Figure 22.5](#)), Psyche (Smith 1991: 66, 76–77)) in stately or pathetic attitudes (struggling, suffering, reposing); on the other hand, genre figures of all types, ages, sexes, and provenances (rural or urban) appear (Himmelfmann 1983; Smith 1991: 136–140). What is interesting is that both the former and the latter forms were dedicated by the Hellenistic elite in sanctuaries, where they were admired collectively in almost the same way. The parallel existence of classicist tendencies and portentous, overtly dynamic explorations (Pollitt 1986; Brinkmann et al. 1995–2000) in art of this period is combined with strong realism in representing human gestures and feelings.

Works of art, both public and private, were greatly influenced by direct contact with the luxurious lifestyle of Eastern societies and the dominant trends calling for monumental formats and personal exposure through material wealth. The massive Hellenistic residences of the upper class, impressively decorated and equipped, and resembling small palaces, reflect the new trends (Hoepfner and Brands 1996; Winter 2006). Another aspect of the same phenomenon can be observed in the monumental buildings (temples, altars, *stoas*, libraries, theaters, stadiums) and the sculptures that are offered or donated to cities and sanctuaries (as in the case of Delos, Kos, and Samothrace) by Hellenistic rulers. At the same time, the cities themselves or their foremost citizens, separately or in groups (*syllogoi*), honored the rulers in turn with a wide range of offerings. Thus, the relationship between the rulers and the people was mutual (a sort of give-and-take arrangement described in Greek with the dual scheme of *dosis* and *antidosis*). In the same context, commemorative monuments (statues, inscribed stelai with decrees) were made on behalf of the city and in honor of eminent citizens who filled offices and had benefited it. The almost liberal attitude of Hellenistic society towards women, extending beyond those belonging to royal families, is also reflected in literary sources and visual arts.

Generally speaking, art conforms to political power, or rather emanates from it, and, at the same time, is transformed into a popularly accepted trend. Court art, which addresses people, but simultaneously and primarily expresses royal power and excellence, reflects all the vigorousness of classical tradition combined with the tensions of the present and the rulers' despotic claims. Alexander the Great's representations in sculpture (by Lysippos and Leochares),

painting (by Apelles), gem-engraving (by Pyrgoteles), and coinage were the forerunners of the analogous images of his successors (Fröhlich 1997; Smith 1988; Schultz and von den Hoff 2007) and other important public men and intellectuals, both contemporary and from the past (e.g. the bronze statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuktos in the Athenian Agora long after his death, with anti-Macedonian connotations: Paus. 1.8.2; Smith 1991: 37). New artistic ideas seem to be widespread not only in the royal courts but also in a significant part of the population, mainly among the upper classes. Sumptuous arts, such as mosaic, metalworking, and gem-engraving, are developed in order to meet the demands of a gradually expanding market (Pollitt 1986). Art in the Hellenistic age seems to express in a masterfully balanced way rulers' aims and ambitions together with their subjects' needs and tastes.

FURTHER READING

Whitley (2001) is an innovative and comprehensive study of ancient Greek culture that combines a theoretical approach with material evidence. Each chapter offers a synthesis of historical and archaeological data that helps the reader to understand and evaluate the general principles and the polymorphism of ancient Greek culture. For a thorough study concerned with the beginning of self-depiction and political iconography in Attic vase-painting of the Late Archaic period, during the first decades of the Athenian democracy, together with an examination of stylistic developments and the impact sociopolitical changes had on pictorial representations, see Neer (2002). Contributors to the recent *Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, edited by Shapiro (2007), take an interdisciplinary look at some crucial historical and cultural aspects of the period and comment on the political and artistic achievements and their interaction. Castriota (1992) focuses on the iconography of Athenian public art during the second and third quarters of the 5th c. BC and examines its relation to the actual state ideology. Moreover, the author emphasizes the ethical importance and the political implications the depicted mythical episodes had for the citizens of Athens. Brinkmann et al. (1995–2000) is a very useful and explicit collective work about the various donations of Hellenistic rulers to Greek cities and sanctuaries, examining the relations between rulers and cities and the aims of dynastic self-representation and benefaction.

CHAPTER 22

Personification: Not Just a Symbolic Mode

Amy C. Smith

22.1 Introduction

In the modern world, we have become accustomed to the benign presence of classically draped (mostly female) figures with the names of virtues, often political – Victory, Peace, Liberty – on monuments, coins, and even posters. Are these mere symbols of a bygone era, empires, revolutions, and democracies, with their megalomaniac rulers and ambitious protagonists? Yes, perhaps, but they were once much more, at least to the ancient Greeks who first gave them a place in the public sphere. Conferring such human forms on these nonhuman entities – personification – in an ancient Greek context is a form of divinization, because the Greeks considered every natural thing to have a spirit. The spirits with which such ‘things’ were endowed often took the names of those ‘things’; if these named spirits also received human characteristics – relations, activity, voice, or appearance – then they were personified. While some personifications, such as Nemesis (the goddess of Retribution, Righteous Anger, and Indignation; [Figure 22.1](#)), are now widely recognized as important characters in the Greek pantheon (Stafford 2000: 45–110), others, such as Athanasia (Immortality; [Figure 22.2](#)), never received worship (Shapiro 1993: 34–36). Some – for example, Komos (Revel or Carouse) – have nonhuman (in this case, satyr) as well as human forms (Smith 2007). The most famous Greek personifications, notably Diabole (Slander), are known through literary descriptions but are unattested in extant Greek art. Yet, since the Renaissance, Apelles’s allegorical painting of Diabole has been taken as not only the most famous personification in Greek art, but also the first allegory, on account of

Lucian's (perhaps fictitious) report of it (Lucian *Cal.* 4–6; Shapiro 1986; Borg 2004). Diabole and other personifications in this painting are better known by their Latin names (*Calumnia* etc.), because Lucian, despite writing in Greek, in the context of the 'Second Sophistic', lived during the Roman empire (2nd c. AD). As with so many other aspects of Greek antiquity, therefore, personification is muddled by the subsequent reception of it, in Roman, Renaissance, and later times.

Figure 22.1 Reconstruction of the cult statue of Nemesis of Rhamnous, by Agorakritos of Paros. c. 425 BC (after G. Despinis).



Figure 22.2 Detail of Athenian red-figure krater. Athanasia, between Tydeus and Athena, with the head of Melanippos on the ground. c. 460–450 BC (once Rosi Collection; drawing after J.D. Beazley).



Much 20th c. scholarship concentrated on the role of personifications in Greek religious thought (Gardner 1908–1921; Robert 1919; Hinks 1939; Duchemin 1977; Dietrich 1988), although Martin Nilsson (1952: 31–40) was the first to recognize personifications as a fundamental aspect of Greek religion. If a certain personification, like Nemesis, received worship, then we may refer to it as a cult personification (Hamdorf 1964). Of course, we cannot be sure of the divine status of personifications for whom cult activity is unattested; by the same standards, we cannot and do not assume that all personifications received worship. Most personifications inhabited the middle ground between gods, heroes, and humans, and, as such, may be fitted into heroic or divine genealogies and/or participate in mythic stories.

Many earlier writers on personification have concerned themselves with degrees of personification (e.g. Webster 1954), that is, whether a personification is fleshed out with genealogy, actions, voice, and appearance. The manner in which personifications are ‘fleshed out’ is, however, entirely dependent on the medium in which they appear: voice or human action might suffice for a literary personification, but a visual personification normally requires the human form. The inquiry into ‘degree’ of personification – an entirely modern concern – therefore inevitably separates artistic personifications from cult figures. It also ‘risks obscuring the point that any one figure may have been regarded differently in different places and times’ (Stafford 2000: 2). Many personifications that are attested in the visual, artistic sources, are not evidenced as cult or literary personifications, nor are they found in mythic sources. Perhaps some personifications were

created ad hoc by the artists to serve a particular symbolic or narrative purpose. Ernst Gombrich took all ancient artistic personifications as mere symbolic figures, whose successors, however, came to be revered, as saints, in the Christian era (Gombrich 1971: 254). Yet such a generalization ignores the wealth of evidence for ancient Greek personifications in cultic or mythic roles. In this chapter, I concentrate on artistic personifications without, however, excluding the categories of cult or literary personifications.

22.2 Personification in Greek Art

A personification in Greek art is primarily symbolic, a representation of a thing, place, event, or abstraction (concept) as a human figure, whose name corresponds to the noun that he or she represents. Personifications therefore belong to a specific category of anthropomorphic and symbolic figures in ancient myth and art. This ‘mode of Greek thought’ (Webster 1954) is inextricably bound with the study of *mythopoeisis* (‘myth-making’) because many personifications have mythic roles, for example Harmonia (Harmony), the compromise bride of Kadmos of Thebes, and daughter of Aphrodite and Ares (Borg 2002: 72–81; Bundrick 2005: 193–196; Smith 2011: 60–62). Personifications are usually, but not always, distinguishable from mythic characters used as symbols of things or ideas without any etymological connection. For example, Poseidon’s name is never the word for the sea, although he came to symbolize it metonymically as a result of his divine power over it. In his recent article on personification as allegory in Augustan literature, Dunstan Lowe has noted that personification and metonymy together allow ‘two-way commerce between a persona and a thing’ (Lowe 2008: 418). These two symbolic modes, which theoretically work in opposite directions – personification applies a persona to a thing, whereas metonymy applies a thing to a persona – are muddled in ancient sources, so perhaps the distinction between the two was not all that clear to the ancients. As Lowe further notes, the post-antique use of upper/lower-case letters has tended to obscure personifications in literature (Lowe 2008: 418); those in art are more explicit, except, of course, when we cannot recognize personifications because they have lost their labels or we are otherwise unfamiliar with their appearances.

Identifying characteristics of artistic personifications – beyond the human form – are gender, companions, gestures, attributes, and even labels (usually provided through inscriptions). Each personification

takes the gender of the entity that it personifies; thus cities (*poleis*) are usually feminine (Paxson 1998; Stafford 1998). Artistic personifications normally hold or wear attributes that indicate or emphasize the concepts or things that they represent. Even if a personification is unknown in myth, or shown in a nonmythic scene, he or she might tell his or her own story through attributes, including companions and gestures, which explain how they act and what effect they have on others. Harmonia prepares for her wedding, for example, in a scene on an Athenian epinetron (or onos), a knee protector used while carding wool, from the 420s BC (Boardman 1989a: fig. 235). While her divine mother, Aphrodite, is relevant to that scene, and thus present, Kadmos, her betrothed, is absent, as is any reference to his myth, because the artist's focus is necessarily on Harmonia's prenuptial status (Smith 2005b: 18–20, fig. 10).

Artists in the visual (as well as literary) arts used personification to satisfy certain narrative functions, but this use is hardly discussed as such in antiquity: there is no ancient Greek term for personification. *Prosopopoia*, putting speech into the mouths (lit. faces) of characters, earliest attested in the 4th c. BC, refers exclusively to literary personifications (Smith 1999: 139; Siorvanes 2005). *Allegoria*, or veiled language – another rhetorical figure that may be dated later yet – is often used to describe sustained personifications, such as Diabole in Apelles's painting noted above. *Hyponoia* similarly refers to hidden or allusive meanings, but was used for artworks, at least in *ekphraseis* or extended descriptions, such as the decorations on Kapaneus's shield, in Euripides's *Phoenician Women*:

The iron decorations on his shield showed an earth-born giant carrying on his shoulders an entire town torn away by a crowbar from its foundation as a suggestion [*hyponoia*] of what will happen to our town (1130–1134: trans. author).

Perhaps then *hyponoia*, not *allegoria*, was the appropriate term for the type of symbolic image that is known in modern times as allegory. Personifications may have been used, although not required, however, in both techniques.

Indeed, some of the earliest visual personifications are known in epic *ekphraseis*, such as the Homeric Shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18.535). Their presence on actual Greek artworks is only documented from the first quarter of the 6th c. BC, when – at the earliest – the Kypselid tyrants of Corinth, perhaps Periander himself, dedicated at Olympia the Chest of Kypselos (now lost), a decorated cedarwood box in which the infant Kypselos was said to have been placed by his mother (Paus. 5.17–18). Pausanias notes the labels with which personifications and other characters were identified on this chest, in

a winding Archaic script. Thanatos (Death) and Hypnos (Sleep) appear alongside their mother Nyx (Night); Dike (Justice) attacks Adikia (Injustice). Labels (most now lost, through separation or erosion) help us, as they did Pausanias, to identify personifications on various artworks, and to distinguish them from gods and humans, whose human form they share. Aristotle may be referring to labels identifying personifications with his complaint that ‘unless they were inscribed, one would not know what each thing was’ (Arist. *Top.* 140a20–22).

Some of the characters on the Chest of Kypselos are also identifiable, thanks to the painted labels on Archaic vase-paintings. Thanatos and Hypnos attend to the dying body of Sarpedon on an Athenian black-figure krater painted by Euphronios (520s BC), formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ([Figure 30.2](#)). Beautiful Dike triumphs over ugly Adikia (who is spotted, like Thracian barbarians; cf. Hdt. 5.8–10) on one of two Attic vases dating to the end of the 6th century BC ([Figure 22.3](#)), but never again in the visual arts of Athens, despite Dike’s popularity in 5th c. Athenian literature (Frel 1963; Shapiro 1993: 39–44). This representation echoes the Athenian view of the periority of their justice over the injustice of ‘barbarians’. Athenians regularly used grotesque or imperfect human figures to represent ideas or entities that they saw as negative. Geras, for example, is an old, misshapen, and dwarf-like figure who is the (losing) opponent of Herakles on up to four Late Archaic Athenian vases (Borg 2002: 88–95).

Figure 22.3 Athenian ‘Nikosthenic’ neck amphora. Dike attacking Adikia. c. 520–510 BC (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3722).



The battle between Dike and Adikia is perhaps the earliest Greek use of political personifications in their own right, and not as coincidental characters in a mythic tale. A similarly politicized figure, Nike (Victory), appears alone in Archaic arts, for example in a statue created by Archermos of Chios in the 550s, but, by the beginning of the 5th c. BC, she is often paired with other figures to say something about them. On a calyx-krater in New Haven, for example, Nike and the sea god, Poseidon, refer together to a naval victory (Matheson 1987; Pollitt 1987). Some abstractions of ideas with political connotations satisfy traditional mythic as well as political agendas: Eris (Strife) gave Paris the apple that precipitated the Trojan War while in attendance at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Achilles's parents). Themis (Law according to custom, justice, or right) was a guest at the same wedding, as shown on the earliest black-figure vase signed by an artist, Sophilos's dinos in the British Museum ([Figure 3.3](#)), dating to the 570s BC, and the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Olympia of the 520s (Boardman 1978: fig. 212). Peitho

(Persuasion) was likewise a guest at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, according to the version of this tale shown on several Attic vases, notably Makron's skyphos in Boston (490s BC; Smith 2005b: fig. 11).

Many of these Archaic personifications, especially those on vase-paintings, are found exclusively in the arts of Athens. Especially during Athens's democratic period (508–322 BC), vase-painters began to create and depict personifications with political implications, and it is in this context that we find the closest correspondence between personifications in the literary and visual arts: this correspondence is not surprising in a time and place when the populace experienced drama through performances; that is, in a visual rather than written form. Athenian vase-paintings show some of the same personifications found in old comedies such as the lost plays of Eupolis – *Poleis* (*Cities*, produced in 422 BC) and *Demoi* (*Peoples*, produced in 417 or 412 BC) – and even some extant works of Aristophanes, such as *Knights* of 424 BC. In *Knights* 1335–1408, Demos, the personification of the aged Athenian Body Politic (cf. [Figure 21.6](#)), is rejuvenated and vows to restore old-fashioned ways in the government. Similarities between Old Comedy and the visual arts reflect the painters' and poets' engagement with contemporary culture; dramatic personifications perhaps accustomed Athenians to seeing personifications, and probably prepared them for the particular images (and pertinent iconography) of popular figures such as Demos and Eirene (Peace).

Written sources allude to some messages delivered through the use of visual personifications. Pliny, for example, writing during the 1st c. AD, explains (in *HN* 36.17) Agorakritos's contest with Alkamenes regarding the cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Ehrhardt 1997; Knittlmayer 1999; [Figure 22.1](#)). When, in the 420s BC, Agorakritos (a foreigner) lost to Alkamenes (an Athenian) in a contest to make a statue of Aphrodite for Athens, he sold his losing statue on condition that it be sent out to Rhamnous and that it be named Nemesis. Through this story the statue becomes a personification of Agorakritos's personal *nemesis* as well as Athens's political *nemesis*. The statue (lost except its head and a few scraps, but reconstructed on the basis of Roman copies and Pliny's description) illustrates Nemesis's broad realm: deer on her headdress and an apple branch in her left hand recall her role as a chthonic or nature divinity; the Nikai on her crown indicate the righteous victory that she would exact as an avenging goddess; and the phiale (a ritual bowl) in her outstretched left hand points to her righteousness – it is decorated with Ethiopians to show her broad-reaching power.

Written sources also help us to gauge the political and historical circumstances that motivated the appearance of personifications. Pausanias reports that a portrait of the late 5th c. BC Athenian

statesman Alkibiades had ‘emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea’ (Paus. 1.22.7, trans. author). Nemea is both a place and an athletic event that happened there; in either case it would have been represented by a beautiful female personification. Perhaps this is the same portrait on which Plutarch comments in his *Life of Alkibiades* (16.7, trans. author): ‘when Aristophon painted an allegorical picture which showed Nemea embracing Alkibiades, people were delighted and came in crowds to look at it; but the older generation were offended at this too. They thought it a sight fit for a tyrant’s court and an insult to the laws of Athens.’

Civic or political phenomena abound in the artistic personifications of Classical Athens: virtues (Osborne 2000; Smith 2011: 51–69), political institutions and divisions (Smith 2011), festivals (e.g. Brendel 1945), and geographical entities (Shapiro 1988; Métzger 1996). Eutychia (Prosperity) and Makaria (Blessedness) – virtues in attendance to Aphrodite en Kepois (Aphrodite in the Gardens), for example, decorate an Athenian squat lekythos, now in Reading, dating to the 410s (Smith 2011: fig. 5.16). The political divisions and institutions also populate the arts of democratic Athens: a relief decorating a late 4th c. BC honorary decree (IG II² 46k) shows Boule (the Council), and perhaps Demos (the Body Politic), joining Athena in honoring a citizen of Athens. Even non-Athenian geographic entities helped Athenians to contextualize their civic and political experience. Maenads representing the islands Lemnos and Delos dance with Tethys (the sea) seemingly around a satyr who represents Demos (perhaps Athens’s populace) on a cup attributed to the Eretria Painter (420s) now in Warsaw (Smith 2005a: 222, fig. 15.5).

The nature of Athenian personifications in the 4th c. BC, and the monuments on which they appeared, reflect the increasingly complex and vulnerable situation of Athens after she lost the Peloponnesian War (in 404 BC). Perhaps by this Late Classical period personifications had become recognizable to the general public. Kephisodotos’s statue of Eirene and Ploutos (Peace and Wealth) is one of the best known, through both literary sources and copies in a variety of media. Pausanias twice mentions this statue, which probably celebrated the Peace of Kallias, negotiated in 371 BC, between Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and others (Smith 2005a: 219–222). In 9.16.2 he tells us that Kephisodotos cleverly placed Ploutos in Eirene’s arms, and in 1.8.3 he places this statue in the Agora in Athens, near the statues of the city’s eponymous heroes. Scholars have long taken this (lost) statue of Eirene and Ploutos as the model for thirteen Roman marble copies, the best of which is in Munich ([Figure 22.4](#)), and smaller scale copies. The composition of this statue is bound through the expressed connection between the two personifications, seemingly the affection between a

child and his caregiver (mother): Eirene tilts her head toward Ploutos, who – both playful and needful – gazes lovingly at her and reaches toward her. Ploutos's *keras* (horn of plenty) reminds us of his allegorical role, as the prosperity that is brought and nourished by peace. This relationship between Eirene and Ploutos echoes some poetic works of the 5th c. BC (Pind. *Ol.* 13.6; Bacchyl. *Paeon* 4.61–62; *Carm. pop.* fr. 1d Diehl; Eur. *Bacch.* 418–419; Eur. *Kresphontes*, fr. 453 N²). The choice of this statue to decorate Panathenaic amphorae in the Archonship of Kallimedes in 360/59 BC, more than ten years after the statue's original creation (Bentz 1998: 173, nos. 4.058–59 and 4.061), was propaganda, to give the impression that the Athenians were a peace-loving people – in spite of Athens's defensive land expeditions in the Peloponnese throughout the 360s – but may also reflect a new cult at Athens (Philoch., in *FGrH* 328 F 151).

Figure 22.4 Marble statue of Eirene with baby Ploutos. Roman copy of an original statue by Kephisodotos, c. 370 BC (Munich, Glyptothek 219. bpk/Jochen Remmer).



Except for Nike, the winged goddess of victory, however, few personifications appear outside of Athens before the 4th c. BC. Some personifications, primarily derived from Athenian tragedies, appear on South Italian vases, decorated (perhaps by immigrant Greek artists; see Chapter 19) in the red-figure style (Aellen 1994). Julius Pollux (4.141–142), writing in the 2nd c. AD, lists tragic characters who required special masks: river, mountain, Dike (Justice), Hybris (Arrogance), Peitho (Persuasion), Horai (Seasons), Apate (Deceit), Methe (Drunkenness), Oknos (Sloth), Phthonos (Envy), Polis (City), Thanatos (Death), Lyssa (Madness), and Oistros (Frenzy). Of these, only the last four are known from extant tragedies, but some of the others are shown on South Italian vases, dating to the late 5th–early 4th c. BC, where known theatrical scenes are actually illustrated. Phthonos (Envy), for example, seems to replace Eros as a companion to Aphrodite at the death of Meleager (possibly following the lost play *Meleager* by Euripides, from the end of the 5th c. BC) on an Apulian krater now in Naples (Aellen 1994: 160, cat. 113, fig. 142). The same figure, who is well known in the literary tradition and, according to Lucian, led Apelles's Diabole (Lucian *Cal.* 5), reappears on a Late Antique mosaic from a 3rd c. AD Roman villa excavated in 1957 at Skala, Kephallenia (Dunbabin and Dickie 1983: 8–9, pls. 1–2a). The mosaic shows a youth with narrowed eye(s) and sideways glance, who holds his hands to his throat, as if choking on his own bile, while his abdomen is ripped open and he is attacked by four beasts. An accompanying inscription makes it clear who the figure represents:

O *Phthonos*, for you also the painter has drawn this likeness of your baneful spirit, which Krateros has had made in stone, not because you are honoured amongst men, but because you grudge mortals their prosperity you have put on this form. Stand then before the eyes of all, stand, wretch, bearing the hideous sign of that wasting that affects *phthoneroi* (trans. Dunbabin and Dickie 1983: 8).

This Phthonos corresponds to his literary parallels better than to the 4th c. BC precedent, and clearly serves an apotropaic function, warding off evil in the same way as the ‘evil eye’ (with which he is later connected). His appearance and function instigate Dunbabin and Dickie’s convincing interpretation of a series of small-scale apotropaic items – lamps, weights, clay and bronze figurines – as representations of Phthonos. One Janus-like figurine from Smyrna, now in Leiden, pairs him with a female (Dunbabin and Dickie 1983: pl. 3d–e). If she is also a personification, as seems likely, she might be his Latin counterpart, Invidia, who actually absorbs some of the sense (and gender) of Nemesis (Konstan 2003), or even Fames (Hunger, Greed), whose description in Ovid closely corresponds to the appearance of this female figurine: a hollowed-out body cavity, without a belly, and

a hollow ribcage (Ov. *Met.* 8.803–808). Just as feminine Invidia corresponds to masculine Phthonos, so Fames's Greek precedent is the masculine figure Limos. As evidenced by the Leiden figurine, gender is barely distinguishable in the visual, let alone literary, representations of these emaciated figures.

Some Hellenistic personifications are famous because of their artistic context, while others are remembered for their political or didactic value. Lysippos of Sikyon (Alexander the Great's court sculptor, working in the second half of the 4th c. BC; see Chapter 5), for example, set up a bronze figure of Kairos (Opportunity). The Orphic poet Poseidippos, writing c. 270 BC, explained Kairos's attributes and didactic nature in an epigram that takes the form of a dialogue between a viewer (V.) and the statue itself (S.):

V. Who was the sculptor and where was he from?

S. He was a Sikyonian.

V. And what was his name?

S. Lysippos.

V. And who are you?

S. Opportunity, the all conqueror.

V. Why do you stride on the tips of your toes?

S. I am always running.

V. Why do you have pairs of wings on your feet?

S. I fly like the wind.

V. Why do you carry a razor in your right hand?

S. As a sign to men that my appearance is more abrupt than any blade [is sharp].

V. And your hair, why does it hang down over your face?

S. So that he who encounters me may grab it.

V. By Zeus, and why is the back of your head bald?

S. Because nobody, once I have run past him with my winged feet, can ever catch me from behind, even though he yearns to.

V. For what reason did the artist fashion you?

S. For your sake, stranger. And he placed me before the doors as a lesson. (*Anth. Graec.* 2.49.13 (= *Anth. Pal.* 16.275), trans. Pollitt 1986: 53–54.)

This poem, and later treatments on the theme, provide more attributes than those discernible on surviving representations, such as that in

Turin ([Figure 22.5](#)), but the epigram at least renders those images recognizable to us.

Figure 22.5 Marble relief showing Kairos, after a statue by Lysippos, c. 336–334 BC (Turin, Museum of Antiquities 86707. Photo DAI, Neg. No. D-DAI-Rome. 74 1609. All rights reserved).



Lysippos's student, Eutyichides, was commissioned to create a bronze statue of Tyche (Fortune) in 296 BC, to celebrate the founding of the city of Antioch (Paus. 6.2.6; Pollitt 1986: 1–3). This statue wore city walls as a crown and held a grain sheaf to symbolize the prosperity she brought to Antioch. She sat on the mountain rock (Silpios) on which the city was founded, while Orontes, the personification of that river, swam at her feet (Christof 2001). (Agathe) Tyche, who had been known in Classical Athens, symbolized the fortune of rulers, such as Alexander the Great and his Ptolemaic successors in Alexandria (Egypt), as well as cities, such as Antioch. As a city goddess, she is celebrated also on coins, gems, and other decorative arts, many of which copy her most famous representation by Eutyichides. Her widespread use continues through the modern era, particularly in coins and in public statuary (Matheson 1994).

Tyche was just one of many Greek and Egyptian deities with whom the Hellenistic rulers became assimilated. Athenaios (5.25) describes figures dressed as personifications at the Great Procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in Alexandria, c. 285 BC. The 'Archelaos Relief', an Alexandrian relief found in Roman Italy but now in the British Museum (Figure 22.6), can be dated to the end of the 3rd c. BC because of the portraits of King Ptolemy IV and Queen Arsinoe III on the faces of the personifications Chronos (Time) and Oikoumene (the Inhabited World) (Newby 2007: 171). This pair crowns the poet Homer, in the presence of personifications of his poetic children (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), literary genres, Myth, History, Human Nature, and moral virtues, while Zeus, Mnemosyne (Memory), their daughters the Muses, and a victorious poet populate a mountain above (or beyond) them. This relief – 'positioned somewhere between a votive dedication and an allegorical reflection' (Newby 2007: 178) – on some level celebrates a victory in a poetic contest, and exemplifies the extreme intellectualism of Hellenistic arts, visual as well as literary, in Alexandria, home to the most famous Greek library in antiquity.

Figure 22.6 Marble relief by Archelaos. A dedication of a poet to the Muses, including the Apotheosis of Homer. Late 3rd or 2nd c. BC (London, British Museum 2191. © Erin Babnik/Alamy).



As suggested earlier, in discussion of Phthonos, the influence of literature (especially Greek) seems stronger than that of the visual arts in the development of the visual personifications of the Roman world. Personified virtues continue in importance through Late Antiquity, however, as exemplified by mosaics at Antioch and elsewhere (Downey 1938), where the allegorical pictures may have been used in the teaching of philosophical matters such as *Megalopsychia* (Generosity) (Leader-Newby 2005: 231). Late Antique mosaics also represent traditional personifications of months (Levi 1941), seasons, and geographic entities (Huskinson 2005), as well as virtues. Such Late Antique artifacts certainly attest a continuing interest in the ideas and modes of representation that characterize Hellenic culture.

22.3 Personification and Agency

A final and important question regarding personifications – and indeed all aspects of ancient art – is of agency: who instigated their creation? The answer must be dependent on the particular circumstances of each personification. In some cases, such as Aglaophon's painting of Nemea, the patron, in this case Alkibiades, probably had some hand in the decision to include the personification. In others, such as Agorakritos's Nemesis, the artist is given full credit. It seems clear that creators of visual as well as literary works freely adapted personifications to suit their narrative contexts; the changes in representation of each personification over time – some gradual and others sudden – attest a high level of creativity in their use. Because identifiable personifications are found earlier in literature than in art, past scholars have wrongly assumed that the visual artists took their cue from literary artists. In some cases, such as that of Kairos, however, the opposite seems to be the case. There is not always, or usually, a strong temporal connection between personifications in literature and art: even in the cases of Demos and Eirene at Athens, the contexts and appearances of the figures vary between their representations in text and imagery. The appearance of a winged figure of Phthonos, perhaps in the context of a scene taken from Euripides's play *Meleager* on a 4th c. BC Apulian krater (noted above) is a surprise. Whether or not he actually appeared in a 'famous' contemporary painting of Diabole by Apelles, however, Phthonos is transformed by Late Antiquity to a figure who more closely follows the Latin literary tradition, despite the potentially awkward gender switch (from masculine Phthonos to feminine Invidia).

Personifications in ancient Greek are undoubtedly symbols: of the entities they represent, of the emotions and ambitions of their creators, owners, and viewers, and of trends in ancient thought. They are also integral participants in the narrative traditions of ancient Greece, whether as illustration (Boule and Demos, with Athena, honoring an Athenian citizen), lesson (Kairos; [Figure 22.5](#)), allegory (Dike and Adikia; [Figure 22.3](#)), myth (the marriage of Harmonia), or history (Nemea representing Alkibiades's athletic victories). Some of these stories and their characters were once found in the theater (Phthonos) or in other poetic contexts. Many tell their own story, however – whether alone (Nemesis), in pairs (Eirene and Ploutos), or as part of a whole cast of characters (on the 'Archelaos Relief'). They all play a part in a complex nexus of meaning that constitutes a historical phenomenon simultaneously intertextual, cosmopolitan, and increasingly functional.

FURTHER READING

Post-Renaissance scholars, starting perhaps with Johann Winckelmann – who, however, attributed the ‘invention of allegory’ to the Egyptians – have recognized allegory as a phenomenon in ancient Greek art whose tradition has continued to the present. Until the late 19th c., however, relatively little consideration was given to the personifications that lay at the heart of this narrative tradition. Serious study of Greek personification began with G. Körte’s pioneering examination of demonic personifications, inspired by Attic tragedy and largely illustrated in South Italian vase-painting (Körte 1874). In the next several decades, German and English scholars delved into personifications of natural phenomena, culminating in Hinks (1939). T.B.L. Webster (1954) set the standard for the study of Greek personification, at least in the English language. His article is one of the few that explicitly compares visual and literary personifications (particularly those in drama). For most of the rest of the 20th c., however, scholars have continued to treat literary and visual personifications separately. H.A. Shapiro (esp. 1993) successfully incorporates discussions of the literary personifications into his treatment of personifications of art, and most subsequent scholarship, at least in the English language (by A.C. Smith and E. Stafford, among others), follows his cue. With the exception of scholars of ancient religion (noted in the main text), most work on personifications has treated individual works, artists, media, and/or periods. This is perhaps an inevitable result of the wide-ranging contexts of personifications. A conference at London’s Institute of Classical Studies in 2002 – *Personification in the Greek World. From Antiquity to Byzantium* – published in Herrin and Stafford (2005), usefully brought together scholars working in various media and periods, and crossed the visual/literary divide, but incorporated few scholars working outside of England. Thematic treatments are rarer, although a resurgent interest in politics (in connection with the 2500th anniversary of democracy) gave birth to a range of articles and books considering the political significance of Athenian monuments, especially document reliefs (most recently Blanshard 2004, 2007); and religion (see Stafford 2007). A recent enthusiasm for the connection between text and image has similarly brought on some consideration and deeper readings of labeled personifications (Newby and Leader-Newby 2007).

CHAPTER 23

The Non-Greek in Greek Art

Beth Cohen

23.1 Introduction

The interface of Greeks with foreign peoples in the Mediterranean world and beyond is an old story that extends back to the Mycenaean Bronze Age of the 2nd millennium BC, whose local rulers and heroes are evoked during the 8th or early 7th c. BC in the Homeric epic poems about the legendary Trojan War and its aftermath. Colonization, travel, trade, and foreign slaveholding, as well as war, increased Greek knowledge of and interest in the unfamiliar, even uncivilized, world beyond the boundaries of Greek culture during the early centuries of the historical period. Through representation of its presumed and real foreign inhabitants, this broader world is reflected in anthropocentric Greek and especially Athenian art, where depiction of the non-Greek ‘Other’ becomes a foil for constructing an ideal self-image (Cartledge 1993: esp. 11, 37–62; Sparkes 1997; Cohen 2000: 4, 18–20, 315–479; Lissarrague 2002; Nippel 2002: esp. 282–283). The extreme polarization of Greeks and barbarians, however, was not a hallmark of Greek cultural identity until the Classical period, in the wake of Greek victories in the Persian Wars, particularly at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC and over Xerxes’s invasion in 480/479 BC (Coleman 1997: 177–178, 186, 189; Hall 1997: 47). Moreover, the use of *barbaros* (‘not Greek-speaking’) to refer commonly to non-Greek people as *barbaroi* (‘barbarians’) likewise did not occur until this time (Hall 1989: 9–13; Hartog 2001: 79–82; Guiman 2007: 123).

This chapter offers a selective panorama of important mythological, legendary, and finally ‘historical’ non-Greeks shown in Greek art from the Orientalizing period of the 7th c. BC to the High Classical period of the 5th. Artistic examples have been drawn from

the abundant preserved repertory of Athenian and other vase-paintings, lost mural paintings mentioned in ancient literary sources, and monumental architectural sculpture. As these examples demonstrate, the evolving visual vocabulary employed in the artistic designation of non-Greeks includes the indicia of scale, gestures and poses, weapons and other attributes, gender, dress, and physiognomic or other physical characteristics. In the Greek artistic construction of non-Greeks, elements of myth and legend, history and reality often seem to merge.

23.2 Encountering the Uncivilized

23.2.1 *The Cyclops*

The encounter of the Greek hero Odysseus and his men on the way home from Troy with the gigantic cyclops Polyphemos is known to us from Homer's *Odyssey* (9.105–565). Odysseus, desiring to learn about the non-Greek Cyclopes while exploring their wild, uncultivated homeland, enters Polyphemos's empty cave with his twelve best men, bringing along a goatskin of strong wine normally drunk diluted twenty times; here he hopes to receive hospitality, including gifts of guest friendship. After returning with his flock of sheep, the herdsman Polyphemos closes the cave's entrance with a boulder, kills and eats raw two of Odysseus's companions, and goes to sleep. Odysseus and his men cannot simply kill the cannibalistic cyclops because the cave's entrance would remain blocked, so he devises a plan. The next evening, after Polyphemos has eaten more Greeks, Odysseus offers him an undiluted bowl of wine. Polyphemos drains several and then falls back in a drunken stupor, vomiting human flesh. Odysseus and his men thrust and twirl a heated and sharpened stake – made from the giant's walking stick – in the cyclops's eye, blinding him. Odysseus ties his men beneath Polyphemos's sheep and clings beneath the ram. The blind cyclops, opening the cave in the morning to let out the flock, does not discover the surviving Greeks and they escape.

This Greek encounter with the primitive non-Greek in monstrous human form, which embodies hazards of overseas travel and colonization (Dougherty 2001:122, 127–130, 134–138; Hartog 2001: 25) and also the resolve to overcome them (Lowenstam 2008:17),

counts among the early certainly identifiable mythological depictions in art ([Figure 23.1](#)). It is preserved on several decorated pots from the Mediterranean Greek world of the 7th c. (Lowenstam 2008: 13–17): the first one is the monumental Protoattic amphora from Eleusis (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 13) of c. 670 BC – the eponymous vase of the Polyphemos Painter. On the amphora’s neck, three bearded Greek men working in unison – recalling hoplites cooperating in a phalanx – thrust the stake in the cyclops’s eye. The first, white-bodied Greek may well be Odysseus. With his mouth open in surprise and pain, Polyphemos grabs the stake with one hand, attempting to stop the attack, while holding a wine cup, symbolizing his uncivilized, inordinate drunkenness, in the other. The cyclops’s gigantic size is conveyed by his filling the entire height of the picture field despite being seated. Otherwise, save for separately incised locks in his beard, he looks like the Greeks. Polyphemos’s deformed face with one central functioning eye, shown definitively in Classical and Hellenistic art, is merely implied here by the standard early facial convention of a profile head with a single frontal eye.

Figure 23.1 Bronze relief-cut ornament. Odysseus escaping the cave of Polyphemos under the ram. c. 540–530 BC. (Delphi, Archaeological Museum 2650. © ALIKI SAPOUNTZI/aliki image library/Alamy).



A mid 7th c. vase-painting of the blinding, on a West Greek krater in Rome, from Caere in Etruria (modern Cerveteri), bears the very early Greek maker’s signature of Aristonothos ([Figure 19.1](#)). Here, Odysseus and his men blinding the cyclops are paired with a naval battle of helmeted warriors with round shields aboard a Greek oared

ship confronting similarly armed warriors on a curved foreign sailing vessel that might be Etruscan (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 14; 275). This possibly contemporary military encounter, like the Polyphemos story itself, may suggest ongoing perils of colonization in the West (Dougherty 2003: 36, 41–42, 48, 50, 52).

A century later, the blinding appears again inside an Archaic black-figure Lakonian cup of c. 565–555 BC, attributed to the Rider Painter (Pipili 1987: 32, fig. 47), which shows the first Greek manning the stake proffering the wine cup to the giant, seated Polyphemos. That the cyclops holds in each of his own hands the lower part of a human leg, which is the same size as those of the approaching Greeks, graphically denotes the uncivilized towering cave man's cannibalism (Nippel 2002: 285, 287).

The engaging Protoattic jug of c. 660 BC from Aigina first shows the story's outcome – the Greeks escaping under the bellies of Polyphemos's flock (Boardman 1998: fig. 206). This moment is also depicted on the preserved fragment of an Athenian volute-krater from c. 570 BC, attributed to the black-figure master Kleitias. The escape's composition now features the sightless Polyphemos, with his bloody, wounded eye closed and his hands futilely groping the air, while, immediately before him, the unseen Odysseus escapes under the ram (Latacz et al. 2008: 419–420, no. 173 (Kreuzer)). Ancient viewers would surely have found the disabled cyclops's ineffectual gesturing amusing. The ram's woolly coat is indicated by incised markings, and Polyphemos's body is likewise covered with incision. Hirsute, and with a red face and long hair, the uncivilized Polyphemos is here shown as a wildman through conventions employed elsewhere for the part-man and part-horse satyrs (*satyroi*) or silens (*silanoi*), raucous followers of the wine-god Dionysos, whose humorous depiction may denote alterity in Greek art (Padgett 2003: 27–28; Mitchell 2009: esp. 206–207, 306–311).

23.2.2 Centaurs

Kleitias is best known as the painter of the elaborately decorated Athenian black-figure volute-krater potted by Ergotimos of c. 570 BC, called the François Vase (Figure 30.1). The Battle of the Lapith Greeks with the centaurs, an enduring theme in Greek art, appears on the back of the krater's neck. A preserved name tag for the Athenian hero Theseus, who has come to the Lapiths' aid, notably suggests the story's relevance for the *polis* of Athens (Padgett 2003: 16–17; Torelli 2007: 30). The Greeks are shown like contemporary hoplites, armed with shields and spears, and one is even given the 'speaking' name Hoplon

‘Round Shield’) (Torelli 2007: 29–30). The bestial centaurs have equipped themselves with unwrought, primitive weapons – branches and rocks – readily pressed into service during this battle raging in the wild Thessalian countryside. But they are not yet conceived with the bulbous or snub-nosed non-Greek profiles that elsewhere brand centaurs’ human heads physiognomically as ‘Other’.

Centaur figure among the earliest identifiable mythological creatures in Greek art, as a late 10th c. BC large terracotta statuette from Lefkandi on Euboea attests (Boardman 1975: fig. 4; Padgett 2003: 7, 8, fig. 3; 9). A mid 8th c bronze statuette, said to come from Olympia, already depicts a Greek hero locked in combat with a centaur (Boardman 1975: fig. 13, drawing; Padgett 2003: 133–136, cat. no. 13). During the 7th c. BC, Herakles appears to be depicted fighting centaurs, such as on the Protocorinthian polychrome aryballos of c. 660, now in Berlin (Amyx 1988: I, 37.1, bottom). Here the Greek hero hunts them down as an archer (Cohen 1994: 696, 697, n. 11), and each centaur’s forepart is a bestially hairy full human body. Early artistic encounters with centaurs in Greek art denote the primordial struggle of Greek civilization against the uncivilized in wild nature rather than a particular conflict with particular foreigners (Hölscher 2000: 291–294).

23.3 Pre-Classical Amazons

Amazons, members of a race of female warriors, are complex, multifarious, and ever-changing beings in Greek art and culture. Most ancient literary sources postdate their early images, and there is a disparate range of modern Amazon interpretations (e.g. Henderson 1994; Blok 1995; Stewart 1995; Veness 2002). Whether the Amazon was a totally mythological construction (probably) or ought to be associated with archaeological finds supporting the existence of ancient warrior women has not definitively been decided (Stewart 1995: 575–576).

The Amazons’s distant homeland was reputedly located beyond the boundaries of Greek civilization, generally in the northeast, in Asia Minor, perhaps somewhere along the Black Sea or particularly at the city of Themiskyra along the River Thermodon (modern Turkey) (*LIMC* 1: *Amazones*, 586). Thus Amazons were non-Greeks – faraway foreigners – and this aspect of their identity is the central concern here.

Non-Greek Amazons fought Greek heroes – an old tradition that can be traced back to Homer (Priam in Phrygia: *Il.* 3.182–190;

Bellerophon in Lycia: *Il.* 6.171–186) and which continued thereafter in both literature and art. Amazon warriors were physically desirable. The Amazon queen Penthesilea came to aid Troy (Arktinos, *Aithiopis*), where she fought and was killed by the Greek hero Achilles (who fell in love with her after wielding the death blow). Herakles, seeking the girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolyte, on his 9th labor, fought the Amazons along the Black Sea; and, in a late Archaic story, Theseus abducted the Amazon queen Antiope, who became his bride, but, in a Classical version, that rape resulted in an Amazon attack on Athens (*LIMC* 1: *Amazones*, 586; Boardman 1982: 6–15, 27–28; Reeder 1995: 373–380).

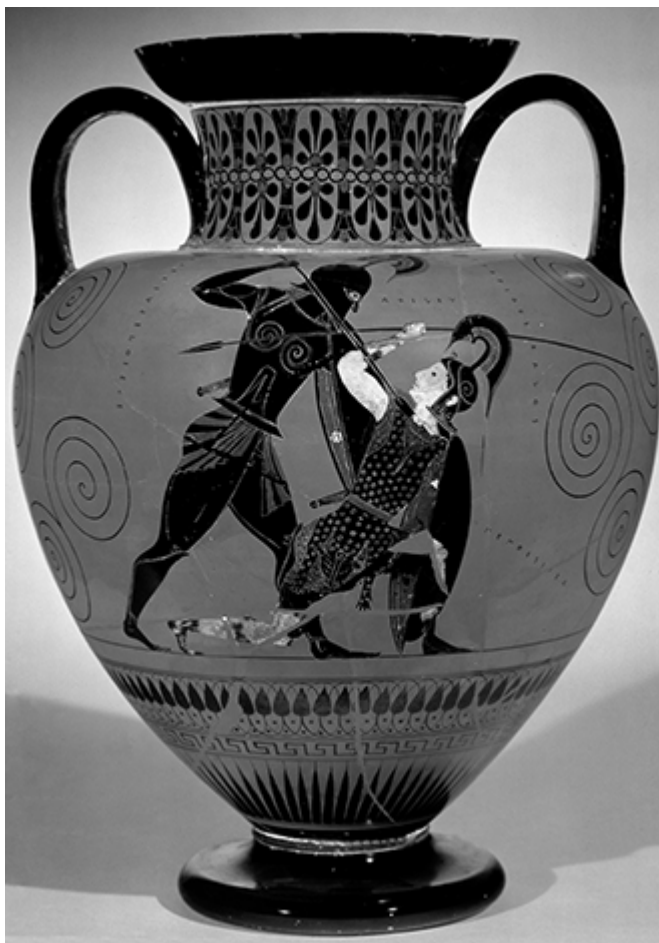
In early Greek art, Amazons first appear – in combat with Greek warriors – on a terracotta votive shield of c. 700, from Tiryns (*LIMC* 1: *Amazones*, 168, pl. 464; Boardman 1998: 118, fig. 213, drawing). Significantly, the adversaries all employ Greek weapons. At the center, a bearded Greek warrior wearing a helmet with a high crest is about to dispatch with his sword a spear-wielding Amazon he has grabbed by the high crest of her own helmet. The male hero depicted could be either Achilles or Herakles. The dueling pair is backed by a Greek warrior and an Amazon, who each wield a shield and spear. The female Amazons may wear peploi with patterned knee-length skirts, or they may be exotically nude above the waist (von Bothmer 1957: 1–2; cf. Veness 2002: 95).

Amazons do not appear on the François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)), but several black-figure Amazonomachy fragments probably from a cup-skyphos of similar date (c. 570) found on the Athenian Acropolis have been attributed to Kleitias (Oakley 1997: 300, fig. 4, drawing). His Amazons wear abbreviated Attic helmets with high crests, and they wield spears. Their richly patterned dresses (originally short) recall the peploi of Greek females on the François Vase. This Amazonomachy's lost Greek hero is probably Herakles (von Bothmer 1957: 9, no. 39), whose battle with the Amazons was popular in Athenian art c. 560 BC on so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae (von Bothmer 1957: 6–21; see Chapter 3). As on the Timiades Painter's name-vase in Boston (Boardman 2001a: 49, fig. 58), with inscribed names for Herakles and Andromache, the lion skin-clad hunter-hero (Cohen 1994: 696–698) commonly wields a sword, while the Amazons wear patterned short dresses and are outfitted with Greek armor and weapons.

Amazons on 6th c. Athenian vases soon incorporate exotic and/or non-hoplitic features into their battle dress and arms. For example, an inscribed black-figure neck-amphora of c. 540 signed by Exekias, and now in the British Museum ([Figure 23.2](#)), depicts Achilles killing Penthesilea. Each bears hoplite arms: but here Achilles's standard

protective body armor and face-concealing Corinthian helmet contrast not only with Penthesilea's more feminine, open-faced Attic helmet, but also with the spotted leopard skin draped over her short, patterned tunic (Mackay 2010: 317, 319). Wearing a wildcat skin has been believed to associate an Amazon warrior – like the maenads, female followers of Dionysos, who also wear skins in art – with Thrace (Shapiro 1983: 108–110, 114). Instead, it marks her more broadly as a rustic huntress from a distant land capable of killing such a fierce exotic creature (cf. Veness 2002: 96, 105). The Amazon, wearing a leopard skin – originally painted yellow with black spots – of a Classical Athenian rhyton or statuette-vase fashioned by Sotades is shown on horseback hunting lion and wild boar (Hoffman 1997: figs. 50a–c; 89–96, 158, H1; Cohen 2006: 285, no. 87).

Figure 23.2 Athenian black-figure neck-amphora, signed by Exekias. Achilles and Penthesilea. c. 540 BC (London, British Museum B210. © Universal Images Group/SupersStock).



As non-Greeks on Athenian vases, Amazons soon combine with their customary hoplite arms and armor elements of the dress and military equipment of ‘historical’ foreigners, first archers traditionally identified as Scythians, then Thracians, and finally Persians (Veness 2002: 98–99; see Plate 21.4). Amazons thus become archers themselves, dress in un-Greek long-sleeved jackets and trousers as well as short tunics and chitons, wear exotic caps in addition to Greek helmets, carry the pelta (*pelte*, crescent-shaped shield of a non-hoplitic warrior) in addition to the round *hoplon*, and fight from horseback. The Andokides Painter’s varied depiction of Amazons around 520 BC is particularly engaging. In battle preparations on his unique white-figure amphora in Paris (Cohen 2006: 196, fig. 51.1; 197–198, cat. no. 51), a hoplite Amazon adjusts her corslet, while her shield and elaborate Corinthian helmet rest on the ground; an archer Amazon, wearing a stiffly pointed foreign cap generally referred to as ‘Scythian’, is mounted on a white horse, and a spear-bearing Amazon wears a *sakkos* (soft cap) and a chic matching cloak and skort.

An Athenian red-figure amphora of c. 500–490 BC, attributed to Myson, bears a rare inscribed representation of a historical 6th c. foreigner, the by-now legendary wealthy Lydian King Croesus (c. 595–c. 547 BC), on the pyre (Figure 21.2; Bacchylides III; Herodotos 1.86); famously philhellene, he is shown here as a Greek-looking monarch (Boardman 1982: 15–16; Georges 1994: 37–38; Shapiro 2009: 60–61). Myson’s amphora depicts on the reverse Theseus and Peirithoos abducting Antiope, who will become the Athenian hero’s wife, from her distant homeland (Arias and Hirmer 1962: fig. 130; 332). Both heroes, running from an unseen Amazon contingent, are shown as Greek warriors. The contrasting Amazon queen cradled in Theseus’s arms is strikingly outfitted in a non-Greek get up, like the male archers in ‘Scythian’ dress discussed below, consisting of a patterned long-sleeved jacket and trousers, and yet also sports a Greek short chiton. Her exotic cap is an Athenian artistic variant – neither ‘Scythian’ nor Persian – with a point twirled into a soft peak. In fact, painted on the cusp of Greek conflict with Persia, this amphora’s respectful and unexotic depiction of an Eastern ruler and its positive portrayal of Theseus’s pointedly exotic, long-distance Amazonian bride-rape both pass from fashion (Shapiro 1991: 131–134).

23.4 Legendary Trojans

Although depicted early on in art as military opponents of the Greeks in the legendary Trojan War, as in Homer’s poetry, Trojans are not

commonly differentiated as foreigners through their physical appearance, armor, or weapons (Hölscher 2000: 288). On an inscribed polychrome plate of the late 7th c. BC from Rhodes showing Menelaos and the Trojan Hektor fighting over the body of the fallen Trojan Euphorbos, all three warriors are outfitted like contemporary Greek hoplites, with helmets, corslets, greaves, and round shields (Boardman 1998: 154, fig. 290). The dueling pair wields spears. That Menelaos's helmet has a high, stilted crest and Hektor's a low crest is not a Greek/Trojan distinction, since Euphorbos's helmet also has a high crest. Before the Persian Wars (and after), military enemies of the Greeks tended to be Greeks from other *poleis*. For example, the Protocorinthian Chigi Vase of c. 650, in a unique depiction, shows a military encounter between opposing Greek phalanxes of identically armed hoplites (Boardman 1998: 95, fig. 178.2; see Chapter 4). Thus early Greeks did not conceive of enemy male warriors as looking different from themselves. And, more than a century later, even the giants – primordial enemies of the Greek gods – in the Gigantomachy on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (c. 525 BC) are shown as hoplites (Stewart 1990: figs. 195–196; cf. Chapter 7, [Figure 7.1](#)).

The tradition of not distinguishing Trojans visually as foreign warriors, in fact, characterizes the Archaic period in the 6th c. On the François Vase, Priam's sons, Hektor and Polites, passing through the gate of Troy in their attempt to rescue Troilos, look like Greek hoplites (Arias and Hirmer 1962: pl. 44, bottom). Even in the early 5th c., on the Late Archaic inscribed red-figure cup by Douris showing Menelaos pursuing Paris and Ajax attacking Hektor, all of the warriors still look Greek (Carpenter 1991: 218, fig. 305; Latacz et al. 2008: 365–366, no. 100 (Denoyelle)).

An exception is the craft of archery, which the Archaic Greeks held in low esteem within their own culture and strongly associated with foreigners; they generally depicted all archers with foreign dress and equipment. Exotic archery costume shown on vases is restrained by the limitations of the black- and red-figure palettes. Archers in 'Scythian'-Persian dress, however, also appear in the sculpted battle, probably of Greeks and Trojans, from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina (500–490 BC; Stewart 1990: pls. 240–245; see Chapter 6). A scientific polychromatic reconstruction of the pediment's left kneeling archer, possibly depicting the Trojan prince Paris, restores his patterned costume in bright blue, green, red, brown, and yellow (Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004: 84, fig. 132; 97, fig. 158). The Aigina archer's exotic garb, however, may in one sense be a harbinger of post-Persian War Classical art, where all Trojan warriors sport Persianizing dress rather than Greek hoplite armor and thus visually become Orientals for the first time (Hartog 2001: 82; Shapiro

23.5 Encountering Non-Greeks

23.5.1 Africans

In ancient Greece, black skin color was believed to be environmentally caused: the result of exposure to Africa's strong sun (e.g. Hdt. 2.22). Since 'blackness' was not understood as an inherited (i.e. racial) characteristic, in his influential 20th c. scholarship, Frank M. Snowden, Jr therefore concluded that classical antiquity was a time 'before color prejudice' (Snowden 1970: 2, 172–175, 258, n. 6; 1983: 7, 85–86, 112, n.13; *LIMC* 1: Aithiopes; Isaac 2004: 353; cf. Gruen 2011: 197). In Archaic and Classical Greek art, surviving depictions of black people are generally found on vases, where, with a few notable exceptions, the flesh color of all human figures is dictated by the conventions of the prevailing pottery-decoration technique rather than by actual flesh colors that a viewer might observe in reality. First, in black-figure vase-painting, all male figures are shown as black and female figures as white (applied over black); then, in red-figure, beginning in the last quarter of the 6th c. BC, all human figures are shown as red; that is, reserved in the red-orange color of the vase's clay. In order to determine Greek artistic rather than literary views of various mythological characters and human beings from Africa, it is necessary to look at vases closely.

The amusing old story of the legendary Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes occurs first in Greek art on the foot of the François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)). According to Homer (*Il.* 3.1–6), it takes place faraway across the sea, where the cranes have flown for the winter. The pygmies (located in Egypt) fight off the huge birds to save their crops; they are shown wielding primitive, rustic weapons – the club and the crook. Their cavalry, mounted on goats rather than horses, carries slings loaded with rocks (Boardman 1999: 151; Walsh 2009: 50). Kleitias's pygmies of c. 570 BC are perfectly proportioned tiny male nudes and not the deformed foreign dwarfs (with exotic caps) shown later, as on the Brygos Painter's red-figure rhyton of c. 480 in St Petersburg (Raeck 1981: 204; Boardman 1975: 157, fig. 258; Dasen 1993: 185; Lissarrague 2002: 104–105; Guiman 2007: 130–133). Since Kleitias's pygmies are painted the standard black for males in black-figure and at this early date do not display distinctive physiognomic

characteristics (Dasen 1993: 185), it is in fact not possible to say whether or not they are conceived of as black men associated with distant, hot, and exotic Africa (cf. Mitchell 2009: 105–106). But their liminal placement on this great vessel's foot symbolically locates the pygmies at the southernmost extremity of the world (Lissarrague 2002: 104; Torelli 2007: 71).

The migratory crane as a marker of distant exotic location also occurs in the rare 'historical' depiction on a black-figure Lakonian cup of c. 560 BC (Arias and Hirmer 1962: color pl. 24; 309–310; Boardman 1998: 208, fig. 420.1; see Chapter 4), the eponymous vase of the Arkesilas Painter. On the tondo, identified by an inscribed name tag, King Arkesilas II, who ruled the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya (Hdt. 4.160) during the 560s, oversees workers weighing a commodity – perhaps wool or the extinct local medicinal plant silphion – and stacking bales of it in the exergue. This memorable Egyptianizing composition (Boardman 1999: 149) suggests a traveled artist's account of Sparta's commercial ties with the North African colony, and its remote locale is also suggested by additional animals, including a monkey on the beam supporting the balance, a tame wildcat beneath the king's stool, and a climbing lizard (Hurwit 2006: 129–130). An awning, a wide-brimmed hat, and shoes shield long-haired Arkesilas from the sun. The seated king wears noble Greek dress, a long chiton and a mantle, and holds a scepter. In contrast, the lively workers wear short garments, and some are nude above the waist. They are smaller in size than seated Arkesilas. Some have funny inscribed names, like *Sliphomachos* (perhaps a 'speaking' name playing on silphion). These elements distinguish class, but one ought to consider the identity of these black-figure workers further. They are not shown with the physiognomies employed later in Archaic Greek art to designate black people and others from Africa: it is still too early in the 6th c. to assume that the Arkesilas Painter has simply intended to depict Greek colonists rather than non-Greek Africans (Simon 1976: 60). Might these workers be imagined as subjugated local Libyans or imported black slaves?

The color constraints of pottery-decoration notwithstanding, beginning around 540–530 BC, vase-painters explored the specific depiction of various people from Africa in Greek mythology, through physiognomy as well as dress, weapons, and other attributes. These non-Greek figures often appear in contexts contrasting social class and/or ethnicity.

Memnon, the Ethiopian king who fought as a Trojan ally and was killed by Achilles, is sometimes depicted – looking like a Greek hoplite – accompanied by his short black African squires (Lissarrague 2002: 114–115). For example, Exekias, on a black-figure amphora of c. 540–

530 BC, now in London, delineates the contrasting Negroid physiognomy of Memnon's squires, with furrowed brows, pug noses, protruding lips, and woolly hair (Bérard 2000: 395–400, [fig. 15.4](#); Kaminski 2005: 110–111, 497, no. 50; Mackay 2010: 202, 206; cf. Gruen 2011: 215–216). They wield smooth clubs, and one, amusingly named Amasis (like a black ruler of Egypt, as well as a rival Athenian potter; Sparkes 1997: 149; Boardman 1999: 152), carries a pelta (Mackay 2010: 206).

The Egyptian king Bousiris's attempted sacrifice of the 'foreigner' Herakles at an altar (and that act's implied cannibalism) is thwarted by the Greek hero, who is depicted turning the tables and killing Bousiris and his Egyptian priests, sometimes as the pharaoh's black Nubian guard approaches. A parody of the story appears on the colorful Caeretan black-figure hydria of c. 520–510 BC in Vienna (Boardman 1998: 255, [fig. 499.1-2](#), drawing; Kaminski 2005: 104–106, 492–493, no. 45; Walsh 2009: 97–98), which unusually employs both the black glaze of black-figure and yellow for human flesh. Later, an extreme, comic ethnic contrast of Egyptian and Nubian foreigners with the ideally nude Greek hero appears on the Pan Painter's red-figure pelike of c. 470 (Carpenter 1991: 149, [fig. 208](#); Kaminski 2005: 109, [fig. 5](#)) – a contrast that includes exposing the tunic-wearing Egyptians' non-Greek circumcised penises (McNiven 1995; Miller 2000: 430; Lissarrague 2002: 122–124).

In the red-figure technique, blacks are normally distinguished by physiognomy, sometimes in conjunction with exotic dress, rather than by differentiation of flesh color. However, there are interesting exceptions. On a red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter (c. 490–480 BC), now in Boston, on which the Greek hero Achilles chases Hektor around the walls of Troy, the walls' gateways are reserved and upon them a pair of black men in exotic archery dress – probably Memnon's Ethiopians – have been painted in black glaze (Carpenter 1991: 222, [fig. 314](#); Neils 1980: 22, pl. 7, [fig. 8](#)). The artist of a unique red-figure pelike of c. 460 BC depicting the mythological Ethiopian princess Andromeda being tied to a stake for exposure to a sea monster exceptionally represents her short black slaves with black flesh by drawing them with white outlines upon the pot's black ground ([Figure 23.3](#); Cohen 2006: 182–184, cat. no. 49, color [figs. 49.1, 49.2](#)). As a sign of her elevated class, the Ethiopian princess is shown in standard red-figure. Only her exotic costume, with patterned sleeves and trousers plus a soft cap, which recalls the dress of Amazons and Persians in Classical Greek art, signifies her foreign 'race' and ethnicity (Bérard 2000: 402–406, [figs. 15.9, 15.10](#); Kaminski 2005: 111; cf. Gruen 2011: 215–216).

Figure 23.3 Athenian red-figure pelike. Andromeda tied to a stake by black slaves. c. 460 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.2663. Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund/The Bridgeman Art Library).



In white-ground, a third technique of Athenian vase-painting, all figures, including blacks, are normally drawn with dark outlines on the pale ground, such as the female slave with Negroid physiognomy carrying a stool and an alabastron (a cylindrical perfume vase for women) toward a tombstone in the genre scene on a white funerary lekythos of c. 440 BC (Boardman 1989a: 139, fig. 270; Miller 1997: 213, fig. 140; Isaac 2004: fig. 5a, with caption). By law, after Solon, only non-Athenians could be enslaved in Athens (Lape 2010: 12–13), and non-Greeks were considered especially suitable for slavery. Although the number of slaves of foreign ethnicity in Late Archaic and Classical Athens cannot be quantified precisely (Garlan 1988: 46–47; Coleman 1997: 180–181, 201), the depiction of black people as slaves on Athenian pottery suggests that at this time black foreigners were surely not widely integrated into ancient Greek society (cf. Gruen

Athenian white-ground alabastra of the early 5th c. BC, the so-called Group of the Negro Alabastra (Beazley 1963: 267–269, 1641; Beazley 1971: 352; Neils 1980), interestingly defy the outline-drawing convention of white-ground and depict with black-painted flesh archers displaying Negroid physiognomy and short, woolly hair, who wear exotic outfits with long sleeves and trousers. Some of these alabastra show identically attired ‘white’ Amazon archers with outlined flesh. Recently, identifying the black archers as black Amazons, who hailed from Libya in North Africa (e.g. Diodorus Siculus 3.52–55), Jenifer Neils has reinterpreted these vessels as the Group of the Negress Alabastra (Neils 2007b).

Athenian sculptural vases – partly moldmade plastic vases whose production began in the late 6th c. – facilitated the use of black glaze to depict black flesh (Beazley 1929b: 11). Head vases (plastic vases limited to figures’ heads) count among the earliest examples. A plastic aryballos (men’s vase for perfumed oil) with conjoined heads of a black man made from the same mold displays a carefully observed portrayal (Snowden 2010: 172, 174, fig. 199) that is more naturalistic than the snub-nosed profile canonical in vase-painting (Keuls 2007: 22). Two different moldmade faces may also be conjoined in a single head vase, affording dramatic contrasts of gender, ‘race’, and ethnicity (Lissarrague 1995a: 4, 5, fig. 1; 6; Lissarrague 2002: 108–110; Snowden 2010: 154, fig. 159; 155, fig. 160; cf. Gruen 2011: 216–220).

Athenian plastic vases in the form of little sculptural groups produced in the pottery workshop of Sotades around the mid 5th c. BC include types depicting black men with animals that suggest an exotic African locale. The popular crocodile-group rhyton, in which a black youth is devoured by (or wrestles with) a pistachio-green crocodile (e.g. Cohen 2006: 282, no. 86), continued to be produced, sometimes with local variations, in South Italian pottery workshops into the 4th c. BC (Hoffmann 1997: 156–157; Snowden 2010: 179, 182, fig. 213; 183, fig. 214). Another Sotadean rhyton depicts a dwarf-pygmy struggling with a dead crane; on some examples, the pygmy is black (Dasen 1993: 185; Hoffmann 1997: 36–38, figs. 13–15; Boardman 2001a: 166, fig. 190). Ancient audiences, familiar with foreign black people in inferior social roles such as slaves and entertainers, would surely have found these Sotadean vases amusing (Hoffmann and Metzler 1977: 7–10, 18, n.12; cf. Bäbler 1998: 73–74; Lissarrague 2002: 105–107). The imagery associated with black people and Africa depicted on Greek vases speaks against there having been an absence of racial or color prejudice, and recent scholarship has recognized the emergence of nonscientifically defined racial or proto-racial prejudice in Greek antiquity (Isaac 2004: 176; Tanner 2010: 25–26; cf. Gruen

23.5.2 Thracians

Desecration of the flesh by tattooing was taboo in Greek culture. Tattoos were an attribute of foreigners, notably Thracian women, with whom Athenians were intimately familiar because they served as household slaves (*Thratta*) (Cartledge 1993: 138–140), particularly nursemaids. Thracian female slaves are shown accordingly in genre scenes on 5th c. vases (Sparkes 1997: 141; Bäbler 1998: 37–38; Tsiafakis 2000: 372–376). A red-figure skyphos dating to c. 460 BC employs a pejorative caricature of a Thracian nursemaid in the realm of myth as a foil for constructing an ideal image of the handsome, young Greek hero Herakles, shown on the way to his ill-fated music lesson with Linos (Tsiafakis 2000: 374, fig. 14.4). Her inscribed name is Gerapso (Old), and she supports herself with a walking stick. Gerapso's aged, wrinkled face has a protruding long nose, and the tattooed lines on her exposed flesh are thick and jagged. This skyphos is attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter, who, interestingly, represents the death of Orpheus at the hands of a delicately tattooed beautiful young Thracian woman on a fragmentary white-ground cup from the Athenian Acropolis (Cohen 2000: 113, [fig. 4.4](#)). On a red-figure column-krater of c. 470 BC, now in Munich, the Pan Painter further suggests the foreign ethnicity of a running tattooed Thracian woman from the Orpheus myth by means of her loose streaming hair (Tsiafakis 2000: 375, fig. 14.5; 376), which is painted in dilute glaze in order to show its non-Greek pale-orange color.

A rare bilingual Nikosthenic amphora in Vienna of c. 520 already appears to attribute negative characteristics to Thracian foreigners during Athens's Peisistratid tyranny (Shapiro 1993: 39; [Figure 22.3](#)). It bears an inscribed red-figure depiction of the female personification Dike (Justice) attacking Adikia (Injustice), a subject shown earlier on the now-lost chest of the tyrant Kypselos at Olympia (Paus. 5.18.2). On the vase, Adikia's limbs are covered with dotted circles that recall a Thracian woman's tattoos. The Vienna amphora thus implies that Injustice is non-Greek.

Later, however, in the 5th c. (430/429 BC), the exotic cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis, associated with nature and the hunt – like the Greek Artemis – was introduced to Athens. On an inscribed red-figure skyphos in Tübingen (c. 420–410), the young Thracian goddess and her accompanying deer are addressed by the formally dressed Greek goddess of justice, Themis (mother of Dike) (Shapiro 1993: 225, fig. 185, no. 147; Tsiafakis 2000: 386–388; Shapiro 2009: 78–79, 80,

fig. 3.19). The rustic Bendis wears an animal skin over a short chiton, fawn-skin boots (*embades*), and a fox-skin cap (*alopekis*). The furry cap, which here looks like a fox crouching on her head with its tail hanging down in the back, suggests the goddess's uncouth wildness. However, unlike mortal Thracian women, Bendis is not tattooed.

That the fox-skin cap and tall, fawn-skin boots likewise belonged to the attire of Thracian men (who were also not tattooed) is documented by Thracian myths shown in Athenian art, like the bard Orpheus playing for a Thracian male audience (Raeck 1981: 67, 85–87; Tsiafakis 2000: 376–377, fig. 14.6). This foreign male dress also included a heavy, boldly patterned mantle (*zeira*). In a military context, Thracians carried the pelta. Thracian men were renowned horsemen, and their warm, protective attire was most appropriate for riding, particularly in their northern homeland beside the Black Sea. In Athenian art, depictions of horsemen wearing Thracian dress abound. Determining which ones may actually represent foreigners, however, is generally complicated by the longstanding elite Athenian fashion of wearing Thracian dress for riding (Raeck 1981: e.g. 68–69; Lissarrague 1990a: 191–231; Sparkes 1997: 139, 141; Cohen 2001: 247–251, 259–261), as the horseman on the tondo of Euphronios's cup of c. 515 from Tarquinia (Boardman 1975: 38, [fig. 26.1](#)), Athenian vase-paintings of the *dokimasia* (annual registration of horses and knights), and the cavalry on the Parthenon's marble Ionic frieze of the 440s all document (Cohen 2001: 248–251, 260; see Chapter 7).

23.5.3 Scythians?

Exotically outfitted archers traditionally identified as Scythians, nomadic Iranian people who dwelled far to the north above the Black Sea during the Archaic period, are the earliest human beings depicted in Athenian vase-painting long presumed to be 'historical' foreigners. As discussed below, archers, wearing tall pointed caps, first appear c. 570 BC on the François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)). Subsequently, exotic-looking, fully-costumed 'Scythian' archers, often shown as comrades of hoplites, proliferate in Archaic Athenian vase-painting, particularly during the last few decades of the 6th c., finally mostly disappearing c. 490–480 BC when archers become enemies in the Persian Wars (e.g. Vos 1963: 81, 84–88; Sparkes 1997: 137). Interpreting these archers has proved a conundrum in modern scholarship in regard to factors such as the veracity of their non-Greek ethnicity and the nature of their pictorial contexts, which may or may not depict myth and legend (Vos 1963; Raeck 1981: 10, 14–23, 37–59; Pinney 1983; Lissarrague 1990a: 125–149; Sparkes 1997: 137–139; Lissarrague 2002: 115–117;

cf. Ivantchik 2005, 2006).

The depicted Archaic archers' standard outfitting includes: stiffly pointed caps (and later sometimes softer, rounded, peaked models); richly patterned long-sleeved jackets or tunics and trousers (sometimes conflated into one-piece bodysuits), which do not belong to the vocabulary of Greek untailored costume; double-curved composite Scythian bows, rather than Greek straight bows or Persian long bows; quivers (often the broad *korybos*, which holds both bow and arrows) worn at the waist rather than on the back in Greek fashion; and sometimes battle axes. These distinctive archers, moreover, may participate in opposing armies: most cleverly, on the bilingual eye-cup potted by Andokides c. 520 BC and now in Palermo, where black- and red-figure hoplites fight each other at the cup's handles, a pair of bearded costumed archers holding double-curved composite bows flank a tree on the cup's black-figure side, and a youthful costumed archer blows a trumpet on the red-figure side (CVA, Museo Nazionale 1: pl. 659, 2.3; Vos 1963: 23–24).

Recently, Ivantchik (2005, 2006), building on the structuralist scholarship of Lissarrague (1990a), has proposed that none of the Archaic archers in exotic dress represented on Athenian vases are meant to be Scythians or any foreigners at all – instead they are simply secondary, non-hoplitic warriors whose exotic costume denotes their lowly military rank in art, though this costume was not actually employed in Greek life. He would identify these artistic archers, therefore, either as costumed Greek warriors or as costumed Trojan archers in the legendary Trojan army. Moreover, Ivantchik has also suggested that Athenian vase-painters did not pattern the artistic exotic outfitting of these Archaic archers on Scythians, who, according to Herodotos (7.64), wore a pointed cap (*kurbasia*), but rather on other Iranian peoples in the Median army or on Medes, who likewise wore a form of pointed cap (the *bashlyk*), or even on the Persian (Achaemenid) army; all of the latter were probably encountered in Ionia. And furthermore, according to Ivantchik, not only is exotic archery outfitting never a marker of foreign ethnicity in Greek art, but possible depictions of archers' aberrant facial profiles and unusual hair or beard styles ought to be discarded as purposeful indicia of foreign ethnicity.

Indeed, no documented historical basis exists for assuming the military presence of Scythians in 6th c. Athens (Lissarrague 1990a: 125–149; Sparkes 1997: 137; cf. Bäßler 1998: 163–174), though Scythian slaves reputedly served as police in the city during Classical times (Bäßler 2005). Yet, despite their distant location, Scythians were likely encountered by Archaic Greeks in the context of contemporary travel, colonization, and trade (cf. Bäßler 2005: 115–116), including

the slave trade (Garlan 1988: 46). The importance of possible contacts between Archaic Greeks and foreigners north of the Black Sea (e.g. Boardman 1999: 238–264) is downplayed by substituting for Scythians, perhaps arbitrarily, Medes, or others in their army, as inspiration for all of the exotic outfitting of archers in pre-Classical Greek art. Such a shift would also significantly impact the interpretation of Amazons and their imagery.

Given the demonstrated receptivity of Athenian culture (Miller 1997), elements of some other foreign costumes and paraphernalia shown in art seem also to have been absorbed and/or emulated in Athenian life. As we have seen, for example, Thracian costume appears to have been worn by Athenian cavalymen, and thus, outside of identifiable representations of Thracian myths or the *dokimasia* ceremony, it is often difficult to discern whether foreign-costumed men shown in art are intended to be Thracians or Athenians.

Ivantchik's reinterpretation of 'Scythian' archer imagery correctly recognizes exotically costumed archers in many artistic contexts as Athenians (or Trojans) with activity- and class-appropriate foreign garb and equipment. But ought one also conclude that none of the Archaic archers depicted are meant to be foreigners with their native costumes and equipment? It is wise to proceed with caution in the face of a monolithic, pointedly non-ethnic scenario.

The saga of the Caledonian Boar Hunt shown in the top frieze on the front of the richly inscribed François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)) first features the notorious archers, but as hunters rather than warriors. In Kleitias's version of the story, named male Greek hunters, including famous heroes like Peleus and Meleager, along with the heroine Atalanta, who is elsewhere normally shown as an archer herself (Barringer 2001), advance on foot against the monstrous wild boar, wielding spears; named hunting dogs accompany them. Meanwhile, arrows shot by three male archers crouching amid the advancing spear bearers have already hit and weakened the beast. These archers wear stiffly pointed caps, and their quivers are slung at their waists, in non-Greek fashion. They wear short tunics and not yet long-sleeved and trousered archery costume. Significantly, the sole visible drawn bow is shown as the non-Greek double-curved composite type particularly associated with Scythians. Barringer has pointed out Atalanta's exotic identity, including her close association or assimilation with Amazons and foreign 'Scythian' archers: the last only appear in the Caledonian Boar Hunt when Atalanta herself is present (Barringer 2004: 14, 19–21, 24–25). Has Kleitias envisioned these bowmen as contemporary exotic non-Greeks appropriately renowned for the craft of archery (Cohen 1994: 699–700; Barringer 2004: 15–18) integrated within the heroic Greek world (Hölscher 2000: 288), or

as secondary Greeks outfitted with foreign (Median) equipment (Ivantchik 2005: 108–111; Ivantchik 2006: 216–223)?

Exotic-sounding inscribed names have contributed to the traditional understanding of these archers as non-Greeks (Vos 1963: 48–50; Cohen 1994: 700), but, in rejecting their foreign ethnicity, Ivantchik stresses instead the Greek derivation of their names. He identifies two ‘speaking’ names: Euthymakos (‘straight-fighter’) and Toxamis (derived from the Greek *toxa* for ‘a bow’, rather than being a Scythian name), and he documents Kimerios (Cimmerian) as a name employed in ancient Greece (Ivantchik 2005: 108–111; 2006: 221–223). Ivantchik concludes further, ‘...that the Amazons on Attic vases often bear “speaking” names formed from “Toxis” or “Toxophile”: of course they have nothing to do with Scythians’ (Ivantchik 2006: 218). But, as we have seen, when Amazons become archers they assume elements of ‘Scythian’ clothing and equipment. And in the case of an Amazon archer, giving her a ‘speaking’ name derived from the Greek word for ‘bow’, though it is not authentically foreign, underscores her exotic nature. By juxtaposing inventive foreign-sounding names and foreign accouterments in his image of archers, it is highly likely that Kleitias, working in cosmopolitan Early Archaic Athens, meant to inject an exotic element into this heroic scene by means of contemporary non-Greeks noted for a craft reviled within Greek culture (Vos 1963: 4; Cohen 1994: 699–700; Barringer 2004: 24–25).

The ability to depict the ethnicity of ‘historical’ foreigners by means of conventionalized or carefully observed physical features in addition to costume and attributes develops slowly and occurs only sporadically in Archaic Greek art. Kleitias’s work on the François Vase is too early for the inclusion of physical indicia of ethnicity in human beings, but the later exceptional black-figure vase-painter Exekias stands at the forefront of this phenomenon. As we have seen, c. 540 BC Exekias employs a distinctive profile and woolly hair to denote the black squires of the hero Memnon (Bérard 2000: 396, [fig. 15.4](#)), and this recognizable portrayal of black people, which resembles the Greek depiction of monkeys, appears to have been the easiest convention for Archaic artists to master. Effectively identifying other ethnicities by means of profile-head types that contrast with the idealized straight bridgeless-nosed Greek norm (Moignard 2000: 198–199; Keuls 2007: 24) is rare in Archaic vase-painting. But Exekias also shows a male mourner on a fragmentary funerary plaque now in Berlin (Boardman 1974: [fig. 105.1](#)) with a hook-nosed profile commonly employed later in red-figure vase-painting for Semitic men (Keuls 2007: 22–23), including the old foreigner in a Greek himation, who might be a metic, walking a Maltese dog on the tondo of a cup from c. 500 BC attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, now in New York (Boardman

1975: fig. 126; Keuls 2007: 23–24, fig. 7; Moore 2008: 11, 12–13, figs. 2, 3, 14–16).

In unique depictions on a fragmentary black-figure amphora of c. 540 BC, now in Philadelphia, Exekias contrasts a Chalkidian-helmeted hoplite on side A with an archer in full ‘Scythian’ dress on side B, each of whom patiently holds the tether of a grazing horse (Sparkes 1997: 138, [fig. 7.3](#); Mackay 2010: 275–280, pl. 67). While the hoplite’s hair and forehead are concealed beneath his helmet, his profile looks straight, and his beard is closely clipped along the bottom edge. But the archer’s nose juts forward from a curved forehead with an unclassical break at the bridge; he has straight-clipped bangs and hair. According to Mackay (2010: 279), ‘Exekias seems to have taken care to include a further distinction between his warrior and his archer, in that the latter’s beard is longer than the warrior’s, and the incised hairs along its underside are longer and more closely-set, giving an impression of a finer, silkier texture. Were it not for Ivantchik’s conclusions, this might have been interpreted as supporting the ethnic interpretation, for representations of historical Scythians in their own art of the fifth century suggest that their beards may well have been longer and stragglier than the Athenian norm...’. Pace Ivantchik (2005: 208–209, n. 83; 2006: 230, n. 93), Exekias visually conveys the impression of this black-figure archer as being non-Greek, and I think we should believe him.

Later, on the Kleophrades Painter’s red-figure amphora of c. 500 BC, now in Würzburg ([Figure 23.4](#)), an exotically costumed archer sports a distinctive small chin-beard (e.g. Pinney 1983: 136), which Ivantchik would have us discount as an indicium of foreign ethnicity. This archer stands opposite, and thus contrasts with, a departing beardless young Greek in hoplite armor, who is performing an extispicy (a divination ritual involving animal entrails; Vos 1963: 31–33; Lissarrague 1990a: 67–69; cf. Ivantchik 2006: 215). But here, that the archer, who is still an acolyte of the hoplite, wears a softly rounded peaked cap resembling the ‘Persian’ type rather than the pointed ‘Scythian’ one may suggest critical Greek awareness of more than one type of foreigner associated with archery.

Figure 23.4 Athenian red-figure amphora. ‘Scythian’ archer at the departure of a Greek hoplite performing an extispicy. c. 500 BC (Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Photo: K. Oehrlein).



Finally, moving down to the second decade of the 5th c. BC, the time of conflict with Persia, Ivantchik assesses an unusual artifact:

On one of the ostraca, which had probably been used for the ostracism of 485 BC, there is a scratched depiction of an archer in 'Scythian' costume accompanying the inscription ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΟ ΜΕΔΟΣ 'Kallias, son of Kratios, a Mede (i.e. Persian).' Ten other ostraca with the name of Kallias contain a similar accusation of ties with Persia. Thus, the author of the ostrakon in question supplemented his accusation of *medismos* with the depiction of an archer, the ethnic attribution of which is clearly indicated: this is a Persian. So the figure, whose similarity with the 'Scythian' archers of Archaic vases is evident, calls clearly to the beholder's mind associations with Persians (not Scythians) in Athens in the mid-480s (2006: 249, 250, fig. 15, drawing; cf. Lissarrague 2002: 117–118).

The immediately recognizable Persian of the graffito wears long-sleeved and trousered archery costume, but in two important details

his image's similarity with 'the "Scythian" archers of Archaic vases' is not evident. First, his rounded peaked Persian cap does not correspond to the original pointed 'Scythian' type of the depicted archers. And second, his bow is a straight Persian longbow (Lissarrague 2002: 118) and not the double-curved composite Scythian bow characteristic of the 'Scythian' archers on vases. In fact, a shortcoming of Ivantchik's reappraisal, which assigns inspiration for the outfitting in the Archaic archer imagery to the realm of Medes rather than Scythians, is a lack of close attention to different shapes of ancient bows (e.g. Tölle-Kastenbein 1980) and their significant ethnic associations.

23.6 Greeks versus Persians: Non-Greek Others in Monumental Art of the Classical Period

After the unexpected Greek victory in the Persian Wars, oppositional battle imagery symbolizing conflict with a foreign foe became a hallmark of Greek art. This theme was explored in the newly important medium of monumental mural paintings (i.e. paintings on wooden panels affixed to building walls), which flourished in early Classical democratic Athens. None is preserved, but several relevant examples are mentioned in ancient literary sources. Among the first were battle paintings of the 470s BC in the Theseion, the Athenian sanctuary of Theseus founded by Kimon, son of Miltiades, victorious general at the Battle of Marathon of 490 BC. Here, however, instead of depicting Greek hoplites fighting exotic Orientals, two venerable mythological battles were pressed into service to symbolize the recent Persian conflict: the Amazonomachy (Boardman 1982: 5, 17, 27–28; cf. Veness 2002: 95, 104) and the Centauromachy; authorship of these Theseion paintings is often attributed to Mikon, who painted the sanctuary's third painting of Theseus retrieving the ring of Minos (Pausanias 1.17.2–6; Castriota 1992: 33, 247–248, n. 2).

A red-figure volute-krater of c. 460 attributed to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs may reflect both battle paintings of the Theseion (Mertens 2010: 124–129, no. 25, with figs.). In the Amazonomachy on the pot's body, these untamed foreign female warriors, standing in for 'effeminate' exotically dressed Persian barbarians (Castriota 1992: 43–58), are beautiful robust young women (Stewart 1995: 583–584),

who, rather than a consistent military uniform, sport elements of Greek clothing and armor interspersed with the patterned tunic, sleeved top, or trousers, plus boots or soft Persian caps, and various foreign arms like the battle axe, composite bow, quiver of arrows worn at the waist, and wicker pelta. The Greek warriors either wear short chitons or fight in heroic nudity. In a key motif, an Amazon on horseback spears a nude Greek warrior fallen beneath his shield in rear view. Another Amazon steers a quadriga across the vase's back. Terrain lines indicating that the fight takes place on uneven ground reflect spatial advances of monumental free-painting (Boardman 2005: 64) and perhaps suggest the terrain of the now-legendary battlefield on home turf.

The Centauromachy on the front of this volute-krater's neck presents a new version of the Thessalian battle that must have been invented for the Theseion painting (Carpenter 1991: 176, fig. 255; Castriota 1992: 32–43, figs. 2a, 2b; Mertens 2010: 125, 128–129). Instead of the traditional Centauromachy in the countryside, depicted nearly a century earlier on the François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)), the fight is now shown breaking out indoors, before a row of couches, at the wedding feast of Peirithoos. The surprised participants thus use makeshift weapons, and one centaur shields himself with a cushion. The fight at the feast, influenced by the Theseion painting, also appears in the marble sculpture of c. 460 BC from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Chapter 7), where drunken, grimacing, snub-nosed centaurs, violating all protocols of civilized order and hospitality, attack the beautiful serene bride and wedding guests.

The Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora, a porchlike building named for its now-lost colorful paintings, contained another composition by Mikon that specifically showed the Athenians and their hero Theseus fighting the Amazons (Paus. 1.15.2). But the Stoa's most renowned painting – a depiction of the Battle of Marathon (probably of the mid-5th c. BC) – evoked the by-now legendary historical Athenian conflict. There is a brief surviving description by the 2nd c. AD traveler Pausanias of this bold artistic invention:

The final part of the painting represents those who fought at Marathon [painted by Mikon and Panainos]. The Boeotians who inhabit Plataea and the Attic force are coming to grips with the barbarians. In this section the struggle is an equal match. In the center of the battle, however, the barbarians are fleeing and are pushing one another into the marsh, and at the borders of the painting there are Phoenician ships and Greeks slaying those of the barbarians who are climbing into them ... Of the combatants the

most conspicuous in the painting are Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians to be the supreme commander, and, of the other generals, Miltiades, and also the hero who is named Echetlos (1.15.3; trans. Pollitt 1990: 144).

In addition to Amazons and centaurs, 5th c. Athenian red-figure vases depict Persian warriors (Bovon 1963: 579–591; Raeck 1981: 111–129; Miller 1995; see [Figure 21.5](#)), and scholars have employed evidence from vase-painting, recently discovered architectural remains, and ancient literature, to reconstruct the historic Marathon depiction's composition and its placement within the ensemble of paintings that decorated the Stoa Poikile (e.g. Harrison 1972; Hölscher 1973: 38–49; Castriota 1992: 77–82; 2005; Boardman 2005: 66–71; Stansbury O'Donnell 2005). Significantly, a well-known oinochoe attributed to the Chicago Painter in Boston (Boardman 1989: 29, fig. 29) and an unattributed amphora in New York (Castriota 1992: 50, fig. 5; Guiman 2007: 125, fig. 2) contrast individual spear-bearing Greek hoplites with Persian archers, bringing to mind the symbolic ethnic contrast of the spear and the bow in Aeschylus's *Persians* (85–86, 147–149) of 474 BC (Raeck 1981: 116–117; Hall 1989: 85–86), while in reality the Persians used spears too. On each vase, the scraggly-bearded Persian foe assumes a similar submissive pose, shrinking from the Greek, with the right arm and hand cast back over the head wielding a curved slashing sword (*machaira*), and the left hand extended downward, holding a straight bow. Each Persian wears a quiver suspended at the waist, a soft flapped cap, a sleeved upper garment, trousers, and shoes, and on the New York amphora the Persian's exotic attire is topped by a linen corslet (Hdt. 7.61; Miller 1997: 185). On the Boston oinochoe, the Persian's flying arrow has just missed its mark. Both vases' spear-wielding hoplites have the upper hand, and on the New York amphora, the Greek spear has already hit home. The New York hoplite is concealed behind his protective helmet, worn with the cheekpieces down, a corslet, and a short chiton (though no greaves). In contrast, the youthful and beardless Boston hoplite is heroically nude and fights protected only by greaves and an Attic helmet with its cheekpieces raised (Miller 1995: 41; Hölscher 2000: 303–304; Guiman 2007: 125). The lost painting, surely punctuated by similar artistic displays of ideal Greek nudity, probably exhibited overall an equally eye-catching contrast of Greek and Persian military fashions and equipment (Miller 1997: 6).

The Stoa Poikile's extraordinary lost painting of the Battle of Marathon might be assumed to have nourished an immediate vogue for depictions of Athenians fighting Persians in monumental Classical art, but that does not appear to have been the case. Instead, venerable mythological battle analogues were featured in the sculptural program

of the Temple of Athena Parthenos (447–432 BC) on the Athenian Acropolis. The metopes in the Parthenon's Doric frieze from the 440s are believed to depict the Battle of the Gods and the Giants (east), the Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the Wedding Feast (south), the Battle of the Greeks and the Amazons (west) – rather than the Persians, who appear only later (c. 420) on the south frieze of the Acropolis Temple of Athena Nike (Stewart 1990: figs. 413–416) – and the Sack of Troy (north) (Schwab 2005: 167–190). Although imperial Athens's Parthenon may itself have been a thank-offering to Athena for triumphant defeat of the Persians, recent scholarship suggests that beyond denoting the legendary historic conflict between Greeks and Persians, the metopes' battles might also allude more generally to civilization's triumph over barbarians, or civilization versus wild nature, or even to civic values associated with marriage (Schwab 2005: 167–168).

Yet the poorly preserved Amazonomachy of the Parthenon's west metopes, which appears to include Amazons both on foot and on horseback, is thought to depict the Athenian battle in which the Amazons, like the Persians, penetrated the city and scaled the Acropolis, and then – unlike the Persians, who sacked the sanctuary – were defeated (Schwab 2005: 178). The Athenian Amazonomachy was surely found inside the temple, as the relief on the shield of its colossal chryselephantine statue, the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias of c. 447–438 (Plin. *HN* 36.18). Here, in a composition spread over the shield's convex exterior surface, the Amazons, literally shown ascending the rough terrain and scaling the walls of the Acropolis, were repulsed by the Athenians (Harrison 1981: 297, Ill. 4). Fine copies of shield motifs on Neo-Attic reliefs found in Piraeus (e.g. *LIMC* 1: pl. 472, *Amazones*, 246d[a]) clearly indicate that Pheidias turned away from the tradition of Amazons in exotic dress in favor of depicting them wearing Greek short chitons (and Attic helmets) (cf. Veness 2002: 103–104). In the shield's Amazonomachy, as well as in the temple's mythological metopes, rather than alluding visually to a particular Oriental barbarian fought at a particular time during the 5th c. – however legendary that conflict might have become – the Parthenon's embellishment seeks timelessness, thus assuring the eternal relevance of its battle imagery.

23.7 Conclusion

In early Greece, the struggle of Greek civilization against the uncivilized – often denoted by mythological beings – was an

important artistic theme. There was not a strong tradition for showing human enemies as foreign-looking, since military enemies of the Greeks were not necessarily non-Greek. And non-Greeks, who were abundantly represented in pre-Classical Archaic Greek art and often distinguished by exotic dress, weapons, and/or occasionally physiognomy, were not necessarily enemies; in actuality, they may most often have been encountered as slaves. In the 5th c., after the Greeks defeated exotically dressed and equipped Persians in the army of the despotic Eastern empire, their art sometimes turned to myth and legend to symbolize this strange military encounter, and also fostered oppositional images of idealized, self-assured Greeks contrasted with a variety of non-Greek Others.

FURTHER READING

The subject of Greeks and non-Greek 'Others' has gained momentum in recent years. Boardman (1999) remains the starting point for an archaeological summary of peoples and places. For a general introduction to the larger themes of cultural opposition and for the wider implications across classical scholarship, readers are directed to books by Hartog (1988, 2001), Hall (1989), and Cartledge (1993), as well as to the edited volumes of Coleman and Walz (1997), Malkin (2001), and Harrison (2002). Two books by J. Hall (1997, 2002) have pushed the subject in the direction of ethnicity and identity. Athenian receptivity to Persian culture is illuminated by Miller (1997). On 'racism', see Hoffman and Metzler (1977) and Isaac (2004); Lape (2010) defines Classical Athenians' eponymous self-definition as a racial identity. Counter to the prevailing scholarly dialogue, Gruen (2011) seeks to minimize the phenomenon of otherness in classical antiquity.

For Greek art specifically, still-useful works are von Bothmer (1957) on Amazons and Raeck (1981) on depictions of various 'barbarians'. Lissarrague (1990a) examines images of 'foreign-armed' non-hoplitic warriors. In regard to the opposition of Greeks and Persians, Harrison (1972), Hölscher (1973), and Castriota (1992, 2005) illuminate the lost painting in Athens's Stoa Poikile of the Battle of Marathon. Important essays by various authors, concerned with a wide range of characters (workers, non-Greeks, satyrs, etc.), are available in Davis and Cohen (1995), Cohen (2000), and Guidice and Panvini (2007). On disability and/or visual humor, see Dasen (1993), Walsh (2009), and Mitchell (2009). For ancient images of blacks, see Snowden (1970, 1983, 2010), and for introductory overviews of non-Greeks, see Sparkes (1997) and Lissarrague (2002).

Several exhibitions and their published catalogues have dealt with various aspects of the subject and have made fundamental contributions, among them Reeder (1995) on women, Padgett (2003) on centaurs and other part-human, part-animal mythological beings, and Cohen (2006) on unusual vase types and techniques of representation.

CHAPTER 24

Birth, Marriage, and Death

John H. Oakley

24.1 Introduction

The three major transitions in life are birth, marriage, and death, and as anthropologists have demonstrated, ‘rites of passage’ accompany each transition. Specifically, the liminal period between the initial and the final stage of transition is marked by rites of separation, rites of transition, and rites of incorporation. Many of the depictions in ancient Greek art connected with birth, marriage, and death reflect these rites, and Greek archaeologists of the current generation have been keen to note them, as well as the underlying cultural, social, and historical messages sent by the images (Oakley 2004: 225–227).

24.2 Birth

Birthing scenes of mortals are very rare in Greek art, the main exception being a small group of Attic gravestones from the third quarter of the 4th c. BC which appear to show a woman in the throes of labor (Stewart and Grey 2000). The marble grave stele of Plangon in Athens ([Figure 24.1](#)) is perhaps the most dynamic representation of these, and like the others, shows a seated woman leaning back supported by other females. Her spread legs, disheveled hair, and the actions of the other figures, as well as the mantle that covers her only from the waist down, show that she is in labor. A bearded man on the left labeled ‘Tolmides of Plataiai’ has raised his left hand to his downturned head in commiseration, and the female attendant between him and his daughter, Plangon, emotionally gestures with her

extended left arm while with her right hand she supports Plangon's extended right arm. The other attendant supports her in a fashion that suggests she is helping Plangon to relax and lean back. The gravestones with these scenes appear to be made for mothers who did not survive childbirth.

Figure 24.1 Marble gravestone. A woman named Plangon is shown in labor. c. 320 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 417. DAI, Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-NM 417. All rights reserved).



Mythological births are more frequently depicted, although the artists focused on abnormal births. The most popular is the Birth of Athena, who is most frequently shown fully grown and armed, popping out or having just popped out of the head of a seated Zeus, although a few scenes show the moments before the birth. A good example of the birth is an amphora of 540 BC from Group E in Richmond, Virginia (*LIMC* 2: 987, no. 351, pl. 744), on which Zeus is seated frontally on a throne in the middle of the scene as a miniature,

fully armed, and frontally-depicted Athena emerges from his head. Two women stand to either side of him (probably the Eileithyiai, minor divinities thought to assist women in labor), followed by Hermes on the left and Ares on the right. The subject is most popular on Athenian black-figure vases, but also occurs on Athenian red-figure. The earliest depictions from c. 680 are found on a relief pithos in Tenos and bronze shield bands in Olympia (*LIMC* 2: 988, nos. 360–362). The most famous representation is the east pediment of the Parthenon ([Figure 7.3](#)).

Other examples of miraculous births which are represented in Greek art (of various media) include Aphrodite rising from the ground or sea (sometimes in a seashell), Helen hatched from an egg, Pegasus and Chrysaor born from the decapitated head of Medusa, and Erichthonios handed over to Athena from Gaia. Dionysos is unique in that he was born twice, once from Semele shortly before Zeus's lightning bolt annihilated her, and a second time from the thigh of Zeus, where the fetus had been placed after Semele's death to grow until it was mature enough to be born again. Both moments, although rare, are shown in Greek art. Not all divine births, however, were abnormal, as for example the birth of Apollo and Artemis. One Attic red-figure pyxis in Athens of c. 370 BC (*LIMC* 6: 258, no. 6, pl. 130) shows a seated Leto in labor grasping a palm tree for support.

24.3 Marriage

The wedding ceremony marks the transition to marriage, and wedding scenes are common in Archaic and Classical art. They are most popular on Attic black-figure and red-figure vases, and provide evidence that both confirms what the literary sources tell us about the ceremony and adds to it by illustrating aspects not mentioned in literature. Although the vase-paintings are often not realistic pictures, they do give us insight into Athenian attitudes to the rite.

Wedding motifs are also found on red-figure vases of other fabrics, particularly South Italian (see Chapter 19), but there are no illustrations of mortals involved in everyday weddings as on the vases of Athens. Occasionally part of the ceremony is referred to in a scene of myth, such as the *engye* (marriage contract) performed by Perseus and Kepheus as Andromeda in bridal attire is tied to the stakes, on an Apulian volute-krater in the J. Paul Getty Museum (*CVA* Malibu 4: pls. 190–192; cf. [Figure 23.3](#)). Additionally, the figures inside a grave *naiskos* can appear as a bride being attended to by another woman or women. Wedding scenes on other media are extremely rare.

Using the depictions connected with the wedding in coordination with references in ancient literature, it is possible to reconstruct much of the ancient rite. The major drawbacks to this approach are two. First, there is no one full description of an ancient Greek wedding, but rather we are forced to use references from a wide range of places in the Greek world and covering a considerable span of time that both directly and indirectly refer to various parts of the ceremony. Second, iconographical research of the last 30 years or so has made it clear that vase-paintings are not photographs, but rather artistic constructs reflecting cultural, political, and social values (cf. Bérard et al. 1989), so that although a particular image may well reflect a part or parts of the ceremony, it is not an exact picture from a particular wedding. Nevertheless, ritual is conservative, and the evidence indicates that the basic elements of the wedding continued to be used over a long span of time and a wide geographical area, so that the pastiche derived from art and literature is relatively reliable.

The *gamos* (wedding) originates with the *engye* (literally ‘something placed in the hand’), the marriage contract between the groom and the bride’s father. This can take place years before the actual ceremony. An Attic red-figure loutrophoros of c. 425 BC in Boston (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 51, fig. 1) depicts the *engye*, showing a well-dressed groom sealing the deal by shaking the hand of the bearded, scepter-holding father standing opposite him.

The wedding ceremony itself appears to have normally lasted for three days. On the first, the *proaulia*, preparations for the *gamos* proper, were made, including preliminary sacrifices (*proteleia*), offerings to the gods, ritual baths, and decoration of the houses of the bride and groom’s families. Of these moments, the ritual bath of the bride in Athens is the only event depicted for certain with any frequency, and then it is not the bath proper, but the ritual procession to Enneakrounos – the fountain house for the Kallirrhoe Spring – to obtain the bath waters in a loutrophoros that is usually shown (Thuc. 2.15.5). A Protoattic loutrophoros of the third quarter of the 7th c. BC, from the Shrine of the Nymph on the south slope of the Acropolis, is our earliest depiction of this procession, and one of our earliest wedding scenes (Acropolis NA 1957.Aa.189, unpublished). The subject is most popular, however, on 5th c. red-figure loutrophoroi made in Athens. A fragmentary one in Karlsruhe ([Figure 24.2](#)) by the Naples Painter presents us with the procession from fountain to home. The starting and end points, the door of the house, and the Kallirrhoe fountain are joined back to back, and the procession fills out the rest of the space. A smoking altar and Herm decorated with branches stands before the door. From the left comes a young flute player, followed by a girl carrying a loutrophoros, and other women and girls.

Two of the women carry torches, indicating that the event takes place at night. The bride is most likely the second-to-last figure, who is led forward by the hand by one of the torch-bearers. The woman playing with *krotala* (castanets) tells us that dance was an element of this part of the ceremony. The actual bath appears to be shown on an unattributed red-figure pyxis of c. 425 in New York (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 62, figs. 20–21), where Eros pours water from a hydria over the kneeling bride. The mixture of the real and the divine is a common motif in wedding scenes and raises the status of bride and groom.

Figure 24.2 Athenian red-figure loutrophoros. Loutrophoria procession. c. 440 BC (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69/78. DAI, Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Varia 752. All rights reserved).



The *gamos* proper took place on the second day. In the morning, the bride was dressed and adorned under the supervision of the *nympheutria*, the bride's maid. Attic red-figure vase-painters were particularly fond of depicting these scenes of adornment, which stress

the beauty of the bride, whose attractiveness will help ensure the success of the marriage, which is to produce male heirs. The bride is normally accompanied by her female companions, who are there to support her in this time of transition, when she will leave the only home she has ever known and move to a stranger's (the groom's parents') house with a man who in some cases she may never have met (Lewis 2002: 175–177).

A good example is on a *lebes gamikos* (wedding bowl) of c. 430 BC by the Washing Painter in Athens (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 64, fig. 23). This artist specialized in wedding vases. The bride is shown seated in the center, binding her hair, as an Eros comes fluttering in from the left to help adorn her. Another Eros and three female companions look on, one of whom carries a *loutrophoros*, while a second holds a sash and large basket. The *klismoi* (backed chairs), *kalathos* (wool basket), and small wooden chest indicate an interior setting which we are meant to imagine as the women's quarter of the house.

On other vases, the bridal assistants do the dressing. A *lebes gamikos* by the Washing Painter in the Benaki Museum in Athens (Oakley and Sinos 2003: 63, fig. 22) shows a bridal attendant leaning over to fasten a necklace around the neck of the seated bride, and on yet another vase in Athens she places the *stephane*, the bridal crown, atop the head of the seated bride (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 66, figs. 28, 29). The *stephane* was part of the special bridal attire, as were also the bridal sandals, the *nymphides*. On some vases, one of the bride's attendants or Eros helps with this footwear, as for example on a squat *lekythos* of 420–410 BC in Boston attributed to the Manner of the Meidias Painter (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 67, fig. 30), where Eros attends to the bride's sandals as female attendants stand to either side of them, one holding the *stephane*, the other a necklace. The bride, meanwhile, prepares to pull her veil over her head, the final element of her special clothing.

Music was part of the activities surrounding the dressing of the bride, and it must have helped calm the bride's fears and foster camaraderie between the females. Several *lebetes gamikoi* by the Washing Painter feature a harp. The most complicated picture of this type is on a vessel of this shape in Athens (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 70, fig. 38). Here, one companion fingers the instrument as another leans upon her shoulders from behind, entranced by the music. Seated before them is the bride, who examines one tube of an *aulos* (double flute), which she holds up and looks through; the other tube dangles in her left hand. Other women stand by them, carrying baskets and a wooden chest.

A few *lebetes gamikoi* feature a baby boy. One in Munich (Oakley

and Sinos 1993: 72, fig. 40) shows a seated bride handing the baby over to a standing attendant, who holds a cloth ready to wrap the child. Female attendants accompany them. In Greece today, young males are sometimes placed on the knees of brides or in the marriage bed, the purpose being to ensure fertility and the successful production of male children. A similar ancient custom is likely reflected on Athenian marriage vases showing a baby boy in context with a bride.

A good number of adornment scenes are composed of either mythological figures or combinations of mythological and nonmythological. Thus, Helen is depicted getting dressed as a bride, and figures who appear to be a mortal bride and her attendants helping to dress her can be labeled as nymphs, thereby raising the everyday to the divine while playing on the dual meaning of *nymphē*, bride and nymph (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 67–68, figs. 31–35).

The wedding feast itself is not depicted except in connection with scenes of the Centauromachy which took place at the marriage of Perithous and Hippodameia. On several other Attic vases, mythological figures are shown on their way to attend a wedding. The gods and divinities represented in a procession going to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the main frieze of the François Vase in Florence (Figure 30.1; and Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs. 50–53), a black-figure volute-krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, is the most famous example. Dancing, we know, took place at various points in the wedding ceremony, and some of the scenes of dancing on wedding vases may represent the activity taking place at the feast. A good candidate is the complicated line dance shown on a red-figure lebes gamikos of 470 BC by the Syriskos Painter, today located in Mykonos Archaeological Museum (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 80–81, figs. 54–58).

At nightfall, after the feast had ended, is most likely when the unveiling of the bride before the groom for the first time took place (the *anakalypteria*) and when the groom gave the bride his own personal gifts (*anakalypteria dora*). A fragmentary red-figure loutrophoros of 430–425 BC in Boston, attributed to the Phiale Painter (Figure 24.3), appears to show the event, with the *nymphēutria* lifting the veil off the seated bride's head. Seated across from her is the groom; a youth, the *pais amphithales*, stands between them as an Eros flies down to decorate her with a fillet and a procession of women from the left carry what probably are the *anakalypteria dora*. On the right of the newlyweds is preserved part of a female figure tilting a basket with small objects over them. This refers most likely to the *katachysmata*, a ritual showering of fruits and nuts over the newlyweds upon their arrival in their new home. Thus, the Boston

loutrophoros combines two moments of time and two parts of the ritual into one scene. This combination of wedding motifs from different parts of the ceremony becomes commonplace after c. 430 BC.

Figure 24.3 Athenian red-figure loutrophoros. *Anakalypteria* and *katachysmata*. c. 430–425 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.223. Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund/The Bridgeman Art Library).



Following the *anakalypteria*, the procession conducting the couple from the bride's family home to their new home (the house of the groom's parents) took place. It was the most popular wedding scene in Attic black-figure and continued to be popular in red-figure. This was a dangerous point of transition for the newlyweds, which helps to explain its popularity. In black-figure, the basic composition consists of the couple, a chariot, and the processors on foot, who can bear torches, musical instruments, baskets, and gifts. In some cases, the couple and their fellows are clearly divine, but often they are not,

suggesting that we are not meant to believe that chariots were actually used in Athenian weddings, but rather that the chariot is there to equate the couple with the divine. One of the finest and most true-to-life representations is on a lekythos by the Amasis Painter from the middle of the 6th c. and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 87–88, figs. 68–70). The couple, with the *parochos* (best man), sits in the first of two carts drawn by mules that approach a house. From within, the groom's mother with torches comes to greet them. Accompanying the lead cart on foot is another woman with torches, the bride's mother. Other guests follow on foot or in the other cart.

Chariot scenes continue in red-figure for both mythological and nonmythological couples, but by far the most popular is the procession on foot (*chamaipous*). Typically the groom grabs the wrist of his bride, making ready to take her away. Often the *nymphetria* adjusts the bride's garment while the bride's mother prepares to lead the way, holding torches. Other females carrying objects accompany them. A good example is a loutrophoros by the Washing Painter of c. 430 in Athens (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 97, fig. 85), where an Eros flying between the couple plays the aulos. A combination of the two types of procession is rendered on the name-piece of the Painter of the Athens Wedding (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 99–100, figs. 87–89). On the lower section of the front side of the calyx-krater is the foot procession, while on the back a chariot is prepared with pillows for the couple. Unique is the man in the upper register who casts sandals after the couple, which is roughly equivalent to the rice thrown today. The custom of shoe-throwing is known from other cultures, but this is the only evidence for it at an ancient Greek wedding. In several instances, the procession on foot is shown in progress or as it nears the new home.

Once the newlyweds arrived, various rites of incorporation took place, such as the *katachysmata*, which we saw depicted on the Phiale Painter's loutrophoros in Boston (Figure 24.3). Then the couple headed for the bedroom (*thalamos*), where they would spend their first night together and consummate the marriage, despite the heckling of those continuing the party outside their bedroom. The procession to the bedroom is the subject on the other side of the Boston loutrophoros (Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs. 105–111), and the same basic *chamaipous* composition used for the procession between the two houses is used here. Two erotes flutter around the bride's head, bringing a wreath and necklace to her, while another has just popped out of the partially open door to the bedroom, whose bed is partially visible. To the right of the door, a woman lifts up her hands in amazement at what has just appeared. The omens are good. The

procession to the bedroom is also used on rare occasion for black- and red-figure vase-paintings of mythological marriages, such as that of Herakles and Hebe, as well as Peleus and Thetis.

The celebration continued on the wedding's third and final day, which was named *Epaulia* after the gifts given by the bride's father to the groom and bride. We are told that these gifts were brought in a procession to the couple's home. In many cases it is hard to determine if a particular vase-painting shows the bride's adornment or the *Epaulia*, but on a few vases it is virtually certain that the *Epaulia* is depicted because some of the elements of the picture agree with what the literary sources tell us about the event. The figured frieze going around the body of a red-figure pyxis in Berlin from around the middle of the 4th c. shows three distinct moments from the wedding (Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs. 115–119). The first two are bridal preparations and the procession to the bedroom. The third and longest section shows a procession moving in the direction of a seated bride. It corresponds remarkably well with the lexicographer Pausanias's description of the *Epaulia* procession (quoted by Eustathius in his commentary on *Iliad* 24.29): a youth carrying a torch, a girl carrying a basket, and women carrying gifts including a *lekanis* (shallow bowl) and wedding vases are shared by both. The procession is also shown on one of the most beautiful of all wedding vases, a *lebes gamikos* by the Marsyas Painter housed in St Petersburg (Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs. 124–127). In this case, only women and *erotes* are shown carrying a wide variety of gifts, including a basket, wedding vase, and *lekanis*.

As we have seen, many different moments from the wedding ceremony are rendered, but the two most popular are the adornment of the bride and the night-time procession to the house of the groom's parents. Both are times of transition for the bride, who moves from child to woman and from her old home to her new. In general, the black-figure wedding scenes are considerably more limited in subject and composition than the red-figure, although both exalt the bride and groom, showing them as ideally young and lifting them closer to the divine sphere than the mortal. A romantic atmosphere is much evident in red-figure after 440 BC, and the compositions move further and further away from reality to combinations of motifs from different parts of the ceremony, a trend visible with the depictions of other subjects at this time on red-figure (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 45–46). Throughout all periods, the bride receives the most attention in the vase-paintings, for she will undergo the greatest transformation of all as a result of the wedding.

24.4 Death

The vast majority of Greek art preserved is connected with death, because so much of what still exists comes from graves. Nevertheless, only some of what is preserved was actually produced for funerary rituals, and it is these objects that we shall consider here.

Funerary scenes start already around 770–760 BC in the Middle Geometric period with depictions of the *prothesis* (lying-in-state) and the *ekphora* (procession to the graveyard) on large vases sometimes used to mark a grave (see Chapter 3). The former subject appears already in Mycenaean art and remains a theme in Greek art well into the 4th c. BC. It is particularly popular on Attic black-figure funerary vases, including loutrophoroi and phormiskoi (a pear-shaped vessel imitating a bag) as well as funerary pinakes (plaques). A pinax by the Sappho Painter of c. 500–480 BC in the Louvre ([Figure 24.4](#)) is one of the finest representations. A dead youth on a bier is surrounded by female relatives and children, all of whom mourn vociferously. Inscriptions identify some of them, including his mother, grandmother, little sister, and various aunts, one of whom is identified as coming from his father's side. At the foot of the bier, his father stands giving the valediction (farewell) as other male relatives arrive, including the deceased's brother. Cries of grief – *oimoi* (woe to me) – are written intermittently.

Figure 24.4 Athenian black-figure pinax (plaque). A *prothesis* scene. c. 500–480 BC (Paris, Louvre MNB905. © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski).



Scenes of the *prothesis* are rarer in Attic red-figure but were used on more than thirty Athenian white-ground lekythoi dating primarily to the second quarter of the 5th c. BC. The number of figures depicted on these is reduced to as few as one, two, or three mourners around

the bier with corpse. Dead females, youths, and older males are shown. In the 4th c. it is occasionally used on South Italian red-figure in both everyday and mythological scenes, such as the elaborate picture on a large Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter of c. 340 BC in Naples (*LIMC* 2: 474, no. 10, pl. 358) showing the dead Archemoros lying in state. The *prothesis* was also depicted on 4th c. South Italian tomb paintings (Bennett and Paul 2002: 134–137).

The *ekphora* is a very rarely depicted part of the funeral ritual, even on Geometric vases. A terracotta group from the first quarter of the 7th c. BC, found at Vari and now in the National Museum at Athens (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 16), consists of the bier atop a four-wheeled wagon with three female mourners and an accompanying horseman. The equines pulling the wagon are lost. The corpse is covered by a removable shroud, upon which a child has climbed and a bird is perched. Two late 6th c. black-figure one-handled kantharoi (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: figs. 34, 35) also show the event. On one, the corpse is brought to the tomb on a mule-drawn cart, and on the other it is carried aloft by a group of men.

Other rarely depicted moments are also shown on two other early 5th c. black-figure vases by the Sappho Painter, who specialized in funerary iconography. His ‘bail oinochoe’ at Bowdoin College (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: figs. 37, 38) has the only known picture of the corpse being placed in the coffin. The lamps and shield on the wall indicate that the action takes place at night in the *andron* (main room of house), as two women and a man lower the body into the box. Nearby stands the carpenter, who will put on the lid, followed by grieving women, a girl, an old man, and finally men carrying vessels. ‘Bail oinochoai’ were a special funerary vase and fourteen other black-gloss or black-figure examples are known (Oakley 2005).

A coffin being lowered into the ground is the other unique scene by the Sappho Painter. It is depicted on the body of a loutrophoros in Athens (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 36). Two bearded men visible only from the shoulders up stand in the hole, reaching up for the box as two others lower it down. The one on the right also holds out a cloth, which he will apparently deposit in the grave. Female mourners frame the scene. The other side of the vase’s body shows the *prothesis*, above which on the neck is the earliest depiction of the visit to the tomb. Two women stand to either side of a *tymbos* (mound of earth marking a grave), upon which a loutrophoros stands. They both mourn vociferously with hands to head. A snake, epigram, and four *eidola* (souls of the deceased) are rendered in white on the *tymbos*. A group of female mourners carrying containers on the other side of the neck are best conceived of as processing to this grave.

The visit to the grave was by far the most popular scene on Attic

white lekythoi, occurring on about 85% of the several thousand known. These special Athenian funerary vases decorated with polychrome painting atop a white slip were made between c. 470 and 400 BC and are found primarily in and around Athens and nearby Eretria (Oakley 2004). Before the mid-century, scenes of women were the standard on them, some of which clearly show women preparing to visit the grave. Two women about to set out from home with funerary baskets containing fillets and lekythoi are shown, as for example on a white lekythos from about 460 BC (Oakley 2004: color plate 1). On others, they are depicted preparing the basket set on a table or lap, or with one standing ready to go and the other sitting. Other lekythoi with two women show them involved in other activities, including dressing, playing music, caring for children, playing, and reading. Some white lekythoi show a man and a woman, but rarely two males. Departure and arming scenes are the most common subject on both of these types.

The visit to the grave became the dominant scene after the mid-century, the most common composition being figures standing on either side of the grave monument. After 430–420 BC, three or more figures were shown. Sometimes one or more of the figures mourns openly, but more often they bring offerings to the tomb, such as fillets, vases, wreaths, and funerary baskets, or they stand calmly, not displaying any emotion. Sometimes one of the figures can clearly be identified as the dead occupant of the tomb making an epiphany, at other times neither is the deceased, but in the majority of cases it is ambiguous if the deceased is shown or not, or which figure is the deceased. The tomb itself is marked most often by a grave stele or a *tymbos*, or both. It is uncertain what the visual source was for the stelai on many, as there were no elaborate private grave monuments in Athens between c. 500–480 and 430 BC, owing almost certainly to a sumptuary law mentioned by Cicero (*Leg.* 2.26; 64–65). Attempted explanations for these depictions are that they are based upon: (i) stelai made of wood that are no longer preserved; (ii) funerary monuments in the Demosion Sema, the state burial ground; (iii) grave stelai from the Cyclades; or (iv) earlier Archaic gravestones (Oakley 2004: 215–231).

A number of the later scenes are pastiches, combining the visit to the grave with elements from other scenes connected with the earlier life of the deceased. The Thanatos Painter's white lekythos of c. 440 BC in London (Oakley 2004: 178–179, figs. 136, 137), with youths hunting hare in a landscape setting by a grave stele, is an excellent example, as is his lekythos in Oxford with youths arming by a tomb (Oakley 2004: 183, figs. 141, 142). By combining elements from the former home and life of the deceased and his new home, the tomb,

these lekythoi are reflective of the 'rites of passage' and serve to reassure the living relatives that their loved one had made the successful transition.

South Italian red-figure vases, especially Apulian ones, often show scenes at the grave with offerings, thereby indicating the primarily funereal nature of these vessels. Three main types of grave monument appear: (i) a narrow rectangular stelai with base; (ii) a *naiskos* with one or more figures within; and (iii) a column with capital on a base. Figures with offerings and loose offerings often surround the grave monument. Two typical examples are a Campanian red-figure amphora in Toronto of 340–330 BC (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 84), which shows offerings being placed on a table before a narrow stele, and another Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter in London (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 85), which shows two youths and two women around a *naiskos* with a youth seated inside. Sometimes the Underworld itself is the subject, as on a monumental volute-krater in Munich (Trendall 1989: fig. 209), the name-vase of the Underworld Painter. Hades and Persephone reside in a *naiskos* surrounded by Underworld figures such as Sisyphos, Kerberos, Hermes, and Orpheus.

Mythological scenes are common on South Italian vases but extremely rare on polychrome white lekythoi, although female divinities are rendered on a number of them. The Achilles Painter's lekythos in Munich (Oakley 2004: 96–97, figs. 61, 62) showing two Muses on Mt Helikon is the most famous. This artist is considered the master of the white-ground lekythos shape (Boardman 1989a: 132). The divine male figures depicted are primarily the 'mythological minsters of death': Hermes in his role as Psychopompos, Charon, and the brothers Hypnos and Thanatos. The old ferryman Charon is by far the most popular of these, found on over ninety white lekythoi. Normally he is shown waiting for the deceased to board his boat, docked amongst the reeds on the shore. Sometimes he is ugly, at other times not so. Hermes is often shown leading the deceased to him. On lekythoi from the last thirty years of the 5th c., Charon can be shown combined with a scene of the visit to the grave, a pastiche that also reassured the viewer that the dead had made the successful transition. A well-known example is a lekythos in Paris of c. 420–410 BC attributed to Group R (Oakley 2004: 122, figs. 82–84). Charon waits in his boat to the left of a grave stele while a woman bearing funerary offerings, an alabastron and a basket with fillets, stands on the other side of the monument, on whose base is perched a white lekythos.

Gravestones rarely show funerary rites. The few Classical Attic examples showing a visit to the tomb are the rare exceptions (Oakley 2004: 220–222). They therefore add little to our understanding of the

funerary rite per se, but do reflect contemporary attitudes towards the dead. Gravestones are known from many parts of the Greek world, but Attic tombstones, starting in earnest around 610–600 BC, are the best preserved and most elaborate series during both the Archaic and Classical periods. Some graves were marked with a kouros, kore, or seated figure in the Archaic period (see Chapter 5). For example, a stunning mid 6th c. kore was used to mark the grave of Phrasikleia at Merenda (Boardman 1978: fig. 108a). Occasionally the bases of the statues also have figured scenes in relief, the ball-players base in Athens being among the most famous examples (Boardman 1978: fig. 242). Lions carved in the round also sometimes marked a grave.

Stelai with a male figure in relief or painted on a tall, thin shaft crowned with a sphinx and/or floral motif were very popular in Athens during the Archaic period. Normally he is a naked youth, who sometimes has athletic accoutrements, a warrior, or a bearded man, who is often accompanied by a dog. Occasionally two figures can be shown, such as the young boy and girl on the so-called 'Brother and Sister Stele' (Boardman 1978: fig. 224.3). In Late Archaic Athens and elsewhere, a broader stele type develops, which can display seated figures or multi-figured compositions. In general, the figures on the monuments marking the grave are not representations of the deceased, but general types meant to display the Archaic ideals of *kalokagathia* (the ideal union of beauty and goodness), *arete* (manly excellence), *kalos* (female beauty), and *sophrosyne* (prudence, moderation, and self-control).

The Attic private tombstones stop at the end of the Archaic period and do not start again until c. 430 BC. Other areas of the Greek world, however, did produce grave reliefs, most notably Boeotia, Thessaly, the Cyclades, and East Greece. The Archaic types are continued and expanded upon, most notably in the depictions of women at various ages on Cycladic stelai. The introspective girl with doves on a stele of 450 BC from Paros (Boardman 1985: fig. 52) is one of the most beautiful and touching of all gravestones, giving a sense of the human not present in the Archaic gravestones.

Why the Attic series starts up again is uncertain, but it must in some way be connected with the Peloponnesian War and a new concern for the private dead. Family plots marked by walls and multiple gravestones of various types start in the last quarter of the century and continue until 317 BC, when the anti-luxury decree of Demetrios of Phaleron stopped their production. The broader type of stele which started in the Late Archaic quickly became the standard for the *naiskos* stele. Architectural elements were added to it and used to frame the figures, which can number from one to seven. A stele with a palmette top continues from the Archaic period, while others

have an architectural top only, and figures in relief or a sunken relief panel with figures. Marble lekythoi, loutrophoroi, and on rare occasion other shapes likewise have figured scenes in relief (Boardman 1995: figs. 131, 132). Marble animals such as lions, dogs, sirens, and bulls carved in the round were also used to decorate the plots.

The subject shown on the gravestones is usually domestic, showing the dead intermingling with the living. Inscriptions, when present, sometimes clarify who the dead is, but not always, and many times it is not clear which figure represents the deceased. A handshake between living and dead, the *dexiosis*, is a common motif. Its exact meaning is debated but it probably conveys several things, including a farewell, admiration of the departed, and the unity of the dead and living. Household members shown can include slaves and family members of all ages, and in general women predominate. A warrior, often departing, is not uncommon. On rare occasion, something connected with the deceased's occupation is shown: a sacrificial knife for a priest, a temple-key for a priestess, and a shoe last for a cobbler are good examples. Children are often shown with pets and toys. The figures are emotionless and nonviolent, giving a heroic quality in the face of death to the deceased and family.

In general, the depth of the relief in which the figures are carved on the *naiskos*-type stele increases over time, until near the end of the series the figures are virtually free-standing in an architectural niche, as is the case with the stele of Aristonantes (Smith 1991: fig. 217). In addition, the figures no longer look at each other but gaze outwards at the viewer, as does Aristonantes. A famous earlier example is the stele of Hegeso from the end of the 5th c. and found in the Kerameikos (Boardman 1985: fig. 151). Beautifully dressed, she sits on a *klismos* taking a piece of jewelry, once painted on and now lost, from a small box held by the girl servant standing before her. Classical gravestones continued to be produced elsewhere, including Euboea, Boeotia, Thessaly, and East Greece, and they often show the influence of the Attic series (Boardman 1985: 185).

The Hellenistic period saw the virtual end of the carved, figured Attic gravestones, but they were produced in many other areas, including several fine series from the East, such as those from Smyrna, Pergamon, and Samos. The *naiskos* type of stele is the most common form. The deceased are often shown as detached and emotionless, but other figures, including servants and children, can mourn. Symbolic attributes and motifs underscore the importance of the individual citizen. Other types include those showing the funerary banquet or horse rider. They are heroic in their overtone. A series from Delos, however, continues the types used on the earlier Classical Attic stelai

(Dinahet 2001).

Painted stelai have also been preserved from different areas of the Greek world; those from Demetrias-Pagasai and Vergina are two of the largest and better-known series. The first group dates to the second quarter of the 3rd c. BC, the second mainly to the second quarter of the 4th c. BC (see Chapter 8). Those with figures normally show domestic scenes of the deceased standing or sitting in the presence of other relatives or servants, just like the earlier Attic tombstones. The stele of Hediste in Volos (Figure 8.6) is an exception. It has a funerary scene showing the dead Hediste on a bed, as her husband looks on, while an old woman in the background holds a dead child; the moving epigram on the stele confirms the death of both mother and child. The suffering brought on by death is explicit here.

Sarcophagi with figural decoration are not common. Fired clay Klazomenian sarcophagi are the exception, and are found in the Greek East and the northern Aegean (see Chapter 4). Decorated in the Wild Goat Style, imitation black-figure, and occasionally red-figure, many have scenes of hunting, war, and chariot racing. Myth is very rare, a fragmentary example in Leiden with the sacrifice of Polyxene being one of the exceptions (Cook 1981: pl. 48.3). It is the only subject remotely connected with funerary rites, since it takes place at the tomb of Patroklos.

The same subject is featured on a recently discovered Late Archaic marble sarcophagus now in the Çanakkale Museum (Sevinç 1996). The sacrificial scene occupies one of the long and one of the short sides of this masterpiece. Besides the actual moment of sacrifice before Patroklos's *tymbos*, a host of mourning women are shown; two have fallen to their knees, one sits, and others stand pulling at their hair. A celebration is shown on the other two sides, perhaps a funerary one, but this is uncertain.

Almost certainly made by Greek sculptors, but from the fringe of the Greek world, are the marble sarcophagi from the royal necropolis at Sidon. The Alexander sarcophagus, most likely used for the burial of King Abdalonymos, a cohort of Alexander, is the finest and is now in Istanbul (Pollitt 1986: 38–40, figs. 32, 33). The figured friezes on the four sides and two pediments show hunts and battles. Alexander and Abdalonymus are thought to be represented on the two long sides, so that as with some of the white lekythoi, we have moments from the deceased's life shown. The Mourning Women Sarcophagus from the second quarter of the 4th c., also in Istanbul (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 73), shows pensive, mourning women in sad poses that are more reflective of the figures on Attic tombstones than the active mourners shown on the vases. The two long sides of the lid show the *ekphora*, but an 'oriental' version (i.e. with carts and horses).

Painted tombs are another source of funerary imagery. The Great Tumulus at Lefkhadia from c. 300 BC is decorated on the outside of the front facade with four figures (Pollitt 1986: 190–191, figs. 201, 202). The deceased is rendered standing on the left as a warrior, followed by Hermes and two Judges of the Underworld, the seated Aiakos and Rhadymanthys. The Rape of Persephone by Hades is the primary subject on the inside of a tomb at Vergina dating to c. 340 (Plate 8; see Chapter 8). The god mounts his chariot holding the flailing Persephone as a cowering companion behind them recoils at the sight. Hermes leads the way to the Underworld, the thunderbolt near him indicating Zeus's approval. Other sides of the tomb show a distraught Demeter, mother of the goddess, and three other women who may be the Moirai (Fates). Several other painted Macedonian tombs show a deceased warrior and scenes possibly connected with the funeral or life of the deceased.

Some terracotta figurines also illustrate funerary ritual. A 5th c. BC Boeotian one from Tanagra in Athens (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 44) shows a mourning woman seated at a grave stele sadly supporting her drooping head with her left hand. Her hydria sits on the ground next to her, beside the tomb. Standing, actively mourning women are more common, such as an Archaic one from Thera (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: fig. 43) who pulls at her hair. Occasionally these figures, or the upper part of these figures, are attached to Attic black-figure vases made solely for funerary use (e.g. Kurtz and Boardman 1971: figs. 12–15).

Thus, a wide range of objects were decorated with funerary imagery, although vases and gravestones are the most common. A variety of moments from the funerary ritual are depicted, with the *prothesis* and the visit to the grave being the most popular – the first has a long tradition, while the latter demonstrates that the deceased has made the transition to the afterlife successfully. In other scenes, the deceased is shown interacting ideally with family members, and they can also appear involved in former everyday activities, thereby successfully joining past and present.

Of the three major transitions in life – birth, marriage, and death – more Greek art is connected with death than the other two. Nonmythological images connected with birth are very rare, while Greek vase-paintings are our main source for images of the wedding. Scenes connected with death, however, are found on a wide range of objects, particularly vases and sculpted gravestones, and they considerably outnumber those connected with births and weddings.

FURTHER READING

Birth

A good starting point for all aspects of children, including an essay on children in funerary art and general aspects of birthing scenes, is Neils and Oakley (2003).

Marriage

For the wedding, the standard study is Oakley and Sinos (1993), now supplemented by V  rilhac (1998), who gives a useful overview of marriage, including a section on the wedding in ancient art.

Death

A useful summary of Greek concepts of death is Garland (1985), while the basic handbook on Greek funerary customs is still Kurtz and Boardman (1971). Important in-depth studies of various aspects of death and Greek culture from the Bronze Age to Classical times are Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) and Vermeule (1979). For a study of pictures of mourning in Greek art, see Huber (2001). Oakley (2004) is the most recent study of Attic white lekythoi, the Classical Athenian funerary vase par excellence, while the major source for funerary scenes on South Italian vases is Lohmann (1979). Richter (1961) is still the standard corpus of Archaic Attic tombstones, but many new ones have been found since this book was published, and Clairmont (1993) provides the most recent corpus of Athenian Classical gravestones, with insightful sections on how to interpret them.

CHAPTER 25

Age, Gender, and Social Identity

Jenifer Neils

25.1 Introduction

Because Greek artists and their patrons were far more interested in the marvelous deeds of gods and demigods, heroes and monsters, the life cycle of the average person rarely formed the subject matter of Greek art. With the exception of miraculous divine births like Athena from the head of Zeus, childbirth scenes are almost nonexistent, and deaths are mostly restricted to those who fell heroically in battle. Genre scenes of what looks like daily life are highly gender-specific. So, for example, while depictions of child play and education are fairly common for boys, in the case of girls they are a rarity. Manual labor was not popular in the arts, with the exception of women shown hard at work with their spindles, fetching water from fountain houses, or engaged in making bread. Not surprisingly in a male-dominated society like Greece, the primary focus of much of Greek art was on the activities of men and boys and, to a far lesser extent, young women. And because Greek art was so highly idealized before the Hellenistic period, it emphasized the prime of human life, the beautiful and youthful rather than the old and ugly.

A case in point is the sculpted frieze of the Parthenon depicting a wide range of Athenians involved in a religious procession celebrating the city's patron deity Athena ([Plate 5](#); Neils 2001; see Chapter 7). Carved in the mid 5th c. BC, it includes 378 figures, of which a mere 38 are female (fourteen are gods, six of whom are female). The majority of the men are actively engaged in riding horses, racing chariots, making music, or herding restive cattle. The women, by contrast, are simply standing in formation with their ritual equipment in hand, and they are restricted to the east end of the temple. Only the

priestess of Athena is performing a specific activity, involving two younger, subservient women, who carry stools on their heads. The age range of the males extends from very young boys who assist older males to elderly bearded men with staffs, with the majority in the peak of life, still beardless, fully fit, and about eighteen years of age. The climax of the procession is the presentation of the peplos (robe) that elite women spent the previous nine months weaving, but ironically it is being folded not by the priestess but by a male priest with the assistance of a young boy (clearly not a girl, as sometimes proposed; see Neils 2001: 169–171). Thus, while women are included in the ceremony, and their roles are not insignificant, they are vastly outnumbered, mostly undifferentiated in terms of age and attire, and highly passive compared to the males. In this way, the Parthenon frieze can be seen as a microcosm of the depiction of Greek society in general and the lives of women in particular: men play the central roles, and while women are portrayed as indispensable to a well-ordered society, they are highly marginalized. Foreigners and slaves, who made up a large part of the population of Athens, are nowhere to be seen.

This chapter will examine selected but common modes of representing men and women in Greek art within a chronological framework. It will trace some of the major changes in the depiction of children and adults in the *longue durée* from the beginnings of figurative art in the mid 8th c. to the impact of Rome in the 1st c. BC. This diachronic approach will serve to highlight the major changes that occurred as Greek sculpture and painting developed from simple abstract renderings of generic humans to highly realistic portrayals of specific individuals. The majority of our visual evidence for the lives of ancient Greeks comes from vase-painting and to a lesser extent sculpture, notably grave monuments, and the most numerous works of art come from the region of Attica. However, where relevant, art from other areas of the Greek world and in other media will be considered.

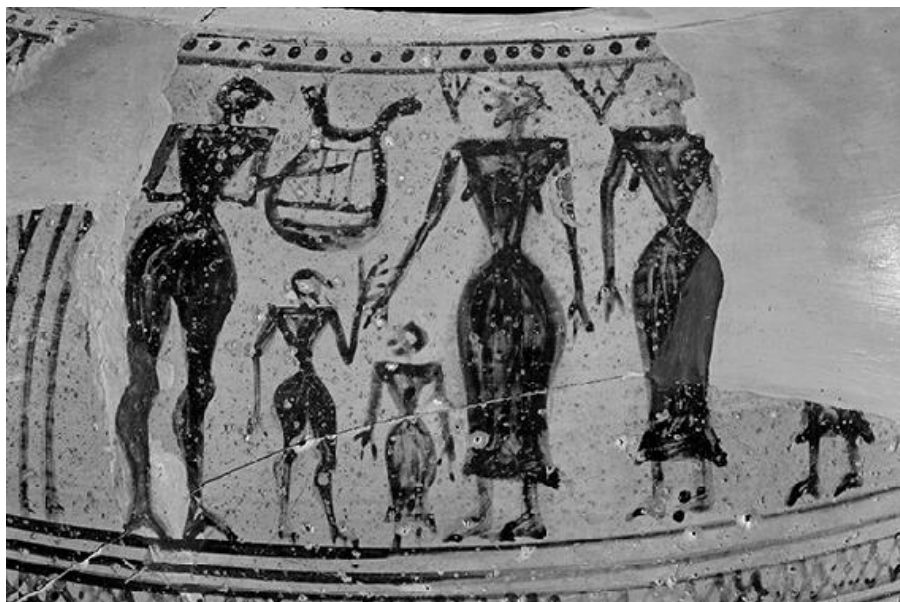
25.2 Geometric to Archaic

The repertoire of Geometric vase-painters was largely limited to warfare on land and sea, festive dancing, and the funeral. In spite of its cookie-cutter renderings of humans as highly schematized shapes, Geometric art was the first to depict the Greek family c. 750 BC, in funereal context. Seated and standing on or around the bier of the deceased are figures who can be identified as female on account of their two-armed mourning gestures, and as children on account of

their smaller stature (see Chapter 3). Thus, at the very beginning of Greek figurative art, painters were careful to distinguish sex and age. These family funerals show increasing differentiation as Attic painting developed in the 7th and 6th c., culminating in a black-figure funerary plaque by the Sappho Painter of c. 500 BC (Neils and Oakley 2003: 165, fig. 3; [Figure 24.4](#)) that labels individual family members, as grandmother, mother, paternal aunt, daughter, and father.

More relevant to the maturation of ancient Greeks are Geometric scenes of ritual. These mostly consist of choruses of female dancers, and in one instance children are included. On a Boeotian Late Geometric pithoid jar ([Figure 25.1](#)), which was used for a child's burial, are a man with a lyre and a woman, with two children – a boy and a younger girl – between them. To the right is a row of female dancers. Since ancient sources record a festival of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes in which a boy *amphithales* (with both parents living) took part (Pind. Fr. 94b; see Langdon 2008: 182–183), this vase-painting could be interpreted as a ritual enactment on the part of an elite Boeotian family. It is a precursor of objects like the painted plaque from Pitsa that shows a family sacrificing to the nymphs ([Figure 8.1](#)), or the Archaic votive relief dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis by a family c. 490 BC that depicts a couple and their three children bringing a sacrificial pig to Athena (Neils and Oakley 2003: 144, fig. 5). So from the very beginnings of figurative art, children were included as members of the family in important religious events.

Figure 25.1 Boeotian pithoid jar (detail). A lyre-player, two children, and a row of women. Late 8th c. BC (Thebes, Archaeological Museum BE469. Photo: Studio Kontos/Photostock).



Rows of female dancers without children probably signify girls on the verge of marriage, and as such are common in many areas of Greece. They are depicted on Euboean Geometric vases, on Proto-Attic hydriai by the Analatos Painter, on Corinthian 7th c. flasks, and on 6th c. BC Klazomenian black-figure vases (Boardman 1998: 58, fig. 84; 98–99, fig. 188; 169, figs. 340, 341; Lewis 2002: 49, fig. 1.30; 46, fig. 1.26). Young men, by contrast, are depicted in more active roles: fighting, riding horses or driving chariots, and hunting (Barringer 2001). All these scenes are represented in Geometric bronzes and vases. On several masterful vases by a Corinthian artist of the mid 7th c. BC known as the MacMillan Painter, these activities are combined in such a way as to plot the maturation of an ancient Greek male. As argued by Hurwit (2002), the various zones of the Chigi Vase in the Vatican trace a three-stage trajectory, from the boy who hunts hares, to the youth who rides, and finally to the man who realizes his full potential as a hoplite. Thus, while females are mainly portrayed at a single stage, that of the maiden preceding marriage, males are shown coming of age and transitioning through various phases of maturation.

In the Archaic period, men are involved in a variety of all-male activities on vases: fighting on the battlefield, drinking at the *symposion*, and exercising in the *gymnasion*. These same roles are commemorated in low relief or paint on grave stelai, where men stand in profile either arrayed in helmet, cuirass, and greaves, draped and clutching a wine cup, or nude and holding athletic equipment. Early in the 6th c. BC, Corinth, Sparta, and Athens feature dancing komasts and reclining symposiasts on kylikes (wine cups). Kraters and

amphorae provide a larger format for scenes of battle, mostly duels, frontal chariots, and cavalcades. Athenian vase-painters illustrate scenes of male courtship (Shapiro 1981), as well as athletic and equestrian contests held at the Panathenaic festival on both official prize vases and knock-offs (Neils 1992). Women play a subsidiary role in some of these scenes; for instance, the younger sister of the Brother-Sister stele in New York (Boardman 1978: fig. 232), or the ubiquitous wife/mother in illustrations of the warrior's departure (e.g. Boardman 1974: figs. 87, 196). Children are rare, and when they do appear they are portrayed as miniature adults and function mostly as attributes rather than as protagonists.

Portrayals of women as the focal point in Attic black-figure vase-painting are also not common. One popular theme is that of the fountain house, where women congregate to fill their hydriai (water jars) (Figure 25.2). Some seventy-five of these scenes, which mostly appear on hydriai, have been much discussed concerning the status of the women: are they slaves or citizen women, or even *hetairai* (courtesans) on account of some of the inscribed names? Because of the limited chronological range of these vases (c. 520–500 BC), it has been suggested that they reference the famous fountain house known as the Enneakrounos, constructed in Athens during the tyranny of Peisistratos's sons. Other scholars have suggested that the women are collecting water for use in a premarital purification ritual, while another theory is that these represent the earlier history of Athens before slaves were used to fetch water (see Lewis 2002: 71–75). Whatever the reason for their popularity, these vases are unusual in highlighting the activities of women.

Figure 25.2 Athenian black-figure hydria. Women at the fountain house. c. 520–510 BC (London, British Museum 1843.11-3.49 (B329). © The Trustees of the British Museum).



The Amasis Painter, a major vase-painter of the mid 6th c., is credited with a small lekythos that shows nine women working wool, along with two girls at a loom (Boardman 1974: fig. 78). This exquisite miniature scene is exceptional and was no doubt a special commission for a wedding, along with another lekythos (Boardman 1974: fig. 77; and see Chapter 24), which may have accompanied it into an Attic grave. The rare depictions of girls at play, such as on the name vase of the Swing Painter (Boardman 1974: fig. 142), or laboring with mortars and pestles, may in fact be ritual scenes; girls were placed on swings in the expiation festival of the Aiora, and grinding was one of the cult activities mentioned in Aristophanes's comedy *Lysistrata* (Neils 2007a).

The Late Archaic period, c. 500–480 BC, sees more depictions of women, but because they are often nude and appear at the all-male *symposion*, they are usually taken to be *hetairai*, although this identification has recently been challenged (Kreilinger 2007). It is clear that red-figure vase-painters took more interest in the bodies of

women, just as contemporary sculptors of korai took great pains to reveal the female form beneath its drapery. However, the image of women clearly favored by Attic vase-painters was the wool worker, referenced by the simple inclusion of a wool basket (Ferrari 2002), and often appearing on red-figure lekythoi. While images of men at work, such as the famous name vase of the Foundry Painter, a cup now in Berlin (Figure 13.6), are unusual because manual labor was looked down upon, the female spinner seems to represent the idealized woman: an industrious wife who toils indoors for the benefit of the *oikos* (household).

Two unusual Late Archaic sculptural depictions of women that break out of the mold of the kore type and exhibit more individuality are the so-called Red Slippers Kore from the Acropolis (Boardman 1978: fig. 184), because of her plump proportions, and the funerary monument of an ample seated woman nursing twins from Megara Hyblaia in Sicily (Boardman 1995: fig. 174). Also unusual in the repertoire of Archaic sculpture are the marble horsemen and seated scribes dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis (e.g. Boardman 1978: figs. 164–166); the former foreshadow the cavalry of the Parthenon frieze.

25.3 Classical

In the art of the Classical period, women and children are much more in evidence, and their activities are more varied, perhaps reflecting their increasing importance in Greek society as it evolved from a predominantly male, warrior culture to one which embraced education, democratic values, and sophisticated cultural ideals. An illustrative example of these new concerns is the sudden appearance of a great variety of school scenes on Attic vases (Beck 1975). Education in Classical Greece was primarily aimed at boys and consisted of reading and writing, music, and athletics. Beginning c. 480 BC there appear on red-figure *symposion* vases youths with book rolls and wax tablets, lyres and *auloi* (pipes), *diskoi* (discuses), and *halteres* (jumping weights), all practicing under the watchful eye of their elderly teachers. Nothing comparable exists for girls, and so the message of these vases is probably the importance of training future citizens for their social, civic, and military roles.

Younger children, who were long relegated to subsidiary roles, come into their own in the late 5th and 4th c. BC. For the first time, vases are specially produced to celebrate the stages of child development: these are the *choes* or wine jugs, which were used for

small doses of wine at the annual spring festival of Dionysos known as the Anthesteria (see Chapter 29). They come in a range of sizes, with the smallest featuring crawling babies, usually adorned with a string of protective amulets, slightly larger ones showing toddlers playing with their roller toys or a pet bird, larger ones still featuring older boys racing their goat chariots or playing ball games, and finally the full-sized versions showing youths leading their horses or receiving an award from Nike. These vases document the maturation of Athenian males from infancy to the citizen age of eighteen in a fairly realistic manner (Neils and Oakley 2003: 284–287) and demonstrate society's interest in their growth and development toward manhood.

Although girls occasionally appear on choes, their stages of development are not as clearly demarcated as those of boys. For representations of girls, one must turn to another special class of vases, namely the *krateriskoi* found at Brauron and other Attic sanctuaries of Artemis (Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008: 102–105). These ceramic bowls on high bases depict girls of various ages running toward an altar; they are either nude or wearing short chitons. As votives to Artemis, these vases may have played a part in Athenian girls' coming-of-age rites and give some indication of the importance of prenuptial ceremonies for girls. In the 4th c. BC, votive practices changed and Athenians dedicated statues of young draped girls and nude boys as thank-offerings for healthy offspring at sanctuaries of Artemis and the healing god Asklepios (Neils and Oakley 2003: 78). These, along with the many grave stelai carved in this century, demonstrate the Greek sculptors' expertise at rendering the bodily proportions of young children, who are no longer portrayed as miniature adults.

At the other extreme of life, the elderly are often represented in Classical art, as opposed to earlier when the seer (e.g. east pediment of the Temple of Zeus, Olympia; Boardman 1985: fig. 20.4) and priestess (e.g. Ludovisi Throne; Boardman 1985: fig. 46) were the primary but infrequent aged types. The main Classical types are stooped, old nurses and elderly white-haired tutors or *paidagogoi*. These family retainers are often modeled in clay with their young charges carried in their arms or tugging at their sides (Schulze 1998). And just as children are now depicted realistically, so the elderly are shown with wrinkled visages and sagging flesh (Matheson 2009). Clearly Greek coroplastic artists preferred the striking contrast of the ugly old nurse with babe in arms to the youthful mother with child.

Coming of age for Athenian youth implied marriage for the maiden at about age 15, and military service for the man from the ages of 18 to 29. Thus girls married men nearly twice their age, but wedding scenes which proliferate in the Classical period portray the newlyweds

as roughly the same age and highly idealized. Enrollment in the military is conveyed on vases by the warrior's departure, usually in the presence of his parents. Here the father is often white-haired and holding a staff, while the mother looks young enough to be the warrior's wife. The duels that were so popular in the Archaic period now appear mainly on grave stelai, where the deceased is shown as victor, as in the stele of Dexileos, who died in 394/3, erected in the Athenian Kerameikos (Boardman 1995: fig. 120).

The family appears in other venues in Classical art, namely votive reliefs and grave stelai. Both depict adults with young children of both sexes, the girls distinguished by their floor-length garments and the boys dressed in shorter mantles like their fathers. One of the last stelai to be carved and erected near the Ilissos River in Athens before a decree put an end to such lavish memorials poignantly represents three ages of man: head in hands, a slave boy cries at the feet of his brawny master, who stares out at the viewer, while an elderly bearded man, no doubt his father, mourns his loss (Figure 25.3; Boardman 1995: fig. 124). Grave stones with adults only are more common. The Athenian matron is often shown seated and accompanied by a female attendant, either a household slave or a relative, thus conveying her aristocratic status. Given the larger number of Classical grave stelai for women and their prominent roles in the family processions on votive reliefs, it would seem that they were accorded greater social visibility in this period. This accords with their prominence on the east frieze of the Parthenon, as noted above, and might be due to the Citizenship Law passed by Perikles in 451/0 BC (cf. Plut. *Vit. Per.* 37.2–5), which required that to be an Athenian citizen, one must now have an Athenian mother as well as an Athenian father.

Figure 25.3 Marble gravestone. A youth bids farewell to elderly father, boy attendant, and dog. c. 330 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 869. Marie Mauzy/Scala, Florence).



25.4 Hellenistic

With the advent of the Hellenistic period in 323 BC, we can turn our attention from Athens to the wider Greek world, which now extends from Spain to India, and to a much-expanded artistic repertoire. Human subjects now encompass all ages, physical conditions, states of consciousness, emotions, social classes, and ethnicities. Although a pair of Siamese twins known as the Molione may have been depicted as early as the Geometric period (Boardman 1998: fig. 59), it is not until Hellenistic times that grotesque figures such as dwarfs and hunchbacks are represented in significant numbers (Dasen 1993; Garland 1995). And while African blacks were portrayed on Archaic Attic vases both two- and three-dimensionally, a greater variety of foreigners is now essayed and with greater sensitivity in this more

multicultural era.

In terms of youth and age, both extremes are represented, and in a vast variety of new formats. Children are posed in playful narratives in life-size marble sculpture as well as in terracotta figurines: strangling pet geese ([Figure 25.4](#)), grasping puppies, watching cock fights, and playing games like knucklebones and *ephedrismos* (an ancient blind man's bluff). Children of lower social status are also represented, such as the African boy pulling a thorn from his foot, or the bronze jockey from Cape Artemision urging on his race horse (Smith 1991: figs. 171, 172; Pollitt 1986: fig. 159). Hellenistic sculptors produced some of the most realistic depictions of old age in the entire history of art. Old women are shown stooped over or seated on the ground, wine jug in hand (e.g. the Drunken Old Woman in Munich: [Figure 25.5](#); Pollitt 1986: fig. 154), their slipped drapery revealing shriveled and pendulous breasts. Old men are all skin and bones and hunched over, like, for example, the famous Old Fisherman (or 'Dying Seneca') who exists in a number of Roman copies (Pollitt 1986: fig. 155).

Figure 25.4 Marble statue of a boy strangling his pet goose. Roman copy of a late 3rd – 2nd c. BC original (Munich, Glyptothek 268. akg-images/Erich Lessing).



Figure 25.5 Marble statue of a drunk old woman. Roman copy of a late 3rd c. BC original (Munich, Glyptothek 437. akg-images).



Terracotta figurines produced throughout the Hellenistic world offer an array of genre scenes that provide glimpses of informal daily life. They range from solitary figures of women dressed in the latest fashions to interacting groups such as a young bride and groom seated on the marriage bed, or women chatting together (Higgins 1986; cf. Chapter 11). A variety of grotesques are also produced in this inexpensive medium, and their purpose may have been to ward off evil. Obese nude women riding pigs are just one of the probably humorous products of the coroplasts's workshop (Neils 2008: fig. 172).

Most ancient wall-painting has been lost, which is a pity as Pliny (*NH* 35, 112) writes of a painter named Peiraikos who depicted scenes of everyday life, like barber shops and cobblers' stalls, genre subjects the likes of which were only occasionally illustrated in earlier vase-paintings. However, newly excavated Hellenistic tomb paintings and house mosaics from Macedonia reveal some of the preoccupations of their inhabitants (see Chapter 8). Hunting wild animals (e.g. the Great Tomb at Vergina) and objects with a militaristic aura (e.g. Tomb of

Lyson and Kallikles) are popular, as is the *symposion*. On a more intimate level are the rare painted grave stelai from Demetrias. That of a woman named Hediste shows her closing her eyes in death as her grieving maid holds a dead infant (Figure 8.6). It may reflect a subject which interested the famous Hellenistic painter Apelles, namely ‘people breathing their last’ (Plin. *HN* 35. 90).

While Greek art does not document every phase of human life in antiquity, it none the less demonstrates an interest in the major life transitions experienced by ancient Greeks. In the earlier periods, there is a clear preference for the youthful and ideal, which is expanded in the Hellenistic period to incorporate less-than-perfect specimens of humanity, but throughout there is a concern to portray the family and its various constituents, including servants. Although males rate much fuller play in the arts of ancient Greece and more varied representations, women are not excluded and their roles as wives and mothers are highlighted. More than any of the other civilizations of antiquity, ancient Greece demonstrates a keen interest in the stages of life and the transition from childhood to adulthood.

FURTHER READING

The subject of gender has spawned a surfeit of books, but those best illustrated with images of girls and women in Greek art include Reeder (1995) and Lewis (2002), although the latter’s thesis that these scenes were chosen for an Etruscan audience remains debatable. See also Neils (2011) for a cross-cultural perspective on women in antiquity.

For representations and discussion of children in Greek art and culture, a useful source is the catalogue of the exhibition *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (Neils and Oakley 2003). Papers presented at a symposium held in conjunction with the exhibition appeared in 2007 (Cohen and Rutter 2007). An older but still invaluable text that contains a comprehensive collection of images of children’s education is Beck (1975). A general overview of Greek childhood is Golden (1990), and as represented in art, Rühfel (1984). For childbirth and infancy, see Dasen (2004).

Old age is covered in a recent exhibition in Germany (Landesmuseum Bonn 2009) and deformity is the subject of a survey which includes literary as well as visual material (Garland 1995).

An array of relevant images from specific periods can be found in books on Greek art, such as Langdon (2008) for the Geometric period, Boardman (1974, 1975, 1978, 1998) for the Archaic period, Boardman (1985, 1995) for the Classical period, and Pollitt (1986)

and Smith (1991) for the Hellenistic period. For Athenian vase-painting in particular, see Bérard (1989).

CHAPTER 26

Sex, Gender, and Sexuality

Timothy J. McNiven

26.1 Introduction

With its beautiful, naked figures and the occasional explicit image of sexual activity, Greek art seems to be a clear and useful resource in the study of ancient Greek concepts of sex, gender, and sexuality. Looking more closely, it becomes clear that the artists were not as candid as first impressions have led us to believe: their images are carefully constructed to project the best qualities and aspirations of society. Some topics are avoided completely and others chosen to warn about the consequences of deviance. This reinforcement of community values about sex and gender in Greek art is the focus of this chapter, but it will take some dismantling of the rhetoric in order to get a sense of what the reality may have been like.

The image inside a red-figured drinking cup from c. 500 BC ([Figure 26.1](#)) gives us a good example of the problems we may encounter in interpreting images. A young couple reclines on a *symposion* couch with their arms and legs wrapped around each other. He is nude, while she has a cloth covering her hips and a garland around her neck. We might interpret this as a tender image of intimate young love. However, an ancient Greek viewer would recognize immediately that the pair of pipes she holds indicate that she is a musician, hired to play for the male participants at the *symposion*, and available for sex afterwards. An ancient Greek male viewer's attention might also be caught by the youth's naked beauty, since his patchy sideburns indicate that he is at the peak of his homoerotic desirability. This particular cup was found in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci in Italy, so the ultimate buyer was not even Greek, and may have had a different interpretation of the scene. Obviously, understanding the ancient

Greek conception of gender and sexuality through their art is not as straightforward as it might seem.

Figure 26.1 Athenian red-figure kylix. Lovemaking. c. 500 BC (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1913.163. Gift of Rebecca Darlington Stoddard).



Imagine an Athenian man, reclining on a couch, holding the cup in his hands. Is the image he is looking at mirrored by what he can see going on across the room? A fantasy of how tonight's party might end? A memory of his first *symposion* long ago? Any of these is possible, because the image is open to many different interpretations. Greek artists were not photographers with a simple aim of documenting daily life, and their work should not be taken simply at face value. If we want to understand it, we need to view Greek art as a reflection of what French scholars call the 'social imaginary', an ideal world of art and mythology constructed by the culture in the service of ideology (Bérard et al. 1989; Lissarrague 2001). By examining what subjects Greek artists wanted their customers to see (and buy), and what they avoided showing, and by observing how they arranged the composition and portrayed the figures, we can perhaps get a better understanding of their attitudes about sex and gender.

26.2 The Seeming Transparency of Greek Art

The hieroglyphic quality of the figures in Egyptian art makes it clear that we are looking at images that are not mimicking reality. The relatively narrow range of imagery also creates distance between us and Egyptian art. As Greek art developed away from Egyptian and Near Eastern models, the increase in realism made the images more believable. This realistic quality of Greek art is at least partly responsible for our willingness to take Greek art at face value. The visual arts in Greece also developed narrative scenes of the stories of gods and heroes that played such an important role in Greek literature. Even the rare depictions of daily activities in Greek art have the directness of narrative scenes, adding to their persuasiveness. In the end, we want to believe that Greek art shows us reality because the style, proportions, sense of movement, and wealth of details encourage that belief.

A good example of how persuasive Greek art can be is visible on the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon (cf. [Plate 5](#)). Here we see rank upon rank of Athenian cavalry riders. They are almost all young, with bodies in the same proportions (and undersized horses). All wear cloaks; some have tunics, and some wear hats or helmets for variety. The identity of these riders has been endlessly debated, because their status affects the interpretation of the scene. Some scholars think they are young Athenians, although the details of the procession differ from what our historical sources tell us was actually done on this occasion. Other scholars think they are the heroized dead in a mythical context. What motivates these arguments is, on the one hand, the desire for a pictorial document that we can use in the study of Greek religion, and on the other, the wish to avoid a nonmythical image on a major temple.

What is usually passed over in all discussions of the Parthenon frieze is the sheer unreality of it, indicated by the fact that many of these youths are riding bareback in the nude. This display of the convention of 'heroic nudity' (Bonfante 1989; Stewart 1997: 24–42; Sutton 2009) should look ridiculous, but they ride so well and are so beautiful. Our imagined ancient reality is molded by the attractive visual world that the ancient artist offers us.

The idealization displayed on the Parthenon frieze or anywhere else in Greek art also escapes conscious notice. The perfectly developed bodies have the same broad shoulders and the same well-muscled torsos. The external oblique muscles at their hips have set a

pattern for modern bodybuilders to follow, despite the contortions that are necessary for their development. And each youth displays the dainty penis that is the mark of their civilized self-control, in contrast to the rare images of monsters and barbarians with larger, even normal-sized genitals (McNiven 1995). Before the Hellenistic period, it is difficult to find any images in Greek art of figures who are not ideal, who are thin, stocky, or fat, with ugly faces or bad hair. Even depictions of the old and the very young are surprisingly limited. The imaginary world of Greek art is a beautiful place, but not a real one.

Dealing with subjects like sex, gender, and sexuality under these circumstances is problematic. The apparent simplicity and candor of the images makes us all the more willing to be persuaded by such seemingly straightforward evidence. As with any interpretation, context is the key. Architectural sculptures such as temple pediments present us with public images, but are unique, so that their interpretation is usually based on the myths of the city or sanctuary where they are located. Images on pottery, which was used by at least the upper middle classes, give us some insight into what individual people were looking at. The major motivation of the craft workers who produced these pieces was probably to create saleable articles. Fine painting, complicated iconography, and superb shapes were desirable only to the extent that they motivated a prospective buyer to make a purchase.

Beyond this seductive realism, images on pottery present other traps for the unwary, since it is necessary to understand the nuances of convention and symbolism that constitute their visual language. A single image must be viewed as part of a body of similar images, in order to know whether it is typical or unique (Lissarrague 2000: 67). Each detail must be examined in the context of the composition, and the composition as one of a series of similar compositions. Above all, it is important to understand the visual evidence apart from the textual evidence, and not to be prejudiced by what the ancient authors tell us. Otherwise, one either finds what one wants, or wastes time trying to reconcile two divergent bodies of evidence. The history of scholarship in the area of ancient sex and gender provides many examples of both of these problems.

26.3 Sex

Distinctions can be made between ‘sex’, which is usually seen as biological, ‘gender’, which is social, and ‘sexuality’, which is personal. Sex, the division between male and female, seems predetermined by

genetics and basic to all animals, and even some plants. On black-figure vases, this sexual dimorphism is codified by the convention of painting female skin white and male skin dark. In the real world, of course, males and females are not so neatly differentiated. In fact, in a significant number of cases, the answer to the first question asked at the birth of a child, 'Is it a boy or a girl?', is less than certain, for nature presents a range of intermediate sexes.

Greek artists explored the differences between male and female through images of the mythical male/female, Hermaphrodite (Aijootian 1997). Most famous is the Sleeping Hermaphrodite from the Hellenistic period (Figure 26.2), where the viewer is presented with a back view of a languorous figure, face hidden but body exposed in sleep. The curve of the hips, the soft flesh, and the elaborate arrangement of the hair all seem to confirm that this is a beautiful nymph, and, indeed, there is the indication of a female breast pressed into the mattress. The other breast is observed uncovered when the viewer moves around the figure, but there is also an erect penis. The sensuous figure confounds the viewer's expectations, or perhaps fulfills their fantasies, when they realize that it is Hermaphrodite, who combines male and female sexual characteristics. Hermaphroditism is a recognized medical condition, although people born with it do not have the perfect combination of ideal parts that the Greek artist produced – an extreme example of the 'seeming realism' discussed earlier.

Figure 26.2 Marble statue of a sleeping Hermaphrodite. Roman copy of a 2nd c. BC original (Rome, Terme National Museum 593. © Photoservice Electa/SuperStock).



In the end, though, the Sleeping Hermaphrodite does not demonstrate that the Greeks recognized or celebrated the existence of more than two sexes. Rather, the myth and the image of Hermaphrodite should be interpreted as what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963: 224–227) recognized as a mythical mediation, an exploration of the boundaries between two opposites that confirms the existence and mutual exclusion of the two terms. The Greeks were accustomed

to thinking in dichotomies: strong contrasts are even encoded in the grammar of their language. But the Greeks were also particularly comfortable in dividing the world into Male and Female, and the impossible reality embodied in this extraordinary creature reinforces that division.

26.4 Gender

Gender refers to the constructed division between men and women in society, based on such things as gender roles, costume, behavior, and, ultimately, power. Designated by nouns, such as ‘man’ and ‘woman’, and adjectives, such as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’, gender seems natural, but is determined by each society. Phrases like ‘That’s man’s work!’ and ‘You are acting like a woman!’ expose the boundaries between the categories and demonstrate their arbitrary nature.

If the Greeks took the existence of two sexes for granted, they were much more tentative about the genders. In art and literature, they explored the divisions of gender again and again as if the boundaries needed constant reinforcement. As a traditional society, ancient Greece was thoroughly male-dominated, from the imaginary world of the gods to the lowliest household. The highest Greek virtue, self-control, *sophrosyne*, was closely linked to courage, *andreia*, which is literally ‘manliness’. The contrast between brave, self-controlled men and fearful, easily manipulated women was intensified in Athens after the democratic revolution at the end of the 6th c. BC. Athenian male citizens bolstered the legitimacy of their newly acquired power by limiting the power of ‘others’, such as foreigners and slaves, but especially women. The masculinist ideology so visible in Athenian art between c. 500 and 300 BC wanes with the rise of Hellenistic kingship and the increasing importance of women in the later period, but there is much variation geographically, and sexism never disappears (Fantham et al. 1994: 136–182; Stewart 1997: 205–230).

Men are distinguished iconographically from women by hair, costume, and certain contexts. Primarily, men can be recognized by their beards. Other secondary sex characteristics, such as male pattern baldness and body hair, are indicated more rarely. Costume also distinguished men from women, with men usually wearing a short chiton, a cloak, or nothing at all, the phenomenon of ‘heroic nudity’ (Bonfante 1989; Stewart 1997: 24–42). There are exceptions, however. Ionian Greeks and Lydians, who had a reputation for luxury and softness, are depicted wearing long chitons that are indistinguishable from a woman’s costume. Some of these Ionians are

also shown with earrings and a *sakkos*, a type of woman's hair covering; some scholars have even interpreted them as cross-dressers (but see Miller 1999).

Separate roles are assigned to the genders in most traditional societies, and in Greek imagery there are a number of contexts that are largely limited to men – hunting, athletics, and war are the most important. Youths, by themselves or with men, may be involved in any of these activities but, with the mythological exceptions of the female hunter/athlete Atalanta and the warrior Amazons, women never are. The *symposion* appears as a masculine preserve, though it is often shared with women. These women are judged to be entertainers, professional musicians (Figure 26.1), or *hetairai* (paid companions, 'courtesans'). Likewise, in the workday world, most artisans and shopkeepers are men, in the rare scenes where they appear.

Women are indicated by their breasts and their lack of a beard, as well as by distinctive female clothes, the chiton or peplos and the himation. Hairstyle and jewelry complete the image of the beautiful yet modest woman. Veils and some other details of costume and hairstyle can distinguish married women from unmarried maidens, but the distinction is rarely clear. Other than height, there are few indications of a woman's age between adolescence and old age.

Because of the emphasis on feminine modesty, the naked female body is rarely seen, in contrast to the male, and then only in figures who have a reason for exposure: victims of rape, such as Cassandra, or bathers (Cohen 1993, 1997; Connelly 1993; Sutton 2009). Even in the mid 4th c. BC, Praxiteles had to depict his revolutionary nude Knidian Aphrodite (Figure 5.7) as a bather, demonstrating that female nudity still needed to be explained at that time (Fantham et al. 1994: 173–180; Stewart 1997: 97–106). The major exception is that nude women are shown in some *symposion* scenes, where we must assume that they are *hetairai*, who lacked the modesty and status of citizen women (Keuls 1985: 153–228; Neils 2000a).

Much study has been devoted to women's activities on vases as scenes of daily life. Genre scenes give us much information about weddings, funerals, and so on, but depictions of life in the women's quarters are not common; women's occupations, such as weaving, spinning, cooking, and childrearing, are actually surprisingly rare (Keuls 1985: 98–152, 229–266; Bérard et al. 1989: 88–107; Lissarrague 1992; Fantham et al. 1994: 93–112). These images are usually considered to be documenting women's life, but there are many problems of interpretation. For instance, it is difficult to distinguish free women from slaves. We usually recognize slaves by what they are doing rather than by specific details, although short haircuts, certain costumes, and ethnic characteristics are sometimes

depicted (Oakley 2000).

Ancient sources indicate that women of the citizen class in Athens were secluded to some degree, and this separation of the genders is visible in the images (Keuls 1985: 210–228; Lewis 2002: 172–209). In opposition to the male contexts of *symposion* and *gymnasion*, women are usually shown together in the women's quarters, dressing, spinning, and even reading (Lissarrague 1992). Men are rare in such scenes, and we do not know who they are – are these family groupings? When we see a woman with a youth too young to be her husband, must he be a member of her family? Some scholars have interpreted all these scenes as youths visiting prostitutes, which becomes complicated when the women are shown spinning (Keuls 1985: 258–266). The very rare images of family together are therefore even more interesting; women with children are uncommon, but women and men with children are rare indeed, even on gravestones (Keuls 1985: 72–75, figs. 52–55). Women appear outside the home at the departure of a warrior, but their behavior highlights the differences between the genders. The women are usually weeping, emotional, and vulnerable, while the warriors arm themselves and say farewell calmly.

In the second half of the 5th c. BC, the function of vases (both pots and cups) that carry painted imagery shifted away from the *symposion* ceramics (presumably replaced by metal vessels), and more shapes that we believe were owned and used by women began to be produced. There was a concomitant increase in female imagery, such as Aphrodite and the world of love. Fewer and fewer mature men appear, and more and more youths. Husbands in bridal scenes are youths, not men, although this contradicts the surviving texts on marriage. This discrepancy points again to the imaginary quality of these images. Perhaps they were intended to reassure the bride that her husband was young, beautiful, and sympathetic just when the Peloponnesian War made that less likely to be true. There is also an increase in the imagery of Eros, Paris, Adonis, and the youthful Dionysos, presenting a beautiful young man as a love object for women.

Normally we think of gender in terms of men and women. Gloria Ferrari has recently proposed that the ancient Greeks recognized three genders: man, woman, and (male) youth (Ferrari 2002: 96). Thinking this way disturbs our comfort with masculine and feminine genders, but it explains much of the sexual imagery discussed below. Ferrari's general concept is that male youths – defined as somewhere around 18 years old and going up into the 20s – constitute a separate group from men, desirable sexually to men, treated in some ways like women or children, but in some ways like men, and thus in every way

transitional. The imagery makes this clear. Youths are more likely to show gestures of fear like a woman, but are also able to react and fight like a man (McNiven 2000). Young Tithonos, for example, sometimes tries to drive away the goddess Eos, who is pursuing him (e.g. Boardman 1975: fig. 379.1), which is not true of any of the youths pursued by male gods. Orpheus, shown as a youth, also defends himself in some scenes of his death at the hands of the Thracian women (e.g. Boardman 1975: figs. 277 and 354); in others he runs away like a woman (*LIMC* 7: Orpheus, figs. 48–51). Youths are pursued like women, but also pursue or court boys as men do. They are shown being trained for war, but are not actually involved in battle. Youths were allowed to recline at the *symposion* like men, but again were objects of sexual desire, though also capable of demonstrating their own desire (Figure 26.1).

26.5 Sexuality

By sexuality, we mean everything that has to do with sex itself: sexual orientation, sexual attraction, and sexual activity. Greek art figures prominently in debates about the history of sexuality because of its explicit images of sexual activity (Brendel 1970: 5–6). Again, these images have been treated as documenting what Greek men got up to with their wives, ‘female companions’, and boyfriends, and the differences from the textual tradition noted and debated (Dover 1978). The difficulty is that most societies circumscribe sexuality with conventions, and its representation, or the lack of it, can be anything but factual. Thus, Kenneth Dover, in discussing Greek homosexuality, took the lack of images of anal intercourse as a sign that this activity was rarely practiced, in spite of the many times that Aristophanes uses the adjective *europrokto*, ‘gape-assed’, to insult characters that he wants to imply are jaded buggers. This may only have been verbal abuse, but it shows that the practice was familiar in ancient Athens. Some kind of taboo must have prevented the explicit depiction of anal intercourse (Sutton 2000: 188). On the other hand, the complete lack of images of female homosexuality has been attributed to a lack of interest in this topic on the part of the predominantly male audience in ancient Greece (Rabinowitz 2002). Dealing with a society far away in time and place, we can only deal with the constructions and projections presented to us in literature and art.

Numerically, the largest body of images of explicit sexual activity occurs on Athenian decorated pottery, which is limited to three centuries and a single geographical area. Most of this imagery is found

on drinking equipment, and so the audience can be expected to be male, and we are probably dealing with the common man rather than the elite. The question of the intended audience is always important (Neer 2002; Lynch 2009). Nevertheless, this material is crucial because official art, whether temple sculptures or public monuments, avoids sexual subjects completely. Before the Hellenistic period, sexual acts were not depicted explicitly in large-scale sculpture.

26.6 Heterosexuality

Heterosexual imagery is more common than homosexual imagery, with the vast majority focused on the relationship between symposiasts and *hetairai*. Men on couches watch desirable pipes-players, recline next to women, and sometimes embrace them (Figure 26.1). These *symposion* scenes are more common after the invention of red-figure, especially on drinking cups (Lissarrague 1990b; cf. Chapter 27). When these show explicit sex, it seems to be in private, on a couch but with few signs of the *symposion*, such as drinking vessels, visible (Kilmer 1993: e.g. R82, R117, R434, R506, R507, R529, R543–R545). Often the couple appears in the circular tondo inside the cup, as if viewed through a porthole. Many of these scenes involve a woman bent over and the man approaching or penetrating her from behind. Dover thought these scenes showed anal intercourse, but most scholars have rejected that idea as unlikely. It may indicate the favored sexual position in this culture; it may have been something a man did not do with his wife (Sutton 1992: 11).

Dancing and more acrobatic sex is shown happening away from the couches and in the *komos*, the carousing parade home. In black-figure, Little Master cups of the mid 6th c. BC display ‘chorus lines’ of cavorting nude male and female figures (Sutton 1992: 9–10, fig. 1.1; Sutton 2009: 78–82). Similar friezes also adorn so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae (Dover 1978: B51, B53). Their shape and provenance indicate that these were specifically made for the Etruscan market, leading Kathleen Lynch (2009) to assert that sexual imagery was produced in Athens primarily for export to Italy, although Robert Sutton (2009: 85) demonstrates a wider audience for the other black-figure images. By the end of black-figure, after c. 490 BC, crude cups make up for their lack of quality with a concatenation of copulating couples (Stewart 1997: 160–161, figs. 99, 100). Red-figure artists sometimes depict several men together having sex with women, but usually add violence to the mix, as the women are threatened, forced, and beaten (Keuls 1985: 180–186; Stewart 1997: 165, fig. 5). Sexual

images on pottery decrease drastically after 470 BC, and become much more staid (despite Kilmer 1997: R898). After the 5th c. BC, the amount of sexual material everywhere in Greek art drops significantly. A bronze mirror and cover from the mid 4th c., now in Boston ([Figure 26.3](#)), is decorated inside and out with copulating couples, which show the female partner almost acrobatically active (Clarke 1998: 22–27). From the Late Hellenistic period, sculptures show encounters between a satyr and a nymph or a satyr and a Hermaphrodite (Clarke 1998: 51–55; cf. Smith 1991: figs. 158–60).

Figure 26.3 Bronze mirror (interior). Lovemaking. Mid 4th c. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Massachusetts, USA / Gift of Edward Perry Warren / The Bridgeman Art Library).

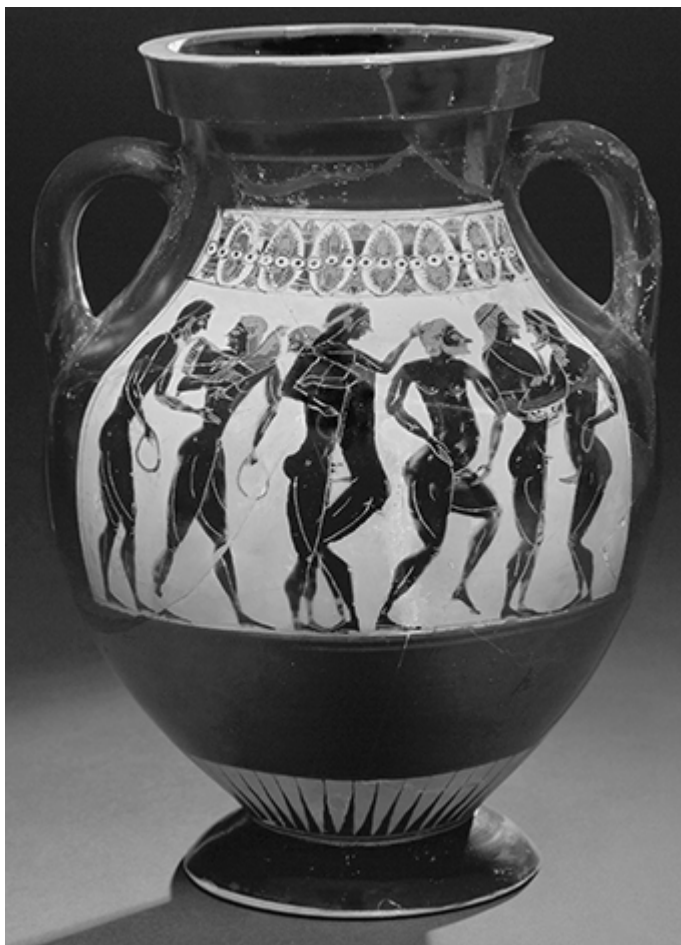


26.7 Homosexuality

The explicitly erotic material that depicts homosexual behavior has

received much discussion because it is the most surprising to us, and because it adds significantly to what we know from literary sources. The largest number of images depict what Beazley coyly labeled ‘courting scenes’ (Figure 26.4), in which a man or a youth approaches a younger male, offers him gifts, fondles him, and even kisses him (Dover 1978; Shapiro 1981; Kilmer 1997; Lear and Cantarella 2008). The focus is almost always on a relationship between unequals, a man and a youth, a youth and a boy, even a man and a fairly small boy, which follows the pattern described in the textual sources. In ancient Greek, the older male is the *erastes*, the younger the *eromenos*, which can be translated as ‘lover’ and ‘beloved’. The roles are shown as clearly defined, with the lover taking the initiative, and the beloved less involved, even distant (but see DeVries 1997). The final stage of this wooing is shown in a pose that Dover named ‘intercrural intercourse’, in which the lover embraces the younger male and rubs his penis between the beloved’s thighs, usually with no apparent response (Dover 1978: 98–100). In contrast, scenes of anal intercourse are rare. Robert Sutton was able to find only four Athenian examples, one of which involves satyrs (2000: 185–191)!

Figure 26.4 Athenian black-figure amphora. Men courting youths. c. 540 BC (London, British Museum 1865.11-18.39 (W 39) © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Dover suggested that this pattern indicates that intercrural intercourse was as far as Athenian *erastai* got with their beloveds, which parallels the reticence described by later authors (Xen. *Symp.* 8.21). This has caused much discussion about what was actually done by the lover, and what the beloved allowed his lover to do. The conflict between our visual and textual evidence forces us to question the reality behind both. It is important to realize that ideals and taboos are at work here. Some things were not depicted; they violated the ideology. The images are projections of the imaginary, as is clear from the many courting and pursuit scenes that depict gods and youths, such as Zeus with Ganymede (Boardman 1996: fig. 127). No god is ever shown with an erection, nor are they shown consummating their relationships (e.g. Keuls 1985: 53, figs. 31, 32). To have done so must have been thought disrespectful. Likewise, with Sutton's rare exceptions to prove the rule, depictions of male-on-male sex are kept polite. This is probably because, as the third gender, youths could be sexual objects, but unlike women, someday they would mature to be

citizens who wielded power and commanded respect.

Plato, in the 4th c. BC, one hundred years after most of the homoerotic images, composed an elaborate discussion about modesty, in which the noble *eromenos*, almost a man himself, remains reserved towards his lover (*Symp.* 184ab). Dover embraced the idea that youths were supposed to remain aloof and take the relationship as far as they could without allowing actual penetration, because the imagery seemed to offer confirmation (1978: 48, 52, 95). He was, however, ignoring images that show an enthusiastic *eromenos* (DeVries 1997). The goal of both Plato's philosophical dictum and the remarkably chaste imagery was perhaps to project an idealized code of behavior that some people would follow, other people would ignore, but most people would at least pay lip service to. Such a code is not reality, of course.

Written sources also specify that *eromenoi* should be almost adults, what we usually refer to as 'youths'. Yet, in a small number of cases, images show men (and youths) courting prepubescent boys (Shapiro 2000). This is never mentioned in the literary sources, although the loose meaning of the word *pais* makes certainty difficult, since any man younger than the speaker could be called 'boy', at least metaphorically. It is a topic uncomfortable enough that most scholars have ignored it completely, taking shelter behind the high-minded Platonic ideal. Such reticence demonstrates that we are always dealing with not just the ancient construction of sexuality, but also with our own modern construction of it.

Slavery also complicates this issue. A slave (also called *pais*), whether male and female, was available at the master's bidding. Sex with slaves was not much discussed in literature because it was taken for granted: just an outlet, on the level of masturbation, not a relationship, not about love. From inheritance cases, we know of heterosexual couples that started out as master and slave and developed a permanent and public relationship. The same thing may have happened with male slaves, but as there would have been no legal problems caused by illegitimate, slave-born children, there is no record. Such relationships, of course, are completely invisible in the art, unless reflected in the scenes of men with young boys.

Imagery of homosexual behavior exists in black-figure and red-figure between 550 and 470 BC, and then disappears. Some scholars have proposed a change in Greek society away from homosexuality in the 4th c., but rare examples in Hellenistic art parallel the poems in the *Palatine Anthology* (Clarke 1998: 35–42). These scattered examples hint at a tradition now invisible to us, perhaps in the form of illustrated books, pornography in the modern sense.

On the cup in Berlin by Peithinos, youths courting women and youths courting boys are presented on opposite sides of the bowl (Keuls 1985: 222). The interior pointedly depicts the heroic marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Objects like this may have been produced for men interested in both male and female partners. Similarly, ancient Greek poetry discusses which were more desirable, boys or women, although usually from a point of view that suggests that different men prefer one or the other. This has led to a discussion about ancient Greek bisexuality, as an alternative to the heterosexual/homosexual dualism. David Halperin, on the other hand, has asserted that there was no distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality before these labels were invented in the late 19th c. (Halperin, 1990: 15–40; but see Richlin 1993). This argument, however, is unnecessary if we accept Ferrari's idea that the Greeks recognized three genders. At least then it is possible to view almost all Athenian men (depicted in Greek art) as 'heterosexual', since they desired a different gender, whether it was a woman or a youth. The cup in Berlin can then be seen as displaying its purchaser's options within the norms of Athenian society.

26.8 Conclusion

Film critic Laura Mulvey's theory of the male gaze (Mulvey 1975) gives us a way to make sense of much of the imagery discussed above. In the first half of the 20th c., Mulvey notes that films were made by men, for men. Men controlled the finances, commissioned most of the works, and in fact produced most of them. A male audience was assumed; women who attended movies became used to seeing from a man's perspective. The camera takes the position of a male eye, looking at female bodies and desiring female characters. On film, females are the objects of the gaze, the objects of desire.

We have every reason to believe that the economic situation was the same in the art markets of ancient Greece. Much of the pottery was produced for the *symposion*, a masculine institution. The artists and potters whose names we know were male. The resulting product shows the hallmarks of Mulvey's 'male gaze'. The prevalence of nudity in Greek art, something we have grown accustomed to, is in fact unique in the ancient world. Through the 5th c. BC, the focus in Greek art was on the nude male body, especially the young nude male body. While that continued to be true, the female nude was gradually being explored in marginal contexts before Praxiteles created the startling nude Knidian Aphrodite (see [Figure 5.7](#)) in the mid 4th c. From this

point onward, the female nude gained prestige (Sutton 2009).

Before Praxiteles, however, the female figure was elaborately dressed in fashionable clothes. The clothing does not block the male gaze as much as tease it, with the bodies of late Archaic korai becoming increasingly visible through the drapery (Figure 5.1). Elaborating their clothing makes these young women erotic yet modest, swathed in womanly virtue but with nubile bodies moving underneath. They resemble the young women pursued by the gods, who are depicted clothed and attempting to preserve their virtue. The gods are not interested in naked prostitutes; the women they pursue are not exposed to the common view. On the other hand, the relief of the sandal-binding Nike from the Athena Nike parapet on the Acropolis (Stewart 1990: fig. 420) seems to push the boundaries of propriety, exposing the body of the goddess to our lustful gaze despite her filmy veils. The total nudity of the Knidian Aphrodite and her Hellenistic followers seems a logical development to hold the attention of the male gaze.

Unlike in modern Hollywood, in ancient Greece the male gaze can also be homosexual. There is the long tradition of the *kouros* as an ideal (naked) young man, a potential *eromenos*, offered as an object of pleasure (*agalma*) to the gods, but more often offered to the male gods than the female ones (Stewart 1997: 63–70). In addition, many Greek vases display beautiful young men as athletes, or as love objects of the gods, providing obvious targets for the admiring male gaze. Although the literary sources barely allude to the possibility, mature men are also desirable in Greek art. The bronze god from Artemision (Boardman 1985: fig. 35), the Riace Warriors (Plate 4), the *erastai* on decorated pottery, all display the perfect (though more mature) proportions, regular features, small penises, and lack of body hair that made youths desirable. Whose male gaze was being pleased here? Do we dare posit a lustful *eromenos* or a desiring woman (Stehle and Day 1996)? One could even imagine a male gaze in play here that is homosexual in the modern sense, adult male bodies designed to attract the attention of adult male eyes.

When looked at in the light of Mulvey's theory of the male gaze, virtually all of Greek art becomes a playground for the erotic imagination. The east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Boardman 1985: fig. 20), for example, displays an array of nude men, fashionably dressed women, and nude boys. From the exalted level of the Temple of Zeus down to the worst black-figure cups daubed with copulating couples, Greek art addresses the male gaze. It also exposes Greek concepts of sex, gender, and sexuality to our examination, while veiling those concepts in a rhetoric of heroism and modesty that keeps us looking without questioning the reality too deeply.

FURTHER READING

The best surveys of all of the issues discussed in this chapter can be found in Skinner (2005), Stewart (1997), Keuls (1985), and the articles in Richlin (1992).

Gender in ancient Greek art is discussed mainly in terms of the life and status of women, although the representation of both men and women is treated by Langdon (2008), who focuses on the period 1100–700 BC. Ferrari also takes a balanced view for the 6th and 5th c. BC in her 2002 book entitled *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*. Women are the focus of Schmitt-Pantel (1992a) and Fantham et al. (1994). Well-illustrated catalogues on the subject include Reeder (1995) and recently Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008), with an up-to-date bibliography.

Other than the comprehensive works by Keuls and Stewart cited above, discussions of ancient Greek sexuality focus mainly on homosexual images. Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* (1978) remains valuable for images, but has been superseded by Lear and Cantarella (2008). Articles devoted to sexuality in Greek and Roman society are collected in Konstan and Nussbaum (1990).

Explicit sexual imagery on red-figure vases is collected by Kilmer (1993). More general pictorial sources include Dierichs (1993) in German and Johns (1982) and Boardman and LaRocca (1978) in English.

CHAPTER 27

Drinking and Dining

Kathleen M. Lynch

27.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to survey the artistic and archaeological evidence for eating and drinking in ancient Greece. Even though food acquisition, preparation, and consumption must have occupied much of the ancient Greek day, their importance leaves little artistic and limited archaeological impact. In many societies, shared consumption of food provides cultural definition and as such has been the focus of extensive anthropological study (Dietler and Hayden 2001). Feasts offer opportunities to express power through the provision and control of resources. There is excellent evidence for feasting in the Bronze Age and Iron Age of ancient Greece (Wright 2004a), but in the Archaic and Classical periods a different model with an emphasis on a communal drinking activity, the *symposion*, developed (Figure 27.1). The bulk of our visual evidence, almost all from ceramic vases decorated with figural scenes, relates to the *symposion* in these periods, and this will be the focus of much of this chapter. Other evidence includes wall-paintings, relief sculpture, archaeological remains, and literature.

Figure 27.1 Corinthian black-figure krater. Banquet with Herakles. c. 600–590 BC (Paris, Louvre E 635. © Peter Willi/SuperStock).



27.2 The Changing Role of Dining from the Bronze Age to the Classical Period

In the Bronze Age, during the period of palaces and hierarchical leadership (c. 1500–1100 BC), the central authority sponsored large feasts where great quantities of food and drink could be equated with the palace's power (Wright 2004b). Smaller groups, but of select, elite diners, also met in the palace to underscore their high status. The Palace of Nestor at Pylos has offered the best evidence for understanding the social role of dining in this period (Davis and Bennet 1999; Bendall 2004). Wall-paintings in the various halls emphasized the performed messages of status and control expressed by the feasting. After the fall of the Bronze Age cultures c. 1200 BC,

communal dining seems to have remained an important feature of limited, local political organizations. Archaeologically, excavations at Iron Age Nichoria, not far from the defunct palace at Pylos, and Lefkandi, on Euboea, both reveal smaller group dining, perhaps orchestrated by a chief or community leader to reinforce his position or forge relationships (Schuitema 2008). In the Iron Age, as in the Bronze Age, feasts featured both food and drink. The presence of food is important to note because the focus will shift to drinking in the Archaic period and later.

The Iron Age (c. 1100–700 BC) provides us with a tantalizing ambiguous source for eating and drinking. The great surviving epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, attributed to the poet Homer, may have been written in the mid 8th c. BC, with later modifications. The poems present a pastiche of evidence from contemporary Iron Age society, passed down memories of the Bronze Age, and idealistic fantasy. The trick is to determine which descriptions fall into which categories, and how we should use the information responsibly (Sherratt 2004). For example, Homer's heroes mix wine with water, but they sit rather than recline as we will see symposiasts do, and who receives a share of the feasts remains important. The picture is one of an elite feast used to reinforce bonds and status. In the *Odyssey* (3.5–67), the description of a sacrifice to Poseidon accords well with archaeological evidence from Pylos (Davis and Stocker 2004). There is a large crowd and copious food and drink, although status distinctions seem to exist, as Athena, in the guise of Mentor, is asked to make the first libation (3.41–50). A wedding feast at the palace of Menelaos in Sparta also features a bard and acrobatic entertainers (4.3–19).

As the Greeks evolved out of the Iron Age into the period designated Orientalizing (c. 700–600 BC) because of the influence of ideas and artistic styles coming from the East (and south, to count Egypt), dining and drinking took on new forms that would define their characteristics in the subsequent Archaic and Classical periods. During the Orientalizing period, Greeks adopted reclining while eating and drinking, which seems to have arrived from Persia (Dentzer 1982). Drinking took on a greater role, and new forms of poetry developed to provide entertainment at the drinking events. From this point on, the majority of artistic representations relate to this elite form of drinking and its variants, which we will discuss in the following sections.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, communal dining received little cultural emphasis, with the exception of religious feasts. Everyday dining leaves little artistic, archaeological, or literary evidence. Few vase-painters chose to depict food preparation (with the exception of wine) or consumption. Archaeological excavations of households have revealed that in these periods there were very few

ceramic shapes dedicated to food consumption. That is, there were few bowls and virtually no plates until the Late Classical period. Food may have been eaten out of wooden or other perishable receptacles that do not leave archaeological traces. Curiously, plates during the Archaic and Classical periods served as votive offerings in sanctuaries, and they often have holes allowing them to be suspended as plaques (Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974). Food preparation vessels – utilitarian bowls and cooking vessels – are present, so food was being prepared (Sparkes and Talcott 1970). Its consumption in the household, however, occurred in an understated manner. In contrast, food finds an important role in Classical plays, especially comedy, where culinary preferences are used to characterize people as sophisticates or bumpkins (Wilkins 2000: 52–102). Also, some three-dimensional terracotta figurines of the Archaic and Classical periods depict food preparation in realistic detail. The finest of these come from Boeotia and illustrate grating cheese (Figure 27.2), grinding grain, cooking stew, and roasting meat (see Sparkes 1962: 132–137; 1965: 62–163 for a list of types). Only one type of vase-painting scene clearly relates to food consumption: occasionally heroes are shown alone at table (Carpenter 1995: 149–153), such as on the famous red-figure skyphos in Vienna depicting Achilles dining with the body of Hektor beneath the table (Boardman 1975: fig. 248).

Figure 27.2 Boeotian terracotta showing a man grating cheese. c. 500–475 BC (Thebes, Archaeological Museum. © DeAgostini/SuperStock).



Religious dining, however, played an important role in Greek cultural identity. The typical form of an ancient Greek festival, or celebration in honor of a god, involved burnt sacrifice and consumption of a meal. In fact, some scholars claim that feast days were the only days that Greeks ate meat (Durand and Schnapp 1984; Davidson 1997: 18), although new studies of faunal evidence (animal bones) from houses may change that view. Religious festivals came in different sizes, some large, such as the Panhellenic festivals with athletic contests at Olympia and elsewhere, and the Panathathenaic Festival at Athens, which celebrated the patroness Athena, and some small, including intimate family gatherings at rustic shrines in the countryside, as described in Menander's play the *Dyskolos* (Men. *Dys.* 393–426 and *passim*). Archaeological excavations of sanctuaries typically discover large quantities of food remains, drinking cups, and cooking vessels, because objects used in a ritual had to be disposed of within the sanctuary (Bookidis et al. 1999).

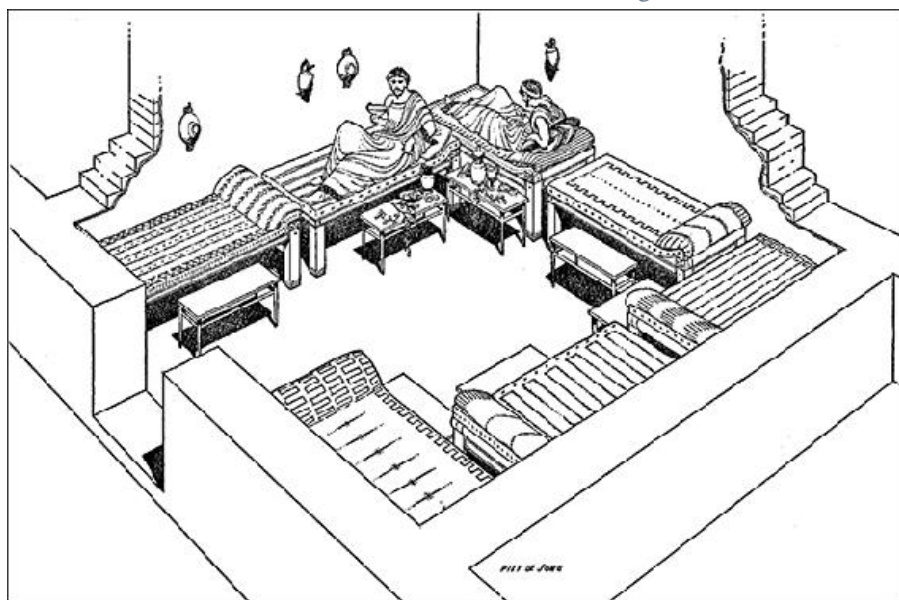
There are some reflections of sacred dining in vase-painting. Greek artists preferred not to show the act of killing an animal, but the outcome was implied by parades of animals towards an altar or by officiants roasting meat on spits over an altar (Figure 29.1; Ekroth 2001). There are no explicit depictions of ritual dining, however, unless some images of men reclining on mattresses placed on the ground refer to rural sacrifices like the one in the *Dyskolos* (e.g. Boardman 1974: fig. 177). Images of reclining men and women on Lakonian black-figure vases may also reflect ritual dining and drinking, as winged daemons float above and interact with the drinkers (Pipili 1987: 71–75). Some sanctuaries provided space for ritual dining, such as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, which possessed a line of small dining rooms and accompanying dining and cooking pottery (Bookidis and Stroud 1997; Bookidis et al. 1999).

We know about civic dining through literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence. In Sparta, men dined together at *syssitia*, common meals to which the participants contributed funds and food. These meals featured wine, and men may have reclined, but drunkenness was not allowed and attendance was mandatory. The common meals provided an arena to reinforce obedience to the state and develop support for *polis* policy. No confirmed depictions of dining at *syssitia* exist, but Lakonian vases do depict drinking. Some may be reflections of *syssitia* activities, others cult activities (Smith 2010: 133–143).

At Athens, magistrates and jurors received a modest allowance to purchase lunch in the Agora so that they could stay on the job all day (Rotroff and Oakley 1992; Schmitt-Pantel 1992b). The South Stoa I, a

long colonnaded building with a series of shaded rooms excavated in the Classical Agora, has been interpreted as the location for some of these lunchtime meals (Camp 2010: 161–164). The reconstruction presents the diners reclining as at a *symposium*, but many others must have grabbed an ancient gyro on the go (Figure 27.3). Civic dining in Athens also occurred in the *prytaneion*, the headquarters of the fifty citizens on duty to respond to any state emergency. Epigraphic evidence indicates that they also hosted visiting dignitaries and that distinguished citizens and their descendants could eat for free at the *prytaneion* for life. A round building in the Agora has been interpreted as the Classical *prytaneion* (Camp 2010: 48–50). Again, there are no certain images of civic dining, but there is some archaeological evidence, including pottery marked as belonging to the state with the graffito ΔΕ for *Demosion* (Lang 1976: 51–52).

Figure 27.3 Athens, the Agora. South Stoa I artist's reconstruction with recliners (Agora PD 791, published in Camp (2010: fig. 129). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).



Hosting guests is another elusive but culturally important form of dining. The custom of *xenia*, guest friendship, required a homeowner to show hospitality to a traveler with whom he had once stayed. Visitors to a city would stay with their friend and expect to receive food and shelter as they themselves had given. Unfortunately, this important cultural tradition leaves few artistic and archaeological traces. It is possible that meals provided for the guest may have preceded a *symposium*, as these visits were opportunities to expand contacts beyond the home *polis*.

As we will discuss in the next section, in the Archaic and Classical periods the *symposion* became increasingly important, but it focused on drinking, not dining. A host might offer dinner before the *symposion*, but a hiatus occurred providing a transition between the eating phase of the evening and the drinking. Fragment 1 of Xenophanes of Kolophon marks the transition: ‘For now the floor is clean, as are everyone’s hands and the cups’ (Ath. *Deip.* 11.426c, trans. Olson). Dinner was not always provided, and there are depictions of drinkers toting their own food in wicker picnic baskets to *symposia*. Xenophanes Fragment 1 describes bread, cheese, and honey accompanying the sympotic wine, because, as every hostess knows, it is best to temper alcohol with some food. Occasionally food appears in depictions of tables in front of reclining symposiasts.

And so, our section on images of dining is brief. Ongoing study of the animal bones and seed remains recovered from careful excavation will undoubtedly tell us more about the ancient Greek diet, but additional contemplation of why eating received so little artistic attention may also reveal new insights about the Greeks.

27.3 The *Symposion*: A Definition

One of the most common themes in black-figure and red-figure vase-painting of the Archaic and Classical periods is the *symposion* and its related activities. We know much about the *symposion* from its depiction on vases and descriptions in both poetry and prose. The *symposion* was a drinking party for about seven to fifteen men held in the host’s home, and some houses had a special room for hosting the event called an *andron* (‘the room of men’). Archaeological excavations, particularly at Olynthos, document that the *andron* was located towards the front of the house and featured its most ornate decoration (Cahill 2002: 180–189). An offset door and delineated space for the couches allow us to recognize the rooms architecturally even from ruins.

During a *symposion* the consumption of wine had rules and an order of activities. Foremost of all was the mixing of wine with water. The Greeks thought that anyone who drank his wine neat (i.e. unmixed) was a barbarian, so the very act of mixing wine and water held cultural significance as it defined one as civilized. Drinkers were served in rounds so that no one drinker got drunker than another (although Socrates famously could drink prodigiously without ill effect! Pl. *Symp.* 220a). Drinkers reclined on their left elbows on couches called *klinai*. The reclining position implied a need to be

served but also the leisure of the occasion. The group was small enough that everyone could see and hear each other, but there was no ‘head of the table’. Instead, as seen on vases, the *klinai* were arranged along the walls of a small room in a squared-circle, promoting conversation and a feeling of equality (Figure 27.3). One man did serve as *symposiarch*, *symposion* leader, although this was rarely the host. He would decide how potent the wine-to-water ratio should be for that evening, and he would select a topic for discussion. Otherwise, all participants were expected to contribute something to the discussion or song. Some vases show one man passing a myrtle branch to another (e.g. Lissarrague 1990b: fig. 99). The receiver was expected to take up a song in mid-verse where the first had left off, called capping. This form of singing required everyone to know the lyrics to the songs, and some of these drinking songs, called *skolia*, do survive (Collins 2004: 84–98). They often evoke heroes and battle, but can also be witty. Conversation and singing was a group-defining activity, so that common knowledge reflected common concerns. In addition to participatory entertainment, there was sometimes hired entertainment of musicians, dancers, acrobats, and prostitutes to please the drinkers (Pellizer 1990). We see a variety of these on vases specially designed for use in the *symposion*, starting in the Archaic period (Smith 2010 (dancers); Boardman 1989a: fig. 138 (acrobats)).

27.4 The Development of the *Symposion*

The *symposion* evolved out of the Iron Age feasting described in Section 27.2. With influence from the East, the event became the exclusive province of the elite until the end of the Archaic period. An eastern Greek aristocrat even had himself depicted reclining in a life-size marble sculpture by the artist Genelaos as a dedication to Hera on Samos (Boardman 1978: fig. 91; Baughan 2011; see Chapter 5). We can imagine the importance of the *symposion* in the Early Archaic period as aristocratic factions of Archaic *poleis* strove to claim and secure power through allegiances. The poems of Alkaios, an aristocrat on the island of Lesbos, provide insight into the intrigue and drama of these sympotic encounters. He writes, ‘Now must men get drunk and drink with all their strength since Myrsilos [the tyrant] has died!’ (Alc. 332; trans. Campbell). In fact, the *symposion* seems to be the setting for most of Archaic lyric poetry (Pellizer 1990: 180). As the Archaic progressed, however, profound social changes naturally had their

effect on the *symposion*. The growing power of the non-elite, especially the class of hoplites, citizen soldiers, who were asked to defend their *polis* and property but for very few rights, drove reforms that broadened judicial and political representation of a larger number of men. The elite may have retreated to their traditions and even ratcheted up the fanciness of their *symposia* in order to reinforce their privileged standing, not unlike proverbial Marie Antoinette in the face of the French Revolution.

In Late Archaic Athens, where preservation of historical and archaeological evidence is excellent, the number of men participating in *symposia* increases dramatically. We can see this rise through the greater number of ceramic cups made exclusively for use in the *symposion* (Lynch 2007: 247–248). This increase in sympotic activity coincided with the emergence of democracy, and citizens appropriated the *symposion* of the elites for their own use, to forge bonds among the newly enfranchised population of Attica.

Throughout the Classical period, participation in the *symposion* played social roles for both the elite and the masses. The elite continued to practice the *symposion*, and wealthy hosts probably emphasized their standing through fine metal drinking equipment and expensive entertainment. Ordinary citizens continued to gather in *symposia* to discuss life and politics, but with less expensive ceramic vessels, often painted with scenes that reflected shared cultural values, just like the songs they sung and the myths they recounted.

From the Early Archaic to the Classical period, the cultural role of the *symposion* throughout the Greek world remained the same: to forge bonds and friendships among men and to define group identity. The role of wine was essential to achieving this goal. By lowering inhibitions, wine allows men to relax and get to know each other's views. Even excessive drinking, depicted in *komos* scenes, which show a post-*symposion* drunken parade through the city (e.g. Boardman 1975: fig. 47), emphasized shared experiences that drew individuals closer together. In contrast to the feasts of the Bronze Age and Iron Age, the emphasis was not on the leader's ability to provide food reliably. Rather, the sympotic host was not trying to distinguish his own power, but solidified a group's power by bringing like-minded people together and potential allies into the fold. In fact, even the most elite *symposia* emphasized equality of the participants: equal shares of wine, equal participation in discussion. The difference between a feast-type and sympotic-type gathering goes a long way towards understanding why food had a lesser role in the *symposion* than we might imagine. Instead of signaling reliability and control of resources, the *symposion* provided the venue for forging networks and alliances that would benefit men in their public and private lives.

Wine was just the trick.

In the Hellenistic period (323–31 BC), the *symposion* took on a new identity, combining traits of the feast and *symposion* models (Rotroff 1996). Times had changed, and the emphasis on equality and forming bonds was no longer relevant in a society that turned more and more to personal connections and saw the strength of the *polis* community diluted within new empires. Wine continued to be drunk in groups, but now the groups were large and orchestrated to emphasize the wealth and power of an individual, the host. Small *symposion* rooms in Classical houses grew into dining halls, where the grand space prevented diners from a unified conversation (Bergquist 1990). Even the communal mixing-bowl for wine and water, the *krater*, seems to have lost its relevance. Individuals were no longer served from a common source but instead had their own allocation of wine on the table before them.

A note on terminology: I use the term ‘*symposion*’ to refer to a type of communal drinking with rules and characteristics described above. Other kinds of group drinking did occur, but they were either not as formal or did not have the same social goals. Even civic dining, classified as ‘eating’, involved reclining and drinking wine, but because its main objective was to provide sustenance, I do not consider it a true *symposion*. Banquets that occurred in conjunction with religious feasts or weddings, for example, also shared some of the features of the *symposion* and its equipment, but these too have additional social objectives beyond forging bonds among participants. Taverns or public houses also existed. They are mentioned occasionally in literature, but again, the form of drinking there was not sympotic. Unfortunately, it is hard to gauge how common taverns were, since they have left no clearly identifiable archaeological or artistic evidence. Other scholars and commentators lump all eating and drinking done while reclining under the *symposion* and sometimes use ‘banquet’ as a synonym for *symposion*. A stricter use of the term *symposion* helps elucidate the extraordinary focus on wine alone and distinguishes practices among the individual Greek *poleis*.

27.5 Sympotic Equipment

No other cultural activity had a greater impact on the potters of ancient Greece than the *symposion*, not even worshipping the gods. Artistic and archaeological evidence makes this clear. The *symposion* prompted potters to create ceramic shapes and decorate them with scenes related to their intended use in the *symposion* and its activities.

The next two sections will survey sympotic vase shapes and typical decoration to understand how the shapes and images functioned within the *symposion*.

It is no surprise that an activity with so many rules would require specialized equipment. The potters of ancient Greece created shapes that fulfilled specific purposes in the *symposion*. The suite of equipment is similar to the abundant silverware at a fancy dinner. Most of us usually manage to eat our meals without an asparagus fork or fish knife, but in the rare cases where we sit at a table with a full panoply of silverware, we know it is a special occasion. Similarly, by requiring specially made shapes, the *symposion* distinguished itself from everyday beverage consumption, which may have used an undecorated multipurpose cup/bowl form. The essential vase, of course, was the mixing-bowl for wine and water, called in Greek the krater (cf. [Figures 27.1](#) and [27.4](#); and see Chapter 3). A wide, open vessel, the krater held the place of honor at the *symposion* and stood for the civilizing activity of drinking diluted wine (Lissarrague 1990b: 44–46). Wine might be brought to the room in a table amphora or other wine-storage shape (e.g. [Figure 27.5](#)). Although fine, decorated amphorae are abundant, they were not altogether necessary because the wine jar itself, a coarse, undecorated transport amphora, could also be brought into the room. Water might be brought in a hydria, a shape that sometimes bears images of itself being used to fetch water from a public fountain ([Figure 25.2](#)). A servant boy used a pitcher, an oinochoe, to decant the mixed wine into individual cups (e.g. Bérard et al. 1989: fig. 172). There is some visual evidence for metal ladles, but decorated ceramic versions were not used in mainland Greece. Each drinker had his own cup, which could be provided by the host or brought from home. The most distinctive sympotic cup was the kylix, a broad, stemmed vessel with horizontal handles (e.g. [Figure 27.6](#)). Other cups do appear in sympotic scenes, but these shapes, such as skyphoi, had other, nonsympotic uses, so they were not exclusively made for the *symposion*.

Figure 27.4 Athenian red-figure krater. *Athletes*. c. 530–520 BC (Berlin F 2180. bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Johannes Laurentius).



Figure 27.5 Athenian black-figure amphora. Dionysos and satyrs making wine. c. 540 BC (Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Ka 420. Photo: Andreas F. Voegelin).

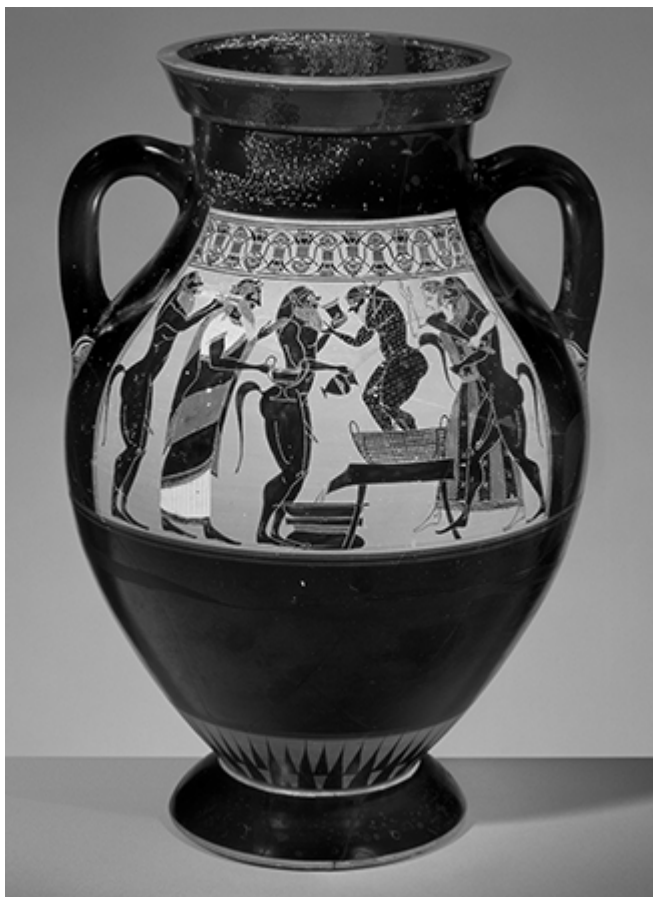


Figure 27.6 Athenian red-figure kylix. Banquet scene. c. 485–480 BC (London, British Museum E 49. Reg. 1843,1103.15. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Archaeological evidence from houses in Athens shows that pottery made exclusively for use in the *symposion* can account for over 40% of a house's ceramic contents (Lynch 2011). That is an enormous investment for an individual house, especially in contrast to the scant ceramic investment in food receptacles. It is also likely that some elite households used silver or bronze vessels instead of clay, but these valuable and recastable objects rarely survive. Evidence from tombs on the periphery of the Greek world indicates that ceramic shapes emulated metallic ones (a gold kylix from ancient Thrace (modern Bulgaria): Brunwasser 2005: 21; silver kylikes from Vani, ancient Colchis (modern Georgia): Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008: pl. 15–17).

By the Classical period, almost all fine, decorated pottery was made for the *symposion* or other communal drinking activities. A few special-purpose shapes served weddings and funerals, for example. The emphasis on drinking may surprise us, because in our own houses the 'fine china' is most often reserved for large communal meals. Again, we cannot underestimate the cultural importance of the *symposion* or its impact on the pottery business. It should not be surprising, on the other hand, that the decoration on sympotic vases represented the activities and reflected the values of the *symposion*.

27.6 Decoration on Sympotic Vases

Scenes of symposiasts enjoying an evening of drinking and entertainment occur on a variety of vase shapes. On a kylix by Douris in the British Museum, the drinkers are seated on *klinai* and arranged around the square *andron* in a circle (Figure 27.6). We, the drinker and viewer holding this cup, become part of the circle ourselves. This type of scene seems to depict a *symposion* of real – or ideal – men, and is sometimes classified with daily life ('genre') scenes, discussed below. On a krater made in Corinth, the names of the symposiasts indicate that this is myth, not reality (Figure 27.1). Herakles dines with Eurytos, whose daughter he had hoped to marry (alas, it doesn't work out!). We see the father, King Eurytos, and his sons reclining, while the daughter, Iole, standing, turns away from her suitor, Herakles. The Eurytos krater provides the earliest depiction of drinkers reclining. Interestingly, this vase was made in Corinth but found in an Etruscan tomb in Cerveteri, Italy. The trade in Greek vases will also be discussed below.

Entertainment at the *symposion* could be a subject on its own. Dancers are always popular (Smith 2010), and prostitutes, called *hetairai* (companions), were shown fulfilling their many roles during a sympotic evening: conversationalist, dancer or musician, and sexual partner (e.g. Boardman 1975: figs. 253, 265). Some of the last scenes are quite graphic, but for the Greeks the point was to express the many pleasures of the *symposion*.

Similarly, homoerotic scenes are also common on sympotic vases, particularly on cups, held and studied by individual drinkers. Homosexual relations in ancient Greece were very different from our modern conception of sexuality (Dover 1978; Parker 2001). Sexual preference was not an 'either/or' decision. Instead elite men, especially, married for the prospect of necessary heirs, enjoyed prostitutes or mistresses for pleasure, and also courted young men. Relationships between an older man and a younger boy helped socialize the young man and provided a model for citizenship and values. Regardless of their civic aspects, these relationships were entertaining and socially important to elite men. Sympotic vases from Athens frequently bear a painted inscription of the formula 'So-and-so is *kalos* [handsome]'. *Kalos* conveys physical, mental, and social excellence. Symposiasts sometimes are shown playing a game, *kottabos*, in which the drinkers flings the lees of their wine at a target, calling out the name of a boy they desire (Lissarrague 1990b: 80–86; Csapo and Miller 1991). Scenes depict men courting their youthful companions, and occasionally they move beyond to a form of sexual gratification for the adult (e.g. Boardman 1974: fig. 136). These scenes have been the source of much scholarly discussion on the type of intercourse (intercrural – between the thighs – not anal) and why

the boys rarely show an erection (Davidson 2007; Shapiro 1981; see Chapter 26). The *symposion* and the *gymnasion* were important places for these relationships to develop.

If the *symposion* is about defining what it means to be a Greek, it is no wonder that so many sympotic vases bear depictions of heroes and myth (Carpenter 1991). These stories, which form the backbone of Greek culture, complemented and amplified the cultural significance of the civilized *symposion*. Achilles and the heroes of the Trojan War appear frequently, but what is fascinating for modern scholars is that the visual version of the story does not always match our written ones (Shapiro 1994). These mismatches remind us that myth was mutable, and unlike our modern perspective, Greeks were fine with multiple versions of the same story. It is useful to consider *why* a painter might choose a particular version. Was there something about how the vase would be used or by whom it would be used that prompted the version?

In the Classical period, some popular myths took on metaphorical meaning. The Amazonomachy, the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, the Centauromachy, the battle between the Greeks and the half-human, half-horse centaurs, and the Gigantomachy, the battle of the Greek gods against their relatives, the giants, all have a long history in Greek art and myth. In the early 5th c. BC, the Greek world was almost extinguished by a barbaric foe from the East, the Persian Empire. In a series of victories little short of miraculous, a coalition of Greek city-states defeated the Persians, which provided a notable boost to the self-esteem of the Greeks. These battle myths of Greeks defeating strange, unnatural, uncivilized groups became a metaphor for the success of the civilized Greeks over the equally uncivilized Persians. The battles appear prominently on the Parthenon in Athens, a monument that tacitly celebrates Athens's role in leading the Greeks to victory in the Persian Wars. The scenes also appear on sympotic vases, sometimes in complex, multi-figure battles, while at other times a quotation of a Greek battling an Amazon or centaur stands for the whole (Boardman 1989a: figs. 16, 129). The patriotic message reminded the drinker that it was important to maintain cultural standards that would bring similar future success.

Some scenes on sympotic pottery fall into a category usually called 'genre', or scenes that are not mythological but reflect some aspects of reality, for example the *symposion* scenes discussed above (e.g. [Figure 27.6](#)). When examining this category of vase scenes, it is important to remember that the vase-painters did not intend to provide snapshots of real life. Instead, remembering the ambience of the *symposion*, these are idealized images that emphasized the excellence of Greek culture (Miller 1991). The prominence of athletic scenes makes sense in this

light. Men are shown exercising or competing in athletic contests, sometimes while others look on. The spectators reinforce the appeal of these scenes in the sexually charged atmosphere of the *symposion*. A red-figure krater attributed to Euphronios in Berlin captures this well (Figure 27.4). The *gymnasion* in ancient Greece was a place to exercise both mind and body, since it served as a place of education as well. Fit, attractive young men represent the excellence, the *arete*, of Greeks and their youth-filled potential.

Two types of scene emphasize the idealizing aspects of genre images: warriors departing and marriage processions. Departure scenes typically show a youth leaving home and saying farewell to his family – sometimes even to the family dog – knowing fully well that they may never see each other again, but that his death will be honorable (Shapiro 1990). Wedding processions usually depict a couple in a four-horse chariot accompanied by the wedding party and musicians (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 28–29). Occasionally, however, these same scenes contain naming inscriptions so that the anonymous bride and groom become heroic/divine couples such as Herakles and Hebe or Peleus and Thetis. In departure scenes, the simple addition of a name inscription can transform a youth into a specific hero (cf. Boardman 1974: figs. 86, 87, both by the Amasis Painter). The effect of this easy slippage between reality and mythology inspires the viewer to see himself in the images and to aspire to heroic feats. Like Peleus and Thetis, the offspring of his union may also turn out to be a great hero, the hope of every Greek parent.

As mentioned above, scenes of food preparation are rare. These activities did not concern the participants of the *symposion*, so they are not depicted. Wine, the essential ingredient for a *symposion*, is present through scenes of Dionysos, the god of wine, who often cavorts with his entourage of male satyrs and female maenads (Figure 27.5). The incivility, even licentiousness, of the satyrs and maenads inverts acceptable behavior and prompts the drinker to contemplate the meaning of civilization (Lissarrague 1990b: 8–18). ‘Nothing in excess’ might have been a Delphic maxim, but the outcome of real *symposia* seemed to fall short of that philosophical goal. In addition to scenes of companions holding up their stumbling friends, there are also numerous scenes of vomiting (Cohen and Shapiro 2002). The interior of an Athenian cup in Würzburg would have been revealed as the drinker drained his dark red wine. It shows a youth vomiting while a servant girl tenderly holds his head (Boardman 1975: fig. 254).

In sum, the images on vases designed for use in the *symposion* reinforce the cultural values of the Greeks. The importance of the *symposion* is made clear through self-representation, and even by elevating it to a mythological level. The myths remind the drinkers of

the greatness and success of their heroes, especially in battle. Even seemingly ordinary scenes of ‘everyday life’ are calculated to define what makes Greek culture civilized and superior. We can imagine the images amplifying the messages of the stories, songs, and speeches the drinkers offered. The evening was a microcosm of the Greek worldview and reasserted its divine right to exist.

27.7 The Export Market

Greek potters and painters were businessmen, and they found good markets for their wares outside of Greece. Although the *symposion* was a Greek institution, other contemporary cultures practiced drinking rituals or banquets and many adopted aspects of the *symposion*. The practice was so widespread throughout the Mediterranean and Near East that a survey is impossible here (Dentzer 1982). For example, the *symposion* aligned well with the Etruscan funerary banquet, and a great number of Greek-made vases were deposited in Italian graves, some in chamber tombs with wall-paintings depicting a husband and wife banqueting together, which would never happen in Greece (Spivey 1991; Small 1991–1992). Reclining carried status and even heroic associations, so that a monumental structure at the Etruscan site of Murlo in Italy (Small 1971) and the Greek temple to Athena at Assos in Turkey both featured relief friezes of recliners (Finster-Hotz 1984; Wescoat forthcoming). Reclining banqueters commonly adorned Lycian tombs in southwestern Turkey, for example in sculpture on the ‘Nereid Monument’, an elaborate standing tomb from Xanthos reconstructed in the British Museum (Ebbinghaus 2000; Dentzer 1982: 238–240; [Figure 17.7](#)), and in fresco on chamber tombs at Kızılbél and Karaburun (Dentzer 1982: 224–230). Although reclining may have originated as an Eastern affectation, it was appropriated by the Greeks and re-exported as a symbol of status and worldliness. However, its subsequent expression in non-Greek cultures more often recalled the hierarchical feasts of the Greek past than the egalitarian practices of the *symposion*.

Considering the popularity of drinking, it is no surprise that Greek vases are found everywhere, from Celtic sites in Western Europe, to Mesopotamia (Arafat and Morgan 1994), to Persian burials in Turkey. As exports from Greece, the vases carried prestige value in these cultures, and they were often given pride of place in tombs. A difficult question to answer is how much these export markets and their preferences impacted the painters and potters working in Athens (de la Genière 2006). The shapes were indisputably made for the

symposion – krater, kylix, oinochoe, and so on – but did the potters and painters know that the vases were destined for a non-Greek culture and nonsympotic use? If so, did the painters choose images and shapes they thought would appeal to their clients and sell well? This last is a critical question for our interpretation of the images themselves. Several types of sympotic pottery, for example the Nikosthenic amphorai, clay kyathoi (ladles), and Tyrrhenian amphorae, are shapes that have no precedent within the tradition of Greek pottery production. Instead, they take their cues from forms popular in Etruria, one of the best markets for Greek vases. It is possible that some of the scenes on sympotic pottery exported from Greece also speak more to the tastes of the non-Greek users. For example, a study of scenes found on sympotic pottery from excavations in the city of Athens does not reveal a cross-section of all vase images but rather a subsection. It appears that the foreign markets desired scenes that looked ‘Greek’, with unmistakably Greek subjects and style (Lewis 2009). Greek gods and myths were popular, especially those that aligned with indigenous figures or tales. This is a topic that requires more research, but we must be cautious using vases found outside of Greece as direct evidence for Greek values. They may be reflecting non-Greek values in a Greek artistic vocabulary.

Unfortunately, many of the vases on display in museums do not have a recorded find spot, so we do not know for certain where they were found. Early exploration of the many tombs of Italy and continued looting throughout the Mediterranean today are responsible for a shameful number of vases without context. This missing information prevents us from understanding who used them and what they might have meant to their users.

27.8 Drinking, Dining, and Greek Culture

This overview has utilized archaeological, visual, and literary evidence to discuss the impact of dining and drinking on the artists of ancient Greece. Food consumption received surprisingly little attention in Greece. Instead, cultural emphasis was placed on the communal consumption of wine. In this way, the culture of ancient Greece stands out from its contemporaries – and others across time – which emphasized communal *dining*. Anthropological approaches, combined with an understanding of Greek material culture, may be fruitful for explicating this difference. Scholars are also paying more

attention to the role of decorated sympotic pottery in the entire assemblage of ceramic vessels from a context. We need more information to be able to know how common it was to hold *symposia* and how *symposia* of different classes varied. New studies of old archaeological data may help. Finally, the images themselves seem to provide ample evidence of life and values in ancient Greece, but not every city was Athens. More comparative studies will help to distinguish the difference between Athenian *symposia* and reclining communal drinking elsewhere. In addition, many of the Attic sympotic vases never saw an Athenian *andron*, so new approaches ask what the images might have meant to their ultimate users, and whether or not the painters tried to please their foreign customers by exaggerating or manipulating images. If so, how much is 'Greek' in the image, and how much is inspired by another culture's values? The main trend in scholarship of eating and drinking in the ancient Greek world is context. Understanding where an object was found, what it was found with, and how it fit into the life of its user has great value. In this light, the loss of knowledge caused by the looting of archaeological sites is particularly maddening.

FURTHER READING

Ancient Greek dining and drinking have inspired a great number of studies, as one can imagine. Studies of food and diet largely focus on the literary evidence for dining: Dalby (1996, 2003), Wilkins et al. (1995), and Wilkins and Hill (2006). Garnsey (1999) provides an economic historian's view of the ancient Greek food supply. Palaeobotanical and palaeozoological studies are few, although this field is growing; see MacKinnon (2007).

A useful, although sometimes tedious, ancient source for dining and drinking is Athenaios, *The Deipnosophistae*, with a new Loeb translation by S. Douglas Olson. The setting of the work is a fictional *symposion*, and the subjects discussed range from types of fish to recipes to shapes of drinking vessels. Each imaginary speaker illustrates his point with citations from Greek and Latin authors.

The Greek *symposion* has an enormous bibliography, but Lissarrague (1990b) and the edited volumes Murray (1990) and Murray and Tecusan (1995) are the best starting points. Salza Prina Ricotti (2005) provides a lively and accessible discussion of the *symposion* for readers of Italian; the book is illustrated lavishly and peppered with ancient recipes.

The study of Greek vases, many of which were designed for the *symposion*, can be difficult to engage with casually. Clark et al. (2002)

provide a welcome foundation. Similarly, Richter and Milne (1935) and Noble (1988) give detailed and well-illustrated discussions of the shapes, functions, and production methods of Greek vases. Sparkes (1991) surveys various approaches to the study of Greek vases. Lissarrague (2001) is lavishly illustrated. The Beazley Archive Database, www.beazley.ox.ac.uk, has useful features on shapes and image themes, and for more detailed study, its database of over 150 000 Greek vases is essential for research.

CHAPTER 28

Competition, Festival, and Performance

Tyler Jo Smith

28.1 Introduction

Public festivals were a mainstay of ancient Greek life. The calendar was marked by religious festivals of varying lengths held throughout the year. Some, such as the Olympic Games, were large-scale Panhellenic events, occurring over a period of several days. Others were shorter, sweeter occasions, of a more local nature. It will be our task here to review the less ‘religious’ aspects of the festivals and how these are treated for our purposes: in a visual sense through iconography, as on vases, and in a material sense through other objects and accoutrements, such as prizes. Concentrating on the two major categories of festival – athletic and dramatic – will enable us to relate two important themes: competition and performance. The competitive dimension of Greek festivals is well documented and well understood, whether the key players are actors or athletes. However, it is only recently that scholars have observed sport, dance, and drama as varieties of ritual action and communication, rather than as simple forms of recreation: ‘intensely physical competition can be seen as dramatic and mimetic performances with suspense and risk enhancing the entertainment’ (Kyle 2007: 17). Once we appreciate the events (and some related forms of spectacle) in this light, their religious context serves only to enhance their performative quality (Scanlon 2002: 274–298; Chaniotis 2007).

The festivals themselves, their names, times, participants, venues, and events, are covered elsewhere, and lie far beyond our current focus. The artistic representations of religion and ritual, including the

iconography of cult, private and public worship, procession, sacrifice, and so on, are treated in Chapter 29. At the same time, a few preliminary words about Greek festival culture may prove beneficial before we proceed. Greek festivals were known by various names, depending on their nature, but the most common term was *heortai* or ‘holidays’. Such festivals would have been, on the whole, jolly occasions, happening at fixed times of the year, and at least in some instances originating as agricultural rites. Their varieties might be considered as competitive/‘agonistic’, fertility/‘mystery’, annual, and initiation. Regardless of category or exact content, a common basic structure of episodes united festivals of many times and places. The procession (*pompe*), animal sacrifices (*thysiai*), feasting, and competition (*agon*) would have been standard components, with hymns, dancing, offerings, and prayers also among the integral parts. It is generally accepted that over time, ancient festivals became more secular/political and less sacred/religious, though they never fully broke with their cultic origins. They were famously described by Plato in his *Laws* (2.653D) as well-deserved days of rest, granted to humans from the gods; and it would not be inaccurate to define them as communal times set apart from daily activities and routines. Based on the combination of textual and visual evidence, a great deal is known about the festivals of Athens, such as those to honor the wine-god Dionysos or the patron-goddess Athena, and much – though not all – of what will be chosen as example here is in fact of Athenian make or manufacture. We shall divide our discussion of art, competition, and festival into the obvious areas of Athlete, Sport, and Games followed by Dance, Drama, and Dithyramb. As shall be made clear, artists working on both large and small scale, in a variety of media, and at different times were much concerned with these ‘daily life’ themes.

28.2 Athlete, Sport, and Games

It is well known that competitive sports were held in high regard by the ancient Greeks, and the ancient Greek word for contest (or prize), *athlon*, is connected to the root of the English ‘athlete’ (from the Gr. *athletes*). One’s physical skill could be demonstrated via athletic performance on the playing field, in much the same way military prowess might wow the enemy on the battle ground; and in fact a correlation between these two areas of life has long been suspected (Miller 2004: 139–149; cf. Plato *Leg.* 830a–c). A statue of Agon personified stood beside one of Ares, god of war, on the ‘table used to set out winners’ wreaths at Olympia’ (Golden 2004: 5). Most

importantly, it must be remembered that from Archaic times onward, sport functioned within a religious setting, with the festival as its framework. The ‘excellence’ (*arete*) of competitors should be understood in terms of more than an individual’s natural ability, be it learned or inherited, be he boy, youth, or man; it encapsulated the favor of the gods, while serving to honor them.

The origins of agonistic games, such as those of the Panhellenic circuit (Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, Isthmia), are sometimes sought in the tradition of funeral games. These are the intended subject of some of the earliest human figure-decorated vases belonging to Late Geometric times, such as an amphora from the Athenian Agora which combines scenes of mourners, charioteers, and dancers (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 23). The funeral games for Patroklos of Homer’s *Iliad* book 23 (257–897) is a theme chosen by painters of Athenian black-figure vases on more than one occasion, the most famous being a frieze on the François Vase of c. 575 BC ([Figure 30.1](#)) and a fragmentary dinos signed by Sophilos dated slightly earlier (Boardman 1974: fig. 26), both examples highlighting the famous chariot race. The funeral games of Pelias are the subject of several objects of Archaic date, among them a shield band from Olympia of c. 570 depicting the boxing match between Mopsos and his opponent over a tripod-cauldron ([Figure 28.1](#)). Much better known than the Pelias Games are images of the scantily-clothed Atalanta, whose wrestling match with Peleus attracts the attention of both black- and red-figure vase-painters (Carpenter 1991: 185–186; Miller 2004: 151–152). This is perhaps not at all surprising, as a variety of artistic and literary sources attest female participation in training and/or competition at Sparta, Olympia, and Brauron (Miller 1991: 99–104). In fact, a series of bronze mirror handles produced in Sparta ([Figure 28.2](#)) take the form of young, fit females, either fully nude or clad in the ‘barely there’ *diazoma* worn by Atalanta (Scanlon 2002: esp. 136–137).

Figure 28.1 Drawing of shield band. Boxers. c. 570 BC (Olympia, Archaeological Museum B1010a; drawing by D. Weiss, adapted from E. Kunze).

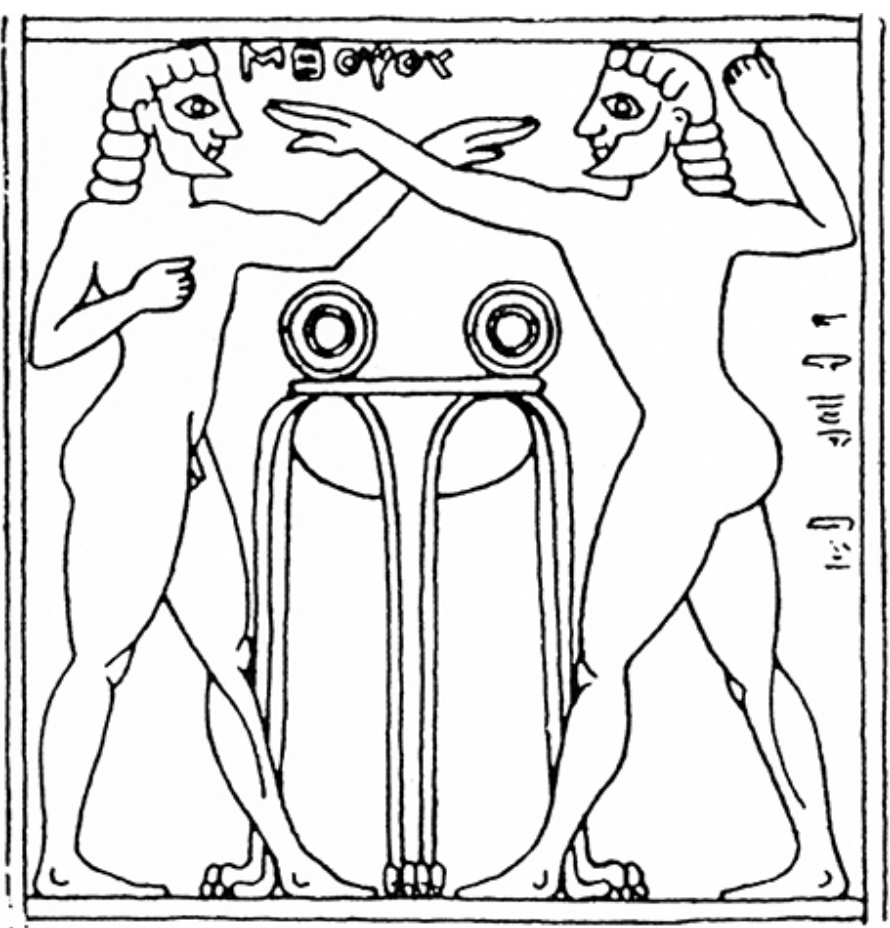
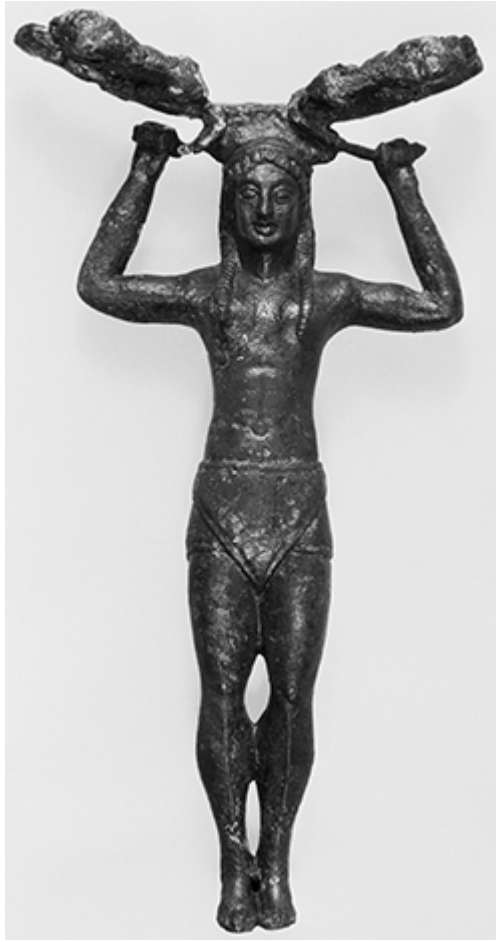


Figure 28.2 Bronze mirror-handle. Semi-nude female. c. 540 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1946 [41.11.5a]. The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76. Acc.n. 74.51.5680. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).



Other moments in Greek art where a purely mythological athleticism is shown are those displaying heroes, such as Herakles ('founder' of the Olympic Games) or Theseus, whose relative labors (*athloi*) and deeds are clear demonstrations of their physical power over adversaries. The examples of heroic-competitive iconography, particularly from vase-painting, are far too numerous to summarize, but highly relevant here are their individual duals – Herakles and the Nemean lion, Theseus and the Minotaur – packaged as wrestling matches (Carpenter 1991: 120, 163). It is also notable that the heroes and their exploits adorn monumental public structures in the wake of the Persian Wars, lending their personal victories a level of Panhellenic importance. The sculpted relief metopes on the east and west sides of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 460) are each filled with a labor of Herakles, while the adventures of both heroes are portrayed separately on the slightly earlier Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (Boardman 1978: 159–169; [Figure 6.7](#)) and again on the Hephaisteion at Athens of c. 450 (Boardman 1985: fig. 111). The body

postures of such manly heroes in these and other scenes, regardless of period style or medium, combine macho athleticism with a sort of brutish competition. Male warrior-heroes such as Achilles or Hektor, thus often associated with Trojan War episodes, may be represented in fighting displays, with the Amazon Penthesilea fulfilling the role of tough-girl equivalent in her own combat with Achilles (Carpenter 1991: 201–206; see [Figure 23.1](#)). Following their death, it is known that some mortal competitors in ancient times were honored with heroic status and attributed with legendary and rare feats of bravery (Miller 1991: nos. 107–117).

While the Olympian gods were not technically ‘athletes’, some were more physically fit than others. The gods were perfectly able to demonstrate such abilities via artistic representation, as the Gigantomachy well illustrates (Carpenter 1991: 74–75). Female deities also took part in the fighting, among them the virgin huntress Artemis and the wise warrior Athena. At the same time, even the armed goddess of war herself was not beyond a little hair-pulling, as demonstrated on the Hellenistic relief (c. 175–150 BC) decorating the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon ([Figure 7.2](#)). The gods, like the heroes, might also strike aggressive poses with pure athletic appeal, such as an isolated Artemision Poseidon or Zeus (Boardman 1985: fig. 35), or as part of a larger group narrative, as in the example of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe on one side of the name-vase of the Niobid Painter (Boardman 1989a: fig. 4; see Cover). Beyond mere artistic convention, these are obvious demonstrations of divine force given bodily form. Finally, the struggle for the Delphic tripod involving Apollo and Herakles, decorating the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (c. 525; [Figure 7.1](#)), is also found on vases and in minor arts (Carpenter 1991: 43–44). Conflating in some instances the iconography of wrestling and boxing (and occasionally a chase), their match might well be envisioned as a sort of elevated *agon* between god and hero, where the object of their conflict – the tripod (cf. [Figure 28.3](#)) – serves jointly as metaphor for athletic prize and oracular emblem.

Figure 28.3 Tridrachmon of Kos. Youth with discus and tripod. c. 480–450 BC (Photo: Studio Kontos/Photostock).



Most Greek artists, however, depicted mortal participants in sport. The training of the body was an essential part of Greek male education, and the *gymnasion* ('place to exercise nude') the venue extraordinaire. Some such facilities came complete with wrestling ground (*palaistra*) and a covered (*paradromis*) or uncovered (*xystos*) running track. Three *gymnasia* established in Athens during the 6th c. BC – the Academy, the Lykeion, and the Kynosarges – were places of athletic practice, military training, and study for the city's *epheboi* (adolescent males). The nudity of the ancient Greek male athlete can be considered 'characteristic' or the 'norm' (Golden 2004: 111–112), and Greek athletes from about the mid 7th c. BC onward are depicted in Greek art exercising naked. Greek artists working in many media, including vase-painters, sculptors, gem-engravers – that is, those working on both the large and small scale, and with both private and public viewers in mind – continue to represent athletic nudity. The theme is best demonstrated by large-scale free-standing Classical sculpture, most originally made of bronze, where the figures are

shown either engaged in sport or at more restful moments: for example, Myron's discus-thrower of c. 450 (Figure 30.3); Polykleitos's youth binding his hair of c. 430 (Boardman 1985: fig. 186a); and the Apoxyomenos ('man scraping himself') of Lysippos, dated c. 350 (Figure 5.9). Depicted in other arts are athletes in the midst of related tasks, exemplified by the discus-thrower on a coin of Kos (c. 480–450), who leans his upper body in the direction of a coveted prize tripod (Figure 28.3); a youth binding his hair in the form of a clay figure-vase (c. 530) from the Athenian Agora (Boardman 1996: fig. 115); and a youth scraping his body with a strigil on an early 5th c. BC obsidian gem from Sicily, now in the Getty (Spier 1992: no. 17, pl. 2). Greek vases feature nude athletes innumerable times, both preparing themselves (Miller 2004: fig. 82) and already in motion (Miller 2004: figs. 111, 123–125). In scenes concerned with larger group settings, the juxtaposition of nude athlete and draped trainer or judge is often pronounced (Miller 2004: figs. 108, 109, 112, 126–128). As is sometimes the modern practice, an athlete's father, another family member, or a former athlete may serve as his coach, though the somewhat generic, clothed male figures in this role on a large number of Greek vases are impossible to identify with anyone in particular. That being said, the homoerotic nature of these scenes, as well as their both iconographic and material connection to the *symposion*, should not be underestimated. The convention of athletic nudity is also employed for figures engaged in more leisurely or recreational physical pursuits, such as the ball-players on an Athenian black-figure lekythos attributed to the Edinburgh Painter (Boardman 1974: fig. 239), or their counterparts on marble statue bases from the Themistoclean wall, who catch and throw (Boardman 1978: fig. 242 center), or indeed use 'hockey' sticks to move the game along (Boardman 1978: fig. 241). The notable exception to the standard nudity is found in a group of Athenian vases labeled under the heading of 'Perizoma Group' for the white loincloth-like garment (*perizoma*) worn by the lively male athletes in the scenes (Boardman 1974: 112).

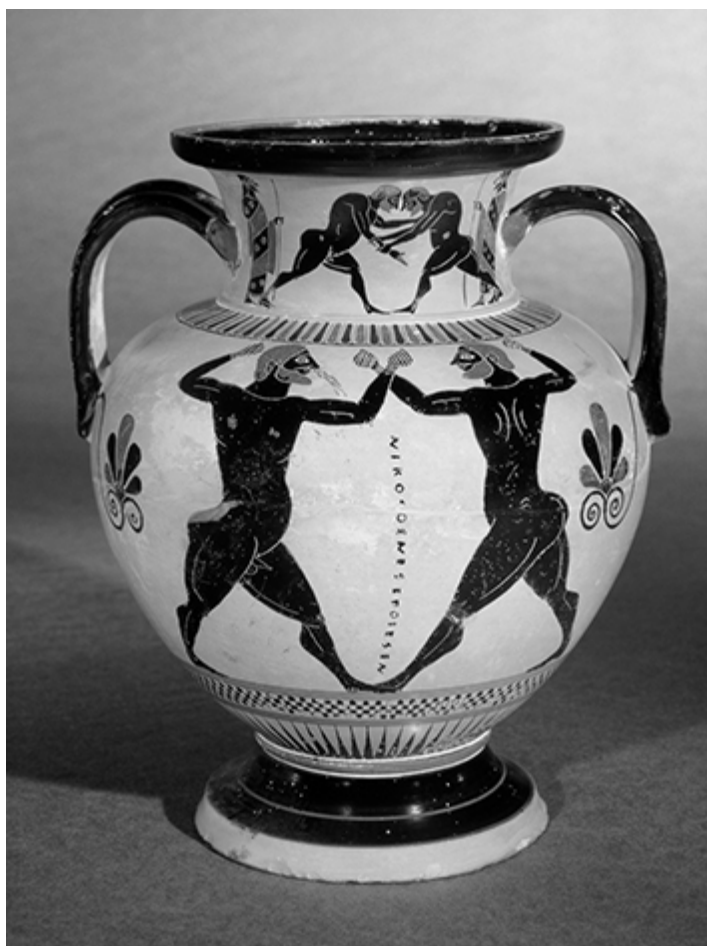
Though the social class and status of the athlete, be he a professional or an amateur, is not our concern here, Greek art certainly emphasizes the importance of training as well as competing. Yet artistic representations are sometimes vague in this regard, and the imagined space and time of the affair remains unclear. On both sides of an Athenian black-figure cup in Athens dated to the mid 6th c. BC, draped males in static postures are interspersed in a multigure scene of active athletes whose attributes associate them with throwing the discus, the long-jump, and boxing (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 42). Interestingly, each figure, be he nude or clothed, moving or

motionless, is a beardless, youthful male. One of the more famous examples of this type of iconography is found again in vase-painting, in this instance a red-figure krater in Berlin ([Figure 27.4](#)) attributed to the ‘pioneer’ painter Euphronios, and dated c. 510–500. In keeping with early red-figure style, the athletes demonstrate a variety of body positions, while retaining a certain stiffness characteristic of all Archaic figures. The athletes are at various stages of preparation, including undressing and anointing the body with oil, and on one side ‘Hippomedon’, named by inscription, supports himself with his walking-stick while receiving a foot-massage from his handy slave-boy, ‘Tranion’. On the other side of the same vase, at the center of the composition, a youthful nude male inscribed with the name ‘Antiphon’ holds up his discus in the direction of his young trainer ‘Hipparchos’. One description of the vase as ‘young men preparing for exercise’ (Miller 2004: 189) assumes we are witnessing a typical day at the *gymnasion* rather than pending athletic competition.

Greek art does provide, however, some of the best evidence of competitive athletic events and the prizes that followed. Ancient athletics were divided into categories of ‘heavy’ (*barea*) and ‘light’ (*koupha*), the former represented by combat events (*pankration*, wrestling, boxing) and the latter by footraces. Other athletic events included throwing the discus or javelin, as well as the more aristocratic chariot-racing and equestrian competitions held in the hippodrome. It is often the case that sporting events are portrayed individually, bringing to life both ‘the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat’, to quote a once-famous American television program, the *ABC Wide World of Sports*. Most events were well suited to two-dimensional reproduction on black- or red-figure vases, while the three-dimensional impact of free-standing sculpture made certain events or competitors more vivid. An informative comparison might be made between two objects produced in different media and scales, and distanced by several hundred years. The profile boxing pair decorating one side of an Athenian black-figure vase from the mid 6th century, attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter and now in the British Museum ([Figure 28.4](#)), reveals an aggressive and bloody match, where little is left to the imagination. More subtly, the bronze sculpture of a seated boxer, discovered in Rome and considered a Hellenistic work (c. 100–50), demonstrates a less-than-ideal athlete at rest after a tough fight (Smith 1991: fig. 62). His broken nose and swollen ears attest the pain and suffering that are hazards of his profession. Both his size and anatomy stun the viewer with their realism. In a similar manner, equestrian events, though common subjects for painted pottery (Miller 2004: 75–82), come across differently, and arguably better, when produced as large-scale sculpture. The Early Classical charioteer from

Delphi (Boardman 1985: fig. 34) and the Hellenistic boy jockey found in the sea of the coast of Cape Artemision (Boardman 1985: fig. 35), both of bronze, contrast a moment of victory with the heat of competition, in ways characteristic of their respective periods and styles.

Figure 28.4 Athenian black-figure amphora by Nikosthenes. Boxers. c. 540 BC (London, British Museum B295. Reg; 1867,0508.968 © The Trustees of the British Museum).



The best group of iconographic evidence for games and events is without doubt the Panathenaic prize vases (Boardman 1974: ch. 7; cf. [Figure 3.6](#)) manufactured in the black-figure technique in Athens in association with the Greater Panathenaia, a festival held in the city every four years from c. 566 BC (Boardman 1974: 167–176; Neils 1996). Each vase has a more-or-less uniform size (c. 60 cm high), shape (amphora), capacity, content (olive oil), and decorative scheme. On one side, a striding Athena, the patron of the city and recipient of

its major festival, appears as Promachos (frontline fighter), with her shield in hand and her spear upraised. Perhaps depicting a cult image, the goddess is accompanied by a formulaic inscription that makes clear the function of the vase: *ton Athenethen athlon* ('one of the prizes from Athens'); and a line in one of Pindar's victory odes seems to reference this very same sort of prize: 'in earth baked by fire olive oil in richly painted vases' (*Nem.* 10, 3506; Price 1999: 43). On the other side, the Panathenaic vases capture the throes of competition, showcasing one event, such as a horse-race, chariot-race, or the pentathlon (discus, jumping, javelin, running, wrestling). Their far simpler predecessors in Athens may well have been the Horse-Head amphorae, also produced in black-figure and dated slightly earlier than or overlapping with the earliest Panathenaics (Boardman 1974: 18, fig. 18).

The archaeological record also offers material evidence of athletic practices. Excavations have uncovered aryballoi, or oil containers, and strigils for scraping oil from the body, as well as athletic paraphernalia such as javelins (*akontion*), jumping-weights (*halteres*), and discuses (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: 58–66; Miller 2004: figs. 114–129, 132). Each of these items finds numerous parallels in vase iconography, where young males attend the *gymnasion* with such equipment in hand or stored nearby. On some grave-markers (stelai) from Archaic Athens, sculpted in relief, the attributes of the deceased male make clear his memorable achievement as a generic athlete holding an aryballos, or as a boxer or discus-thrower (Figure 30.3). One ponders the exact meaning and circumstances of a bronze discus from Aigina, dated to the middle of the 5th c., discovered in the same grave as two strigils (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 157). The discus is decoratively incised on one side with a youth throwing the javelin, while on the other, presumably the same (deceased?) athlete holds a pair of jumping-weights.

Though all games were held within the context of a religious festival, a formal distinction was made between the so-called 'crown' games, where a wreath or crown was the awarded prize, and 'prize' games offering money or objects of value to victors (Golden 2004: 5). The most famous among the crown games were those of the Panhellenic circuit, including the Olympics, and of the prize games we list here the Panathenaia at Athens, the Heraia at Argos, the Asklepeia at Epidauros, and the Eleusinia at Eleusis, though there were many more in the latter category. Prizes may have taken many forms. The victory odes, commissioned of poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides, honored indefinitely a specific athlete for a specific victory in specific games. Sculpture, like poetry, gave victory a long-lasting form, and the habit of dedicating statues of accomplished athletes at sanctuaries,

or at other public venues, reached its height during the 5th c. BC. Pausanias, on his visit to Olympia in the 2nd c. AD, notes more than 200 victory statues on view (6.1–18), some with accompanying inscriptions (O’Sullivan 2003; Smith 2007). Though prize crowns do not survive from antiquity, being made of laurel, celery, or olive leaves, votive crowns dedicated at sanctuaries or in graves suggest a more lasting version was possible, as does the depiction on a red-figure bell-krater in Athens revealing nude males with strigils and aryballoi sporting similar head-coverings (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 57). Under the category of material prizes, we have already encountered decorated vases from Athens, which contained ‘sacred’ olive oil and were allegedly given in large numbers: for example, fifty for 1st prize in the running race, and ten for 2nd place (Golden 2004: 125). A bronze hydria dated to the 5th c. and inscribed as a prize for games is a far rarer discovery, and one possibly referring to those in honor of the Homeric hero Protesilaos (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 33; Golden 1998: 77).

Perhaps the greatest symbol of agonistic accomplishment, at least in the arena of athletic events and games, would be the tripod. Bronze tripods, or tripod-cauldrons, were dedicated at major sanctuaries at least from Geometric times onwards (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: 214–215). Their association with competitive games is encountered iconographically on the François Vase ([Figure 30.1](#)), where a racing chariot appears to leap directly over one. We have also encountered the object of identical form as the point of conflict between Herakles and Apollo, where it further signifies both the nature and the location of their mythological struggle. Similarly, on a silver coin from Kroton (c. 420), Apollo points his arrow directly towards the Python, and an enormous tripod is positioned between the god and the life-size reptile (Carpenter 1991: fig. 104). Yet another mythological setting for the tripod, and one that reinforces its competitive character, is in its choice as shield device for Ares, god of war, on a black-figure amphora depicting the Birth of Athena (Carpenter 1991: fig. 100), though this example is by no means unique. The fact that tripods were given as prizes is well attested in the written sources, from Homer to Pindar and beyond. A 6th c. bronze example now in the British Museum bears an inscription stating its function as prize (Neils 1996: 115, n. 61). A marble base for a bronze tripod from Athens, the so-called ‘Bryaxis Base’ of c. 350, is decorated with an identical scene of a rider approaching a tripod on three of its four sides (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no. 205). The fourth side of the base names the three victors (presumably one per side) in the *anthippasia* (equestrian display) at the Panathenaia, an event also known from an early 4th c. votive relief from the Agora, and perhaps on the Parthenon frieze

(Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: no 226). As both take-home trophy from the games and religious dedication within the context of sanctuaries, the tripod unites competition, victory, and human devotion within a festive religious setting. According to Athenaios (37e–f), the tripod was also given as a prize for dithyrambic contests to honor Dionysos in Athens. Perhaps the earliest-known version in art decorates a Late Geometric Attic skyphos, where a frieze of tripods appears on the exterior, and dancers fill the interior (Simon 1983: 80, fig. 9a–b). This unusual combination of motifs has led to suggestions of a specific festival of Apollo in Athens, which included a chorus or dancing. It is to these and related aspects of competition, festival, and performance that we shall now turn.

28.3 Dance, Drama, and Dithyramb

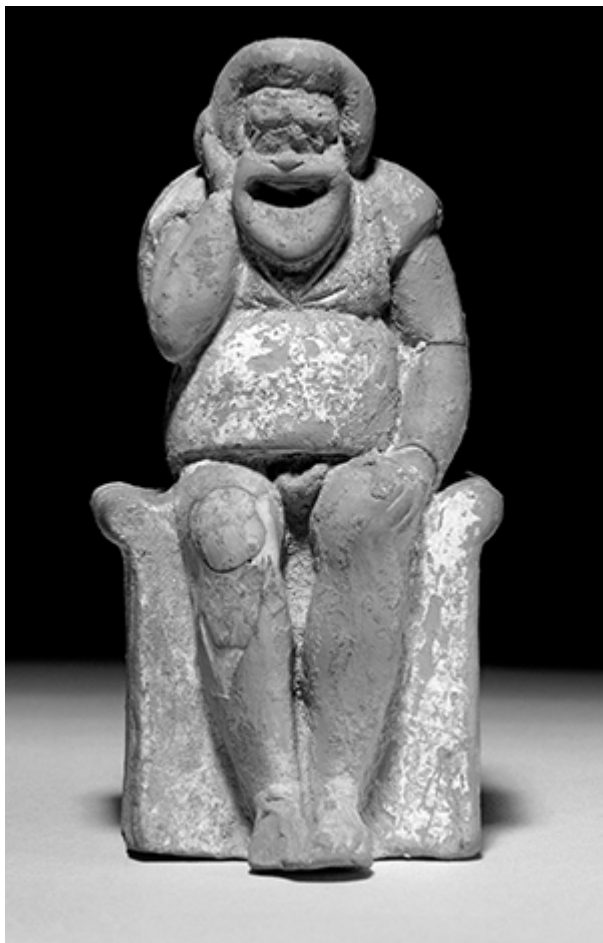
The origins of ancient Greek theater have long been sought in the traditions of dance and related types of pure performance. Though not exactly our topic here, it again bears reminding that the tragedies, comedies, and satyr-plays of Athenian playwrights were not merely put on for entertainment purposes. Like the sports and games discussed above, the plays were the focus of competitions situated within the context of a religious festival. Where the athlete – like the equestrian – practiced and refined his skill as a runner, javelin-thrower, or boxer, ultimately his moment of competition was the culmination of a more impromptu performance in the *stadion* or on the racetrack. The chorus-member or actor, by contrast, had rehearsed his songs, lines, and staging; though the overall winner of the *agon* might not be predictable at the onset, the theatrical performance itself was. Unlike the athlete, who, while representing his town and his family, claimed victory for himself, the actor competed on behalf of the playwright. Truly, the names Euripides and Aristophanes more readily spring to mind than those of the costumed and masked thespians who, with enviable talent, played multiple roles, including the parts of women (cf. Boardman 1989a: fig. 124). That being said, both literary and visual sources make clear that the staged dramas of 5th c. BC Athens developed, both within and without the festival tradition, over a long period of time. Our main concern being the visual, we shall begin with the evidence for dance in Greek art, in an effort to demonstrate its fundamental relationship to drama, and to competitive festivals in general. We shall then present briefly the

evidence for theatrical performance in Greek art. It is suggested here that, as a result of the competitive and religious festival environment in which these formal performances operated, there are some interesting and perhaps unexpected moments of overlap between the athletic and dramatic realms in visual representation.

Rhythmic movement of the body, either as a solo or in groups, has long been recognized from a variety of ancient sources. Literature attests numerous dances by name, but in a more general sense the words *choros* and *orchesis* were both used to denote dancing. The most abundant source of artistic evidence for dance is by far Greek vases, though a certain amount can be gleaned from both relief and free-standing sculpture. Several generations of scholars have shown a profound interest in recreating ancient Greek dance on the basis of extant evidence, both visual and textual. However, the exact or even partial reproduction of such a performance is surely beyond our modern ability (Naerebout 1997: 234–240). What can be said with confidence is that dancing as an art form permeated many areas of ancient life, and its relationship to our present themes must neither be overlooked nor underestimated. Indeed, even the gods themselves could be shown dancing on occasion.

The earliest collection of dancing figures in Greek art is the so-called ‘padded dancer’ or ‘komast’ vases, first produced in Corinth during the late 7th c. BC. These vases were decorated using the black-figure technique, the invention of local Corinthian artists, with the aryballos, encountered in the previous section, being a preferred shape for this iconography. The male figures, who slap or grab their bottoms while dancing, are typically shown wearing a short red costume, sometimes termed a chiton. The ‘stuffed’ appearance of the garment, coupled with the often exaggerated anatomy of the figures, closely resembles the costume worn by comic actors on stage in later times (Figure 28.5). It has long been taken for granted that the dancing figures of Corinthian black-figure vase-painting are intimately connected with the origins of Greek drama. However, a more nuanced reading of these images suggests that all dancing figures in this group must not be painted with the same brush, as it were, and that multiple readings of the figures and their circumstances are indeed possible (Smith 2010). For example, dancers of the same type at times appear on the *Frauenfest* vases of Corinth – that is, those which appear to represent chains of female dancers or worshippers taking part in a festival (Smith 2007a: 51). The dancers may also decorate ritual vessels, such as libation bowls (phialai), or take the three-dimensional form of ‘plastic’ vessels or figure-vases intended as dedications or as fancy substitutes for regular aryballoi (Amyx 1998: 188, 530–532).

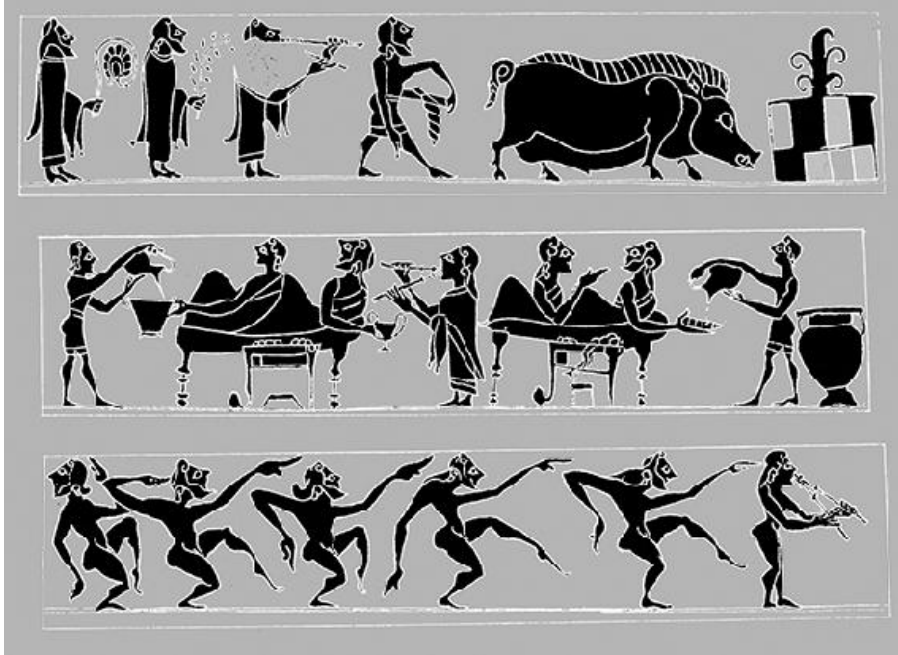
Figure 28.5 Terracotta figure of a comic actor playing the part of a runaway slave, seated on an altar. c. 320 BC (London, British Museum 1879.3-6.5. Reg; 1879,0306.5 © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Related dancers are represented in fairly large numbers on the black-figure vases of each center producing large quantities of figure-decorated pottery throughout the 6th c. BC. Athenian artists are the first to adopt and adapt the male dancing figure, quickly shedding his garment and thus enabling us more readily to identify him as a komast (or reveler), a participant in a *komos* (or revel), a word related etymologically to comedy. As in Corinth, the dancer slaps his bottom, and normally performs in small groups, occasionally in the presence of women. Some Athenian painters insert the now-nude figure into scenes of the *symposion*, but regardless of venue, the dancing males have athletic builds very similar to actual athletes portrayed in contemporary art. Painters in Lakonia and East Greece lend a certain amount of native flair to the dancing scenes, decorating their favorite local shapes: the stemmed cup and the chalice. Of particular interest

are black-figure or related vases, produced in Boeotia (Figure 4.3), inserting the dancing komast figure into what seem to be festival settings. One of the best-preserved examples is on the exterior of a shallow bowl (lekanis) now in the British Museum, where bottom-slapping revelers join other participants in a festival to honor Athena (Boardman 1998: fig. 450). Another vessel of special interest to Boeotian artists is the tripod-kothon. The shape takes a variety of forms, and its exact function is debated. That being said, its basic similarity to the tripod-cauldron, as well as the choice of dance and/or festal iconography, does suggest a ritual function in an agonistic festival setting. The most informative example is the tripod-kothon in Berlin, which displays on each of its three sides an animal led to sacrifice, a banquet, and a familiar line of komast dancers (Figure 28.6). On the legs of the same vessel are athletes (boxers, wrestlers, discus-thrower) and Perseus pursuing the gorgon, a heroic exploit not unrelated to those mentioned in our previous discussion of sport and games. The dancers are also found on the sides of a Boeotian pig-shaped rhyton (Boardman 1998: fig. 449; Smith 2010: pl. 30a), and the connection between the dancers and a religious festival seems even more explicit. An actual festival, namely the Pamboeotia, has been the suggested occasion, but based on the extant archaeological and iconographic evidence, it remains impossible to identify an exact celebration represented by these objects or images.

Figure 28.6 Drawing of a Boeotian kothon. Sacrifice, banquet, dancers. c. 550 BC (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1727; drawing by D. Weiss).



Male dancing figures of the same or similar type can be related to the myth of the Return of Hephaistos in black-figure vase-painting. On several Corinthian versions of the story, mortal male revelers of the komast variety are present alongside the mythological participants in the story. In Athens, Boeotia, and perhaps elsewhere, dancers perform on one or two back-turned feet in an effort to imitate the lame-footed god (Smith 2007a: 68–69). The Return myth may have been the subject of a lost play entitled *Revelers or Hephaistos* attributed to the Sicilian poet Epicharmos (active c. 500), and it is possible that this group of dancing scenes on painted vases conveys a protodramatic visual version. The dancers are certainly performing, but their venue is totally uncertain. Again, we might imagine a festival or cult ritual, where dancers acting the part of the god – that is, mimicking his deformity – played a leading role. The *symposion* setting, mentioned above, which sometimes includes dancers of the same type (both lame and otherwise), might also have been an appropriate venue for such private performances. Related forms of entertainment would include acrobats and dwarfs, both well attested in art and in literature to have amused the guests at private parties. As mentioned previously, the often grotesque body-forms of such figures, including those of padded dancers, are highly reminiscent of the costumed actors of later Greek comedy, who are known to have performed complete with mask, phallus, and padding at the Theater of Dionysos in Athens during the competitive festival – the City Dionysia – to honor that god.

The association between formal staged drama and Greek art

continues to interest scholars. Various art forms depict figures in theatrical costume, among them vases and sculpted reliefs, terracotta and bronze figurines, gems and jewelry, and in Hellenistic and Roman times, mosaics and even coins (Green and Handley 1995). There are also numerous examples of terracotta masks surviving from the archaeological record, probably votives, too fragile and cumbersome to have been worn on stage. Their types are well-studied, and have been recently scrutinized in the performative, ritual, and cultic terms applicable here (Wiles 2007). As with terracotta figurines, their general appearance certainly relates them easily to genres of comedy and tragedy (Figure 28.5). A still-standard work of 1971, Trendall and Webster's *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, set out to present 'a series of illustrations representative of the history of Greek dramatic performances from the earliest times down to the third century BC' (Preface), very much in the spirit of the *Monuments Illustrating...* volumes published then and now by the Institute of Classical Studies in London. Trendall and Webster drew most of their evidence from black- and red-figure vase-painting, including that produced in the workshops of southern Italy, but also a few examples of terracottas, mosaics, and sculpture. Dividing their catalogue by 'pre-dramatic monuments', satyr-plays, tragedy (by playwright), and comedy (by genre), their entries assume a one-to-one relationship between the staged drama and the artist's iconography. The problems with this approach are quickly evident when applied to alleged tragic representations in particular. As we have already observed, comic actors both on stage and in art wore a costume that easily identified them. Much of their subject matter was drawn from contemporary life, and they easily fell into stock types: slave, master, nurse, and so on. A few examples from satyr-plays, as well as the so-called 'phlyax' dramas of South Italy, fairly obviously represent mythological parodies as masked dramas (Figure 19.4). By contrast, the tragic actor in Greek art, whose role is normally associated with a known mythological character, is in many instances indistinguishable from the iconography of ordinary mythology. Sometimes a stage-building (skene) or architectural structure is shown, indicating that we are witnessing the 'real' performance of the story on stage translated to the side of a painted pot. Such is the case with several examples identified as depictions of Sophocles's *Andromeda*, where according to Trendall and Webster: 'This play probably inspired the vases, which are too divergent in detail to be copies of a common original painting but could well represent memories of the same production' (1971: 63). Though *Andromeda* is labeled by inscription on one vase, a white-ground krater attributed to the Phiale Painter (Trendall and Webster 1971: III.2,1), the most theatrical element of this group of vases is the

fact that two figures (Perseus and Andromeda) appear on one and three (Andromeda and two Africans) are shown on another (a pelike in Boston; [Figure 23.3](#)), in keeping with the three-actor rule that governed stage performances of tragedy at the City Dionysia.

On a late 5th c. BC Athenian red-figure krater known as the Pronomos Vase ([Figure 28.7](#)), both the cultic and theatrical elements indicative of the festival setting are more explicitly revealed (Trendall and Webster 1971: II,1). Dionysos himself, joined by his bride Ariadne, presides as costumed actors and chorus members, either holding or wearing masks, prepare to take the stage. There are musicians present, as well as the playwright, and as noted astutely by Taplin, ‘there are prize tripods under each handle’ (2007: 30). Though it is difficult to associate the multifigured composition on this monumental object (some 75 cm high!) with a particular play or group of plays, it does single-handedly reveal both the complexity and the detail of dramatic performance in its agonistic festival setting: ‘the Sanctuary of Dionysos’ (Green and Handley 1995: 22). The fact that so many of the dramatic images, both tragic and comic, appear on the sides of South Italian red-figure vases during the 5th and 4th c. BC complicates the picture considerably. Happily, recent approaches to the evidence suggest a more contextual archaeological reading, not to mention a less Atheno-centric one (Taplin 2007; Carpenter 2009).

Figure 28.7 Athenian red-figure krater (‘Pronomos Vase’). Dionysos, Ariadne, a flute-player, and chorus. c. 400 BC (Naples, National Archaeological Museum: inv. 81673 – ex Museo Borbonico 3240. © Photoservice Electa/SuperStock).



Another integral element of our subject, and one that best combines dance and drama, and indeed music, is choral performance. The literary tradition makes clear that a chorus was a necessary component of both tragedy and comedy, and it is also known that choruses competed separately at some festivals. Yet the chorus in Greek art can be fairly difficult to define. While it could be said that the padded dancers or komasts of 6th c. vase-painting are the private precursors to the public choruses of the 5th c., there are some vases of 6th c. date featuring groups of figures in identical postures and costumes who move uniformly to the sounds of a smartly dressed musician. Such is the case on an Athenian amphora in Berlin of c. 550, where three male figures adorned with horse-masks and tails support helmeted riders on their backs. The scene has been associated with the chorus of Aristophanes's *Knights*, produced over 100 years later in 424 BC (Trendall and Webster 1971: 20; Boardman 1974: fig. 137). Another notable group of vases displays the 'chorus of knights' mounted on the backs of dolphins, and may help explain the early

date for the Berlin vase. It is known that Arion, a musician associated with Corinth in the late 7th/early 6th c., made significant changes to the dithyramb, the choral song in honor of Dionysos, and once famously rode on dolphin-back (Hdt. 1.23). It seems pretty likely that the dolphin-riders are meant to represent a choral performance, perhaps with a direct nod in the direction of Arion, the ‘founder’ of a new genre.

Dithyrambic contests were held during major festivals in Athens, such as the City Dionysia, the Panathenaia, and the Thargelia. Rhapsodes and musicians, among them pipers (*auletai*) and lyre-players, competed at the Panathenaia, and both varieties of performance are well-attested on vases from the mid 6th c. BC onward. *Kitharodes* (singers; lit.: kithara players) also competed for a 1st place ‘crown of olive in gold weighing 1000 drachmas and 500 silver drachmas’ (Golden 2004: 124; Neils 1992: 58–60, 72–75). As well, musical competitions formed part of the Pythian and Isthmian games, and in Athens in particular, the connection between music and athletics was quite strong. It is not uncommon in Athenian vase-painting to find jumpers, wrestlers, or boxers moving in step to music (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: 43). Similarly, the graceful and often precise movements of the sportsman can be and should be related to the athleticism of the dancer. To be sure, figures of runners and dancers can be utterly indistinguishable in artistic representation. The contest that most obviously merged music, dance, and athleticism was the pyrrhic, or armed, dance, only to be outdone by the *hoplitodromos*, or racer in armor; both are documented in artistic examples, including sculpture and vases (Tzachou-Alexandri 1989: nos. 100, 101, 143; Golden 2004: 84–85). Wilson has recently discussed the agonistic chorus as a ‘team sport’, relating it to pyrrhic dancing, and calling it a ‘prime (and neglected) instrument in the armory of Greek festival culture’ (2007: 163–164). With such thinking in mind, we might more readily envision the occasion, if only generally, for the symmetrical pairs of dancers in uniform postures on either side of a seated lyre-player (Smith 2010: fig. 24a) on one side of an Athenian black-figure amphora from the mid 6th c., or the draped dancing males decorating the inside of a black-figure Lakonian cup of similar date, who strut their competitive stuff on either side of a large tripod (Smith 2010: fig. 25c).

28.4 ‘*Tenella Kallinike*’ (‘Hurrah,

Fair Victor!')

Thus was heard the cry for victors in competitive festivals upon their return home, a sentiment related in one instance to the padded dancers of black-figure vase-painting we encountered earlier (Webster 1964: 63–64). But can this seemingly distant connection between elegant ideal athlete and pesky comic reveler be made in reality? It does seem there are several points of convergence between sport, athlete, and game on the one hand, and dance, dithyramb, and drama on the other. From a purely visual perspective, what joins these two groups of images is an agonistic festival setting for many of them. There are times when the themes overlap or combine artistically, but, for the most part, the competitions contained within the two larger categories are kept separate. Another common feature between them in Greek art is the zealous display of the (often nude) body in motion. We have already noted the use of dress (and undress) to distinguish athlete from trainer, as well as dancer from musician, or indeed tragic actor from comic buffoon. By the same token, it is useful to imagine the function of image or object for the viewer or user of it. Dance and drama were at home in the drinking/dining realm, and are arguably more prevalent on smaller, more portable objects useful at a *symposion* (see Chapter 27); though athlete and sport, including *palaistra* and *gymnasion*, also functioned this way, their associated artworks took on a greater number of permanent manifestations as monumental sculpture for public display, prize tripods, or amphorae, thus emphasizing the important place of athleticism beyond the festival. That being said, the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates in Athens (Figure 28.8), dated to the late 4th c., commemorated in impressively grand form the victory of a sponsored dramatic chorus and, though it is not visible today, once supported a stately bronze prize-tripod.

Figure 28.8 Athens, Choragic Monument of Lysikrates. 335/4 BC (photo: D. Plantzos).



As in Greek art, some ancient Greek festivals combined the different varieties of performance, implying that the standard separation by type – athletic vs. dramatic – is not always merited. For example, the Naia, a festival held at Dodonna in honor of Zeus Naios the first year of every Olympiad, ‘included a full athletic program, a chariot race ... and dramatic competition’ (Golden 2004: 108). Furthermore, evidence from 2nd c. inscriptions indicates that the Panathenaia comprised musical and dramatic events, among them performances of tragedies in the Theater of Dionysos for three consecutive days in advance of the better-known athletic, equestrian, and tribal competitions. Regardless of time, place, or specific event, all are significant ‘public manifestations’ of Greek religion (Golden 1998: 15). The importance of the fit, healthy, and beautiful body was further celebrated by a team competition in some Athenian festivals, including the Panathenaia and the Theseia, known as *Euandria* (‘manliness’), which may have been at least in part a beauty contest (Miller 2004: 140–141), and similarly by the *Euexia* (body-building?)

held at *gymnasia* throughout the Greek world (Golden 2004: 63–64). While the artistic representations of these and other events are in themselves informative, it is important not to think of them as literal depictions of runner or dancer, *pankration* or chorus, manly model or equestrian display. By the same token, a simple history of Greek performance or individual participant cannot be written via art. The most sensible approach to such evidence at this point must be one that rejects the literal readings of the images in order to not only understand the art and the text on their own terms, but also recognize the cultural setting – namely, the religious festival – in which these ancient spectacles took place. The image of athlete or actor, like the festival itself, must be contemplated from a variety of angles in order to comprehend an undeniably dynamic picture of competition and performance.

FURTHER READING

The bibliography on each of these subjects is vast and still growing. Several recent books on Greek religion can be recommended for their general treatment of festivals, among them Mikalson (2005), written for a student audience, and Parker (2005), which is far more detailed and scholarly in tone. *A Companion to Greek Religion*, edited by Ogden (2007), has many relevant chapters and is also published by Blackwell.

On sport and athletics in general, Crowther (2004) is an excellent starting place, as is the well-illustrated handbook by Miller (2004). For drama, Csapo and Slater (1995) provides evidence for both art and text, while Csapo and Miller (2007) is an updated collection of essays around the broader theme of Greek dramatic origins. For dance, the only full modern treatment is Naerebout (1997), with comprehensive subject bibliographies to date. On komasts and padded dancers from every region of Greece, and also their relation to performance culture, see Smith (2010).

Combined treatments of these subjects in relation to a broader social, political, or cultural context would include Bell and Davies (2004), Hornblower and Morgan (2007) – including chapters on art and material culture – and the slightly older Lonsdale (1993). Palagia and Choremi-Spetsieri (2007), a conference volume, is recommended for its coverage of many periods and its interdisciplinary approach.

CHAPTER 29

Figuring Religious Ritual

François Lissarrague

29.1 Introduction

The study of ancient religions has greatly benefited from studies of iconography and artistic production. In the early 18th c., Bernard de Montfaucon set a standard with his *Antiquité Figurée* (de Montfaucon 1722); in his foreword he claims that pictures are very helpful to understanding classical texts, and often turn out to be more accurate and more 'real' than textual information, because – so he thinks – they are not distorted by transmission and interpretation in the same ways as ancient texts. The history of religion and the history of art, or rather of ancient imagery, have, since Montfaucon, often made progress in parallel. The works of the so called 'Cambridge Ritualists', mainly Jane Harrison (1907, 1912, 1913) and later A.B. Cook (1914–1940), are typical of this important trend in modern research. Although they used images as evidence, they did not produce a critical theory of images. Art then is not studied only for its aesthetic dimension, but mined for the iconographic information it can bring to us. More recently, an interest in the anthropological status of representations, and in the role of images in religious practice, has been developed, focusing on the social and psychological dimensions of figuration (Vernant 1965; Belting 1990). In his small book entitled *Griechische Kunst als religiöse Phänomen* (*Greek Art as a Religious Phenomenon*), published in 1959, K. Schefold studied the artistic production of the ancient Greeks as embedded in religious spirit. One would rather consider here Greek religion as an artistic process. Most of the works of art, at least in the Archaic period, are actually religious productions, such as offerings (*anathemata*), votive statues (*agalmata*), and funerary images (*semata*), and the first human figures

in Geometric art were painted for funerary purposes.

The way visual material has been used in the study of Greek religion differs considerably from one author to another, from direct evidence to more sophisticated reflection. It is now more widely admitted that images do not reproduce mechanically the reality to which they refer (as Montfaucon thought), but are an elaboration of that reality, and that we can learn as much from that elaboration, provided we are able to analyze it properly. One essential dimension of that analysis is the attention paid to the medium, as well as to the context in which these images appear and are used. While many directions have been taken by various scholars in this field of research, they cannot all be surveyed here. This chapter will first focus on one of the major ritual activities of the ancient Greek city: the sacrifice. The next section will be devoted to more general aspects, private as well as public, such as prayer, libation, and offerings. The final part will examine one of the most prolific sectors of ritual imagery in Greek vase-painting – namely, Dionysian imagery – and some of the questions it raises.

29.2 Sacrifice, Procession, Consumption

Sacrificial imagery has been thoroughly studied in recent years, and is good evidence for what one can expect from an iconographical and anthropological analysis (Durand 1986; van Straten 1995; Laxander 2000; Gebauer 2002). Although all pictures refer to the same ritual, the iconography of sacrifice is different according to the medium, and this difference is significant.

In Attic vase-painting, we find various aspects of sacrifice, from the procession, approaching the god and leading a victim to the altar, to killing the victim and cutting the carcass, roasting spits over the flame of the altar, and distributing shares. This apparent division in successive moments is helpful to understanding the process, and has been used by van Straten (1995), among others (*ThesCRA* 2004–: Vol. 1) to classify the material. However, it is not absolutely accurate when considering the images themselves, where often the painter includes several moments, or more precisely several gestures and objects, that do not necessarily occur at the same time in the ritual, but are shown together as important signs of the ritual process. Examples are numerous. In many cases we see a procession, moving towards an already burning altar, as on a black-figure band-cup in the Niarchos

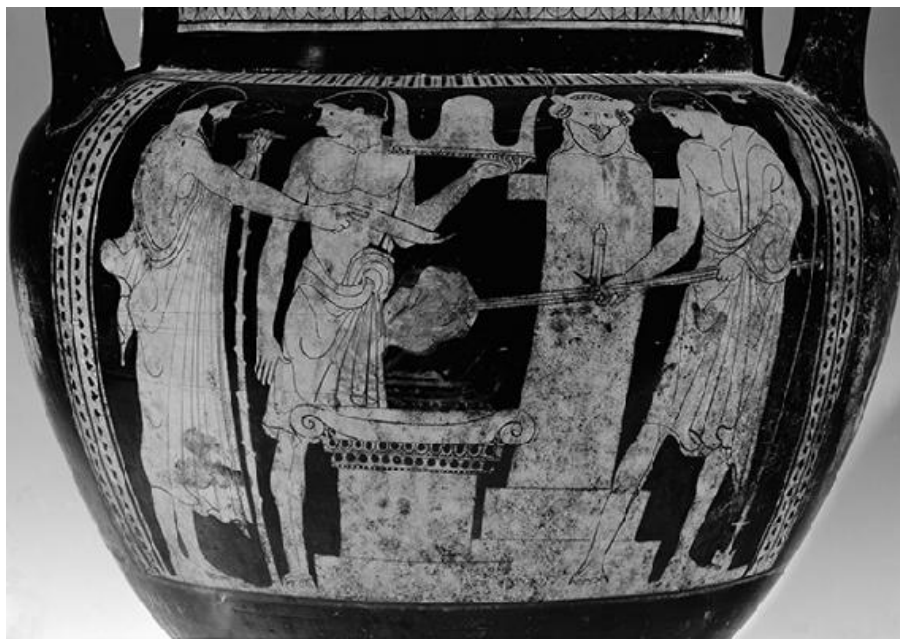
collection (Shapiro 1989: pl. 9a–b; van Straten 1995: fig. 2; Laxander 2000: pl. 1) or on a black-figure lekythos from the Acropolis (Shapiro 1989: pl. 10a; van Straten 1995: fig. 3; Laxander 2000: pl. 7). The insistence on the blazing fire on the altar underlines the connection with the gods – whose share is the smoke, more than the flesh – and seems to be an anticipation of the treatment of the victim. In some of these examples, the presence of Athena has been used to argue that the procession was the Panathenaia, but this is unconvincing and it seems best to take these pictures as more general celebrations of the goddess (van Straten 1995: 15–17). Most of the sacrificial images do not allow us to pinpoint a precise time in the religious calendar. When a god is shown, like Athena, Apollo, or Dionysos, it is a generic sacrifice. The painter is not illustrating a handbook of Attic festivals, but reminding the viewer of what is important during a sacrifice: crowns, flowers, offerings, music, order, and beauty.

In this way, we may understand better the reasons for the painters' choices; they do not insist on the technical details that are well known by the ancient performers of sacrifice, but on the elements that are important, be it in terms of symbolism or aesthetics. The ritual must be performed properly, and the picture offers a beautiful record of it. In a sense, the picture is more a model of what has to be done than a description of what happens. In an actual sacrifice, one expects noise, movement, even the reluctance of the victim; but we very seldom see a reluctant victim in the imagery. When this does happen, it is most often the goat, as on an Athenian red-figure calyx-krater now in Boston (Gebauer 2002: fig. 155; *ThesCRA* 2004–: no. 196). Some vases show how the young *ephebes* are able to lead a bull, controlling it by holding its horns, or even lifting the animal up on their shoulders. In these cases, it is the athletic strength of the youths that is being displayed and celebrated. In fact, some inscriptions celebrate their capacity of *airesthai tous bous* ('rise up the bulls'; cf. IG I³ 82, 28–30; Barbieri and Durand 1985; Durand 1986).

The sacrificial order, privileged by vase-painters, is often reflected in the composition of the scene. A column-krater attributed to the Pan Painter is a good example of that process (Figure 29.1). The scene is organized around an altar, next to which stands frontally a Herm: a stone pillar with the head of Hermes and male genitalia (Figure 2.3). Three men are assembled around the altar. On the right, a young man holds horizontally a long spit (*obelos*) and is roasting meat on the flame of the altar. Behind him, another spit leans vertically along the frame of the picture; in the top corner, two horns of a goat are hanging in the field, indicating previous sacrifices. In the middle, behind the altar, another young man holds in his left hand, raised at the level of his shoulder, a kind of three-horned basket (*kanoun*) containing seeds

and the sacrificial knife (*machaira*). This we know from textual evidence, not from the images themselves. On the left, a bearded man is standing with a stick in his left hand and a cup in the right, extended over the altar. He is pouring a libation, probably of wine. The choice of divine statue in this scene is interesting. The Herm is frequently represented in combination with an altar, and we have many more examples of that combination in vase-painting than from actual sanctuaries. This is due not only to an interest in Hermes, the god, but also to the fact that such a Herm has an explicit shape – square and solid – that refers unambiguously to a sculpture, an artistic creation to represent the god. We will turn to that aspect below. The other interesting choice made by the painter is the conflation of two different actions in the same scene. The libation poured by the man on the left normally happens before the meat is roasted. Here we have what some scholars have termed a synoptic representation (Snodgrass 1998: ch. 3). The painter and the viewer know very well how sacrifice is practiced, and the picture is not strictly showing what happens, but reminding us about what matters. The composition creates a space in which three sides are included in the scene, and a frontal statue provides the background (confronting the viewer, who forms the fourth side of the sacrificial space). Moreover, the painter has placed all the ingredients necessary for sacrifice in a vertical alignment over the altar. Thus, we see the fire, the meat, the wine, and the seeds in a row as signs of the relation to food and agriculture, and the basis of the sacrifice (Durand 1986). Clearly, the composition is intentional, and gives a rich account of what best to represent from a sacrifice.

Figure 29.1 Athenian red-figure column-krater. Sacrifice scene. c. 470 BC (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 127929/The Bridgeman Art Library).



This image can be compared and contrasted with another one, by the same painter, showing the mythical sacrifice of Herakles visiting the Egyptian king Bousiris (Durand and Lissarrague 1983; van Straten 1995: fig. 49). The violence exerted against Herakles, who is bound to be sacrificed by his host, generates a violent reaction by the Theban hero, and the canonical order of the sacrifice is completely destroyed. The Egyptians run away from the altar, the ritual objects are falling down, and the *machaira*, dropping from the *kanoun*, is now visible as an explicit sign of violence and murder.

Vase-painters give us many variations in their depiction of sacrifice. They can show the procession or the treatment of the meat after the killing of the victim. The actual use of the knife, and the act of pouring blood over the altar, is more unusual, but is somewhat frequent in portrayals of mythical human sacrifice, as on the amphora in the British Museum showing the sacrifice of Polyxene (Boardman 1974: fig. 57; *ThesCRA* 2004–: I 2a, no. 595). One cannot say that there was a taboo forbidding the showing of the killing of the victim, but there is a clear tendency to avoid that aspect, at least in vase-painting, and to insist on the beauty of the feast, the quality of the participants, and the proper order in the ritual performance (see [Figure 28.6](#)).

The same is true with sculpture and votive reliefs. Sculptors, it appears, were even more restrictive in their choices. We have only one relief showing the killing of a sacrificial victim, by an armed warrior in a battle context (van Straten 1995: fig. 109; *ThesCRA* 2004–: I 2a,

no. 488). The standard choice for votive reliefs is the procession. What differs from vase-painting, even with that subject, is the frequent presence of the gods in the picture (much more so than on vases) and their size, being always taller than the human worshippers. In most cases, the divine figure stands in front of the procession, separated from men by the altar. The stone altar is thus both the technical instrument where the victims are burnt to honor the gods, and the point of articulation, in the composition of the relief, between men and gods. Many votive reliefs are framed by a kind of roof and columns, suggesting a stoa in a sanctuary; such generic architecture, framing the picture, is not describing a precise place, but corresponds to the space in which the relief itself will be offered to the god. Here lies one of the major differences between votive sculpture and vase-painting. Vases are used mostly for the *symposion*, and refer to the consumption of meat during banquets, as well as to the procession preceding the sacrifice (see Chapter 27). The relief, by contrast, is self-referential: it describes the procession to/at a sanctuary, and is itself placed in the sanctuary, commemorating permanently an occasional offering. Whereas the vase is a smaller, mobile object that circulates in the city and abroad, the relief is fixed in the very location at which the sacrifice is described as taking place. The picture on the relief is more standardized than on the vase, and may have had a stronger visual impact on the viewer. When a person enters a sanctuary, he sees such reliefs knowing where he is. The gods are easy to perceive, given their size, even from far away. The display of processions is an incitation to perform the same ritual in turn, following the model promoted by the imagery.

Things, however, are probably more complex. A relief from Brauron ([Figure 29.2](#)) shows one such procession. Artemis is standing by an altar, with a deer next to her. A procession of four family groups, each including a man, a woman, and a child, is turned towards the altar, preceded by a boy leading a victim, and followed by a girl carrying a *cista* (basket or chest) on her head. In the hierarchy created by the sizes of the figures, Artemis is above everything, and her head even reaches the top of the frame. The human figures are smaller by one-third, but men are slightly higher than women, following the pattern of the Greek family, giving prominence to the husband. In this specific case, the relief bears an inscription, running along the top, under the roof. It reads: *To Artemis as an ex-voto, Aristonike dedicated, wife of Antiphatos, from the deme of Thoraios*. The consecration was made by a woman, who gives her name first, before her husband's name and the name of his deme. This is not in accordance with the scene itself, which puts the husband first. We must assume that there could have been some flexibility in the actual

practice, and that such images are more a model of what is thought about the ritual than an accurate description of what actually happens at the sanctuary.

Figure 29.2 Marble votive relief. Sacrificial procession. c. 420 BC (Brauron, Archaeological Museum 1151. Photo: Studio Kontos/Photostock).



The Parthenon frieze follows a similar pattern and has rightly been considered as an extended ex-voto, showing the whole city moving towards the gods (Harrison 1907: 172–183; Jenkins 1994; Neils 2001). Although Pausanias does not comment on the frieze, as if it was unimportant, it is an exceptional representation of a long procession, including various categories of citizens – horsemen, *ephebes*, magistrates – leading sacrificial victims not to an altar, but to an assembly of seated gods. As on votive reliefs, the sculpted procession includes the gods, present and visible, as if they are taking part in the ritual. The image thus has the power to make the gods present in an effective way, transforming the symbolic action of the ritual into an actual presence.

29.3 Space, Gestures, Time

Next to these sacrificial images, vase-painters have produced a good number of representations, including ritual objects such as phialai or smaller offerings (flowers, branches), suggestive of ritual activity. Many of these images are not easy to place in a precise religious

context; they are generic representations whose meaning and function are quite open. The standard distinction adopted by historians of religion between public and private action is impossible to apply to such pictures – not only because that distinction (*idios/demosios*) is not as sharp as some historians would like it to be and needs to be qualified (de Polignac and Schmitt-Pantel 1998), but also because most of these images do not provide explicit indications of that sort of context. The social status of the actors in the scenes is also difficult to determine; criteria by which to recognize a priest or a magistrate, as opposed to a simple citizen or a minor figure, are not always obvious. An easy criterion used to identify a priestess in pictures is the presence of a key, indicating her control of the temple she is attached to. But when a priestess is shown in Greek art, it more often serves to underline her status than to describe any activity (Connelly 2007; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008).

Another criterion used to recognize ritual activity seems to be the presence of an altar in the scene, combined with gestures in its direction. In many pictures, the presence of an altar creates a religious space, in which various ritual acts can be performed. One of the most frequent is the libation (Lissarrague 1995b), a very simple act that can take various forms. Basically, it consists of pouring for the gods a liquid, usually wine, from a flat cup (*phiale*), or any other suitable vessel, and then sharing the wine with the other participants. Such a ritual gives a formal structure to symbolic links between men and god on the one hand, and between the actors of the ritual on the other. It is performed in many circumstances: departures or returns, or to begin or conclude a more complex ritual (for example, there are libations at the beginning of a sacrifice and at the start of a *symposion*).

The libation appears to be a marker in space and time, which could be performed by any participant and in many circumstances. As it involves the use of a vase, one is not surprised to see that vase-painters have often represented such an action. They do not provide many details, and seem to prefer the act of pouring to the drinking sequence, which is rarely shown. In many cases they limit the number of actors to one, mainly when filling the tondo of a cup; such is the case on a sadly damaged cup attributed to Onesimos in Bonn (Lissarrague 1995b: fig. 8). Here a figure extends his arm, with *phiale* in hand, towards an altar before him, over which a *bucranion* is fixed. In the field, one can read the inscription *anaxs Erme*, a spoken prayer addressed to Hermes. More often, no prayer is inscribed, but a raised-hand gesture is the visual equivalent to the act of speaking.

Another significant ritual gesture is attached to the ritual of supplication. Most pictures of this ritual are mythological and involve an altar or a statue. As demonstrated by Pedrina (forthcoming), the

image of supplication stresses the link between the aggressor, the victim, and the gods; by sitting on an altar or embracing a statue, the suppliant victim is accepting his/her inferiority, yet placing him/herself under the protection of the god. The most obvious example is the story of Cassandra, the young Trojan girl who is pursued by Ajax. She is running towards Athena's statue, hidden by her shield in the earlier examples, or kneeling naked next to the statue (an 'Archaizing' one) in the later ones (Connelly 1993; Mangold 2000). The altar has the same role in scenes representing the murder of the old Trojan king Priam. In the *Ilioupersis*, the violence of the Greeks is stressed by the painters, and the sanctuary is hardly an asylum. The altar and the statue mark visually the place where the presence of the gods is guaranteed by contact; the violation of that sacred space clearly shows the hubris of the transgressors (cf. Boardman 1975: fig. 135).

A remarkable group of vases shows only an empty sanctuary. In some cases it is simply an altar that is depicted, but in most cases the altar is combined with a *louterion* (basin), suggesting ablutions, or with a statue, most frequently a Herm (cf. [Figure 2.3](#)). No human figure appears – an unusual feature for Attic vase-painting, where the human figure is always the center of the representation, and where 'landscape' is not a pertinent category. This choice stresses the architectural dimension of such pictures; the stone pillar remains an explicit artifact, and underlines the spatial aspect of the sanctuary it evokes. Such images focus on the structure of the sanctuary, as opposed to the ritual action. But they show traces of former human intervention in the ritual space, such as blood on the altar from a sacrifice, or the horns of a sacrificial victim hanging in the field, and also painted votive plaques. Each of these elements suggest that there has been a ritual activity, and that there will be again some other activities, implying a kind of permanence to the sanctuary.

A lekythos in the Louvre ([Figure 29.3](#)) provides a good example of these features. From left to right, we see a tree (indicating the outside), an ithyphallic Herm (marked with a caduceus), an altar, a small pinax showing a siren in silhouette, and a pair of horns: sacrifice, prayer, and offering are implicitly involved by the presence in the image of these objects, whose conjunction creates almost an inventory of ritual performance (in absentia). Moreover, the use of a vase bearing such a picture is remarkable, as it is in itself an offering in the sanctuary or, most probably (we do not know the archaeological context of this particular vase), in the tomb. The detail of the painted pinax on the lekythos is also interesting, as it does not match the actual painted pinakes we know from the Acropolis, for example. Whereas these will later bear iconography referring to the dedicant (his status or his activity), or to the god honored, the pinakes

in vase-painting are more often connected with the painter's repertoire, showing a Herm (in a kind of mirroring way), a satyr, or another type of mythological being, like the siren. This discrepancy is again a warning against the use of vase imagery as direct evidence for the 'real' ritual world. Painters do not describe directly; they elaborate on the common cultural experience. It is also an incitement to look more closely at what the picture potentially shows.

Figure 29.3 Athenian red-figure lekythos. Sanctuary. c. 480 BC (Paris, Louvre CA 2935. akg-images/Erich Lessing).



29.4 Dionysian Imagery

Greek vase-painting is particularly rich in Dionysian representations for an obvious reason: the use of vases at the *symposion* and the role of

Dionysos in connection with wine. Also, the dramatic festivals dedicated to this god, at least in Athens, are important places for the development of Athenian visual culture. A good number of images have been related to Athenian festivals, and certainly they should be seen in that context (see Chapter 28). The problems arise when we start asking of the pictures what they are *not* made for. Ritual details, such as the exact day of the festival, are generally not included, as the ancient viewer is supposed to know what the representations are about. The scenes work more as references to known festivals than as a fresh description for the ignorant or the uninitiated. Another remarkable feature of these representations is the fact that in most cases, they are produced for a limited time, and often by a single artist or workshop. They seem to be the products of stylistic choice rather than of religious need or patronage.

The case of the Theseus Painter's workshop is a good starting point. Three skyphoi showing the ship-cart of Dionysos are attributed to the painter or to his manner (Haspels 1939: 250, nos. 29, 30; 253, no. 15). Each one shows a sacrificial procession following a wheeled ship, on which the god is seated, framed by satyrs playing the aulos. This scene is usually connected with the Anthestheria (Deubner 1932: 102; Simon 1983: 93) or with the Great Dionysia (Burkert 1972: 223); in both cases, the arrival of Dionysos is enacted by the ritual supposedly reflected by the scene. What the scene certainly shows is the connection between men and god, sacrifice, and *pompe* ('procession'). What escapes us was certainly clear to the ancient Athenian drinker: the time of the procession and probably also its path through the city. Space and time are not explicitly described here but are implicitly present. At the same time, the picture stresses the actual presence of the god, the role of music and vegetation, and the difference between men and the closer companions of Dionysos: the satyrs. Whether the figures are men acting as satyrs and the god, or Dionysos himself, we do not know, as the painter is producing visually the effect conveyed by the ritual.

Workshop production of ritual images is not infrequent. In Attic black-figure, we also find a group of lekythoi showing the mask of Dionysos fixed to a pole, around which maenads or satyrs are dancing (Frontisi-Ducroux 1991). Most of these lekythoi are described by Beazley as 'Haimonian', and one of them has been attributed to the Haimon Painter himself (1956: 553). Shape and painter are often closely linked, the shape imposing its frame on the picture and orienting strongly the composition. Furthermore, the cylindrical structure of the lekythos favors a circular composition for dancing around a pillar (Frontisi-Ducroux 1991: ch. 5).

The same ritual is depicted later, in Attic red-figure, on another

shape – a stamnos – which in turn produces a different choice of composition (Figure 29.4). The pillar is now seen behind a table, in frontal view, and maenads are handling wine from stamnoi placed on the table. Many of these stamnoi are attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, who seems to have determined this new iconography, more explicitly focused on wine and dance, as well as on the face-to-face vision of the god, and involving a visual exchange between object and viewer. This painter was first identified not by Beazley, as is so often the case, but by Frickenhaus, in 1912. He was the first to see that a series of images thematically similar were actually painted by the same hand. Frickenhaus was interested in Dionysos in Athens, and in his article '*Lenäenvasen*' he made the association between these vases and the festival of the Lenaia (which took place in the month of Gamelion – that is, late in January). His pioneering work and excellent knowledge of the archaeological evidence are biased by the need to connect the scenes on vases with the Athenian calendar. He attempted to show that vase-painters were depicting the Lenaia, whereas soon after, Nilsson (in 1916) suggested that the same group of vases were actually depictions of the Anthesteria. The endless discussion between specialists of Greek religion regarding the identification of the festival depicted on these vases is symptomatic of a bigger problem: the silence of the images does not allow us to answer such a question. The answer will come, if ever, from elsewhere (an inscription, an inscribed scene, some textual information). This should not concern us. The seriality of images and the repetition of motifs and their combinations are quite informative with regard to the symbolic values involved in the performance of each of these rituals. We must accept the images on their own terms, as monuments recording the religious and social intentions of the performers of real ancient rituals and of the users of these vases, and not as documents simply produced to answer our own questions.

Figure 29.4 Athenian red-figure stamnos. Cult of Dionysos. c. 460 BC (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.155. (91.226a-b). Gift of Edward Perry Warren/The Bridgeman Art Library).



The same is true for a series of vessels usually called choes – a kind of small wine jug – connected to one day of the Anthesteria festival, known as ‘the Choes’. The similarity between the name of the shape and the day itself is a result of scholarship (as we are not sure that the names we give to many vases were the actual names used in antiquity). The idea that these objects were produced for the festival, explored by van Hoorn (1951), who collected them in a very useful corpus, has been rightly challenged in more recent years by Hamilton (1992), who shows that there are two distinct series, characterised by their difference in size. Some of the bigger vases can be related to Dionysos and to ritual actions (e.g. the handling of a Dionysos mask), while the smaller ones are mainly connected with children, games, and pets.

A last example might help to demonstrate what pictures can do with ritual. On a very famous and unique black-figure cup in Florence ([Figure 29.5](#)), we see a form of *phallophoria* on each side. On one, a long, horizontal pole is lifted by a group of eight young men,

six of them ithyphallic; on this pole is raised a thicker and longer one of phallic shape, with an eye at the tip. This huge phallus is ridden by an equally huge satyr, who is in turn ridden by a smallish man, holding a whip and a large white drinking-horn. The other side displays the same general composition, with variants: only six men, none of whom are ithyphallic, are carrying the pole, which in this case is being ridden by an oversized man holding ivy branches. Such variations create a tension between the two sides; these are not the exact moments of the ritual, but more likely an intensification of Dionysiac power. The actual nature of these figures is much debated, the variation of size and scale being differently interpreted by scholars. Some think that the riders are of a mythological nature, referring to an *aition* (a mythological story used to explain the strange features of the ritual); some others believe the figures are costumed performers, or even manequins fixed as the phallus to the horizontal pole. Regardless, the cup represents collective action, involving a very clear phallic dimension, as well as the ‘domestication’ of the phallus (Csapo 1997: 269). As the cup is thus far unique, it is difficult to say much more about it than that. But once more we can be sure that the cup, in the hands of an Athenian drinker, would have been perfectly comprehensible, as it would have been a reminder of the actual *phallophoria* that occurred in Athens during the Dionysia, not to mention the verbal and visual games and jokes about Dionysos and phallic procession.

Figure 29.5 Athenian black-figure cup. *Phallophoria*. c. 540 BC (Florence, National Archaeological Museum 3897. By permission of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

(a)



(b)



Figuration of ritual, therefore, is not a mechanical process of mere illustration. It certainly dwells on practical experience, as well as actual behavior, but it also submits to taste and mode, to the variations of religious and social history. The painters and their customers make choices, the logic of which is not always quite clear to us, as we lack the direct experience of the depicted rituals, which was presumably significant. We can clearly observe in the pictorial record innovations and variations of subject matter and of the rendering of space and gestures, as well as of the organization of the picture on the object bearing it. Not only are the scenes subject to variations, but so was the ritual itself, which was surely not as conservative as one would like to think; some religious transformations and iconographical innovations can be detected and analyzed. This is particularly clear in Athens with respect to votive production. The iconography of painted pinakes and votive reliefs is quite distinctive, introducing discrepancies between actual pinakes and their

representation in vase-painting; such a difference between a votive pinax and its representation marks clearly the reflexive character of ritual imagery in vase-painting. This reflexive and innovative trend can also be traced in funerary iconography, where the invention of funerary white-ground lekythoi can be precisely dated, around the middle of the 5th c. BC, in the workshop of the so-called Achilles Painter. This invention of a new use for the white-ground technique, devoted to a specific class of object, the funerary lekythos, is a typical aspect of Athenian ritual imagery. It reflects the inventiveness and intense activity of Athenian vase-painters in relation to religious practices, and the effort they almost constantly made not just to reproduce via imagery what the Athenians were doing during the ritual, but to give the essence of these actions through simplification and spatial composition. Pictures are, in sum, a sort of visual commentary upon ritual performance.

FURTHER READING

Among the many books used and cited here, one would recommend Shapiro (1989) for a general reading of the visual evidence, organized by divinities, in the Archaic period. Van Straten (1995) gives a complete catalogue of sacrificial imagery, following the order of the ritual. In Detienne and Vernant (1979/1989), the two chapters by Durand have been seminal in the discussion of religious iconography. More recently, Connelly (2007) focuses on one social category of actor, combining several kinds of evidence: iconography, inscriptions, and texts. Simon (1983) remains a useful, and sometimes controvertible, discussion of the evidence, organized by divinities.

More recently, the *ThesCRA* (*Thesaurus Cultus Rituumque Antiquorum*) is a useful repertory of material (visual, textual, and epigraphic) on religious matters. Carpenter (2007), a chapter in the Blackwell *Companion to Greek Religion*, can also be recommended by way of introduction.

CHAPTER 30

Agency in Greek Art

James Whitley

30.1 Introduction: Agency and Pausanias

The title of this chapter introduces two terms – agency and art – one familiar to the average reader, the other much less so. The first term – ‘agency’ – may seem rather strange to many readers, an unhelpful imposition of extraneous theory on the pure, aesthetic realm of classical art history. Art, on the other hand, is something that everybody understands (at least well enough to have views on). In brief, the first term is ‘theoretical’ (so this argument would run), the second simply a matter of common sense.

Well, no. Both terms – art and agency – are equally theoretical. Both are, in terms used in modern cultural anthropology, *etic* – that is to say, they are our concepts, which we have imposed on Greek material culture for our own purposes. Neither would have been understood, directly at least, by the Greeks themselves in any period before 300 BC (Tanner 2006). There are no Greek terms either for art (the Greek *technē* means ‘craft’ or ‘skill’, not ‘art’) or for agency. But it is the latter which is, in some way, closer to how the Greeks themselves understood their own material culture. Let me explain with reference to that most widely used of sources in the classical archaeology of Greece, Pausanias.

Now, of course, Pausanias is hardly a contemporary source for classical art. He was writing in the 2nd c. AD, and the objects that interest him are principally Archaic and Classical. His approach is therefore already antiquarian. But he is a good source because he *looked* at things – he valued autopsy – and, where he can be checked

(which is quite often), his observations can be verified. In this respect he is quite different from Roman writers (such as the elder Pliny), whose compendia rely heavily on earlier written sources and whose notions fit more neatly into the (modern) conception of ‘classical art history’.

Pausanias begins in Attica and in Athens. His route through the Agora of Athens, starting from the Kerameikos, is notoriously hard to reconstruct – but one of the buildings Pausanias spends some time on (1.15) is the Painted Stoa, whose ancient foundations have been partially uncovered by American excavators (Shear 1984: 5–19). Here he first notes a trophy, before going on to describe Polygnotos’s, Mikon’s, and Panainos’s paintings on wooden panels, depicting the Battle of Oinoe, the Battle between Theseus and the Amazons, and the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon respectively. These paintings modern scholars would unquestionably classify as art, if, that is, they had actually survived. He goes on to note (1.15.4) a number of bronze hoplite shields captured by the Athenians after their victories over the Spartans at Pylos/Sphakteria in 425 BC and the Skionai in 421, which (he observes) have been preserved to his day (that is, for over five hundred years) by being coated in pitch. One of the shields captured from the Spartans has survived, and was recovered from a Roman cistern in the 1930s (Shear 1937), but this has not led it to being described by any modern scholar as a ‘work of art’. What seems to interest Pausanias here are not art objects in the modern sense (*objets d’art et de vertu*), but the various ways in which Athenians used objects in order to record and remember their victories, whether mythological or historical.

As with Athens, so with Olympia: it has often struck scholars as odd that Pausanias devotes so much time to the order of sacrifice at the various altars within the sanctuary, and does not simply guide us through by a clear route, showing what there is to see on the way. At the Heraion, he records several objects, including ‘Archaic’ statues of Zeus and Hera (5.17.1) and the Hesperides by Theokles (5.17.2), and he devotes much ink to a detailed description of the Chest of Kypselos, paying close attention to the inscriptions and noting the *boustrophedon* system of writing (5.17.5–19.10; see Snodgrass 2006: 422–442). He notes the marble statue of Hermes holding the infant Dionysos, ‘the work of Praxiteles’, only in passing (5.17.3; cf. Boardman 1995: fig. 25). He takes more trouble over the bronze statues commemorating athletic victories, particularly three chariot groups: those of Polypeithes, son of Kalliteles from Lakonia (6.16.6); Gelon, son of Deinomenes (6.9.4–5); and Kratisthenes of Cyrene (6.18.1). His interest in these groups is more in what and who they commemorate than in their form, their aesthetic value, or the sculptor who made

them.

Here as elsewhere he takes some trouble with inscriptions, and records those that he can read. When he reaches the Nike of Paionios of Mende, he is struck by the contrast between the boldness of the setting on the one hand and the coyness of the inscription on the other (5.26.1; see Treu 1897: 182–194 (sculpture); Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 378–383, no. 259 (inscription)). It is only when he reaches the statue of Zeus in the Temple of Zeus that we get anything we could call an aesthetic response to any of the objects – only here does his prose turn purple (5.11.1–11). But is his description primarily ‘aesthetic’? This is, after all, a cult statue, in a sanctuary where Pausanias has been at pains to describe how, when, and in what order animals are sacrificed. It is only because most self-consciously rational, Western scholars of classical antiquity no longer worship idols but do regularly visit art galleries that we can mistake his response for what we call ‘aesthetic’. It is in fact religious – a key aspect of a religious system that Pausanias, the pious pagan, believes in and trusts will continue.

Pausanias then has no particular interest in ‘art’, that is in those objects that Roman writers and modern scholars have taken to be of primarily aesthetic interest. He is as interested in the captured linen corselets dedicated by Gelon of Syracuse and kept in the ‘Treasury of the Carthaginians’ (6.19.7), the bronze shield, helmet, and greaves dedicated by the ‘Myanians’ (from Lokris), and the ivory horn of Amaltheia dedicated by Miltiades – all of the latter to be found in the Sikyonian Treasury (6.19.4–6; see also Baitinger 2001: 248) – as he is in ‘Hermes of Praxiteles’; he is as taken by the Spartan shields captured from Pylos, which the Athenians set up in the Painted Stoa, as by the more ‘artistic’ form of commemoration that the Messenians chose to commemorate their share in this victory (i.e. the Nike of Paionios; see Hölscher 1974; Whitley 2006). In brief, Pausanias is not interested in ‘art’, but in agency – in the tangible remains of what his glorious forebears did and suffered, in the ‘visible knots’ that ‘span out in social space and social time’ (Gell 1998: 62) and connect him to the great deeds of the past.

30.2 Concepts of Agency

All very well, one might say, but that leaves several points unexamined. What does the term ‘agency’ actually mean? And what is its value when we apply it to Greek objects (whether or not these objects are ‘works of art’)? What do we gain by using the term, other

than the dubious honor of demonstrating our familiarity with the latest jargon?

Agency has a range of meanings, of course. In origin, agency is (logically) opposed to structure. If structure is what lends a period, people, or culture coherence, agency is what enables that structure to change, and history to unfold. It is unfortunate that many attempts to apply this concept barely get beyond this unexceptionable platitude (e.g. papers in Dobres and Robb 2000). A more rigorous definition – with some very arresting examples – has been provided by Alfred Gell, in one of those rare books that change everything: *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Gell 1998). This is a truly radical work, because it argues coherently and consistently against the two most deeply seated assumptions underlying all study of art and material culture. The first is the aesthetic – the idea that what distinguishes art from the general run of material objects is art's *quality*, its superior aesthetic interest. The second is the semiotic – the idea that our objective in looking at either material culture or art is to *understand* it as an 'expression' of some underlying code or logic (which is in turn understood by some kind of analogy with language). Instead of a largely semiotic or aesthetic theory of art/material culture, Gell proposes an entirely social one. Objects are always made and used for a purpose, they are always entangled within a social and historical web of largely human relations, and they can never be divorced from practical human interests. For Gell, what matters about objects (including art objects) is not what they mean, but what they do; not how beautiful they are, but how they 'work' on (or through) someone looking, using, or touching them.

The last line suggests that objects are, in themselves, animate – and that what Gell proposes is therefore immediately and demonstrably false. For one of the things we do know about objects in general and art-objects in particular is that they are *inanimate*. But while this may be true in physics, it is not true for society. As far as human societies are concerned, all objects are animate – either in themselves (having a kind of personality) or as extensions of human persons. This is as true of the present as it is of the past. While our head may be telling us that our car or our computer is 'just a thing', that is not actually how we treat either cars or computers. We habitually deal with objects as if they were animate – either, that is, as having an inherent spirit or soul, or as being extensions ('prosthetic limbs') of the spirit or agency of a person (often ourselves). Think first, if you are a driver, of the way in which you use your motor car, or motorcycle – consider its 'vehicular animism' (Gell 1998: 18–19). Do you not, at least occasionally, think of it as having a will of its own? Do you not, from time to time, address it as 'old girl', as my mother does? Or have you

never felt that an affront to your car is, in a sense, an affront to yourself – an extension (not simply an expression) of Who You Are? If you are not a driver but just a scholar, do you not, on occasion, think of your computer as having a will of its own? Or, if not, have you not ‘personalized’ it in some way to make it more a part of yourself?

If you are not a motorist, but a parent, think of the ways in which your children play. We all know that dolls have personalities (assigned to them by manufacturers), but it is interesting to see how these personalities can be changed when two children (and here I am thinking of my daughters) get to work on them. Girls treat dolls as if they were real people – and while they themselves are perfectly clear about the distinction, they can sometimes confuse their parents when they speak, not in their own, but in the doll’s persona. More interesting to me is the way in which my daughters use objects to take on different personalities. Both my daughters regularly used to steal my shoes or glasses, put them on, and say, ‘Daddy’ – they were pretending to be me, and in a sense they used the shoes and glasses to *become* me (this is, after all, what *impersonation* means). More importantly, they did this before they had learnt to speak – certainly before they could construct coherent sentences; taking on the attributes of another person was their earliest form of communication. Agency (and the use of objects either to extend one’s own agency, or to appropriate another’s) therefore precedes language as a means of human interaction. Agency brackets meaning (and so iconography); it is agency, not meaning, that is truly primary.

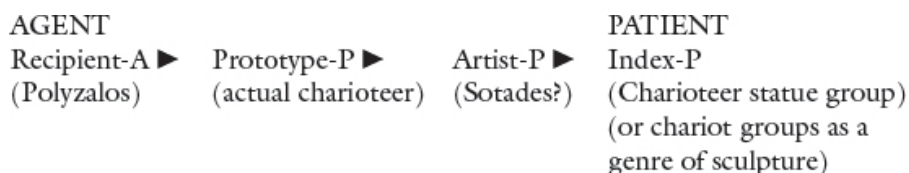
This is one of the more appealing aspects of Gell’s theory – it is a dad’s theory, one that has been arrived at as much through careful observation of how objects are used in everyday life as in the ‘scholarly’ scrutiny of objects in museums or collections. And it makes much more sense if you read it as a parent of young children than if you don’t. Gell allows us to compare, fruitfully, dolls with art. ‘What is [Michelangelo’s] *David* if it is not a big doll for grown ups? This is not really a matter of devaluing *David* so much as revaluing little girls’ dolls, which are truly remarkable objects, all things considered. They are certainly social beings – “members of the family”, for the time at any rate’ (Gell 1998: 18).

But how does all this apply to ‘Greek art’? Well, despite classical archaeology’s well-known resistance to theory, classical scholars have been in the forefront of exploring the implications of Gell’s approach (e.g. papers in Osborne and Tanner 2007; Whitley 2007). And it is theory which is relatively easy to explain with reference to Greek examples. One area where there is an almost perfect fit is the phenomenon of *oggetti parlanti* – ‘speaking objects’, where the object has been *inscribed* with agency. Each of the *horos* stones that marks the

boundary of the Athenian Agora does so by announcing that ‘I am the boundary of the Agora’ (Lalonde et al. 1991: 27, nos. H25, H26); early 8th c. cups from Rhodes and Athens announce that ‘I am the cup (kylix) of Qorax’ (Jeffery 1990: 347, 356.1) or ‘I am the cup of Tharios’ (Jeffery 1990: 69, 76.4). Such a form of words is also used in more elaborate examples, ones that better conform to our notion of ‘art’ (cf. Svenbro 1988).

One such is the Delphi Charioteer, a bronze statue representing a charioteer holding the reins from four horses (Chamoux 1955; Boardman 1985: fig. 34; Smith 2007: 126–130). Other bronze fragments found close by confirm that it formed part of a bronze chariot group, with a chariot and four horses. Nearby were two inscriptions, one certainly associated with the Charioteer (Chamoux 1955: 26–31; Jeffery 1990: 266, 275, no. 9). The second inscription gives the (possible) name of a sculptor, Sotades. The first gives the name of the dedicator, and victor in the chariot race. This inscription reads *P]olyzalos m’ anethek[e* – ‘Polyzalos dedicated me’ or ‘Polyzalos set me up’. Polyzalos was the son of the tyrant of Gela, Deinomenes (Diod. Sic. 11.48.3–6, 8), so the statue must date to either 478, 474, or (at the very latest) 470 BC (these being the years when the Pythian games took place at Delphi).

The very language of the inscription, the standard dedicatory formula of ‘*m’ anetheke*’, – where the object ‘speaks’, and refers to itself as ‘me’ – confirms that the Greeks at least did indeed think of votive objects as having an identity *as an object* – that they possessed the ancient equivalent of the ‘vehicular animism’ we sense in cars. Moreover, Greek votive inscriptions, in both a literal and a metaphorical sense, ‘inscribe’ agency. They link the dedicator (principal agent) to the object (usually referred to as ‘me’) and the deity to whom the object is dedicated. Sometimes they also name the sculptor. So, whatever its status as a general social theory of material culture, agency theory seems particularly pertinent to the Greek case. The inscription also allows us to set out the ‘agency’ relations in some detail. It makes it plain that the principal *agent* here is Polyzalos. Polyzalos is, in Gell’s terms (Gell 1998: 19–27), the ‘Recipient’, or one of them. In graphic terms, the agency relationship is as follows:



This is not to state the actual sequence of events or causes, but the events which the Charioteer Group seeks to represent. Two further

points should be noted. First, I have given priority to the ‘Prototype’ rather than the artist in the sequence of agency relations. This is because the sculptor was *obliged* to make a chariot group – he had no choice in the matter – what mattered were the requirements of the patron and victor, Polyzalos. The second point concerns the recipient, or recipients. One of these had to be Polyzalos (also the principal agent). But, of course, there must have been two further ‘recipients’ of the statue. First, there would be the god himself, Apollo, in whose sanctuary the statue was found and to whom the chariot group must have been dedicated. The second set of ‘recipients’ would be visitors to Delphi, who saw and then may have been impressed by the statue group, and might subsequently have read the inscription (assuming they could read).

‘Agency’ is also evident on other inscriptions that go with votive statues, regardless of whether the word ‘me’ is used. Take Antenor’s Kore (Payne and Mackworth Young 1950: 31–34; Boardman 1978: fig. 141) from the Athenian Acropolis. The statue is of a young unmarried girl, wearing a chiton and himation, set upon an inscribed base above a column. The base (Raubitschek 1949: 232–233, no. 197 = IG I³, 628) reads:

*Nearchos anetheke[n ho kerame]
us ergon aparchen t Ath[enaia]
Antenor ep[oiesen
O Eumaro t[o agalma*

Roughly translated, this reads ‘Nearchos [the potter?/from the deme of Kerameikos?] dedicated this work as a “first fruit/tithe” to Athena. Antenor [son of] Eumaros made this agalma [work of art, or adornment]’.

As in the Delphi Charioteer, the inscription makes it plain that the ‘agency’ of the dedicator takes primacy over that of the sculptor, and that the sculptor had little choice as to subject – he had to make a kore and an agalma. Archaic dedicatory inscriptions from the Acropolis underscore the priority of the dedicant’s agency over that of the artist. All dedicatory inscriptions which can be associated with statue groups name the dedicant, but not all name the artist (e.g. Euthydikos’s Kore: Raubitschek 1949: 56–57, no. 56; Payne and Mackworth Young 1950: 40–41; Boardman 1978: fig. 160; or the double dedication of Lysias and Euarchis: Raubitschek 1949: 313–314, no. 292; Payne and Mackworth Young 1950: 34). It is very rare for the artist to be named before the dedicant (as in the Athena of Pythis: Raubitschek 1949: 313–314, no. 10; Payne and Mackworth Young

1950: 28–29) – in those cases where both the dedicant and the artist are named, the dedicant’s name usually comes first.

Here the statue does not refer to itself as ‘me’ (as in the Delphi Charioteer); but neither does it refer to itself as an *ergon technis* (‘work of art’). The names for sculptured dedications of Archaic and Classical date given on relevant inscriptions do not, in any sense, correspond to our word ‘art’. The korai from the Athenian Acropolis are variously described, as here, as *agalma* (adornment or delight) and/or *aparche* (first fruits); the only surviving piece of ancient Greek sculpture whose sculptor we know for sure (the Nike of Paionios of Mende; see above) is described as a *dekate*, or tithe. And in all these cases (Delphi Charioteer, Nike of Paionios, Antenor’s Kore), it is the agency of the dedicator and the god that is given priority over that of the sculptor.

In a sense, these examples are too easy. ‘Converted’ offerings of this kind (*sensu* Snodgrass 2006: 258–268) too readily meet the expectations of agency theory. To explore the value of the concept more thoroughly – to put it under greater strain – let us look at another class of object (usually thought of as ‘art’) where the agency relations are, at first glance, less obvious: painted pottery, particularly kraters.

30.3 From the François Vase to the Euphronios Krater

The François Vase (so-named after its discoverer, Alessandro François) is an Athenian black-figure volute-krater, uncovered in an Etruscan tomb in Chiusi (ancient Clusium) in 1844, and now in the archaeological museum in Florence (Figure 30.1; Beazley 1956: 76.1; Torelli 2007). Stylistically, it is dated to around 570 BC. It figures in most standard works on Greek art as a particularly fine specimen of the potter’s as of the painter’s craft. More than this – it is seen as an early example of the sophistication achieved in the portrayal of narrative by Archaic Greek vase-painters. For it depicts, in several registers, a whole series of scenes, which must (in some sense) be related. What it portrays can best be shown by this diagram:

Figure 30.1 Volute-krater (‘François Vase’) signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos. c. 570–565 BC (Florence, National Archaeological Museum 4209. By permission of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

(a)



SIDE A

(b)



SIDE B

HANDLE
(both)

Gorgons (Stheno and Euryale)
Artemis (mistress of animals)
Ajax carrying the dead Achilles

LIP	Hunt of Kalydonian Boar
NECK	Chariot race, funeral games of Patroklos
BELLY, main zone	Gods visiting the newly married (both sides)
BELLY, lower zone	Achilles pursuing Troilos
BELLY, near foot	Animals: sphinxes, panther attacking bull, lion attacking boar, griffins, lion attacking bull, panther attacking stag
FOOT	Battle between Pygmies and Cranes

Dance of those rescued by Theseus
Centauromachy (Lapiths and Centaurs)
Peleus and Thetis
The Return of Hephaistos (to Olympos)

Such a complex array of scenes invites various readings – that is, interpretations – which seek an analogy between the images and a single, authoritative text. This approach is often referred to by the German term *Bild und Lied*, where the *Bild* (the image) faithfully follows an original *Lied* (poem or song). Beazley's account (Beazley 1986: 24–34) of the scenes is very much in this tradition – he derives the main scene (Peleus and Thetis) from a lost epic; Achilles and Troilos from the (lost) *Cypria*; the Kalydonian Boar Hunt from a 6th c. original, lost but transmitted through Euripides and Ovid to Swinburne; the funeral games of Patroklos from the *Iliad* (though the

dramatis personae here are not the same as those in *Il.* 23: 261–538); and the Centauromachy again from the *Iliad* and the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*. Summarized thus, it might appear that Beazley is proposing that the scenes come from different sources, various *Lieder* brought together by the pot-painter. But this is clearly not what he meant – he is rather using literature to identify the scenes. Moreover, from his account, several themes emerge. First, a narrative thread links the early exploits of Peleus (Kalydonian Boar), his marriage to Thetis, and the exploits of their son Achilles during the Trojan War. Together, the Peleus/Achilles cycle connects at least five scenes – six if the (golden?) amphora (Hom. *Il.* 23.92; *Od.* 24.74) that Dionysos is holding when he visits Peleus and Thetis is to be identified with the one made by Hephaistos, who gives it to Dionysos, who gives it to Thetis, who gives it to her son, and which is at last used to inter the ashes of both Patroklos and Achilles (Rumpf 1953: 470). The significance of the amphora in the overall scheme of the vase is that it provides a narrative thread that explains the close association between Dionysos and Hephaistos – Dionysos helps Hephaistos to return to Olympos, and in return Hephaistos makes Dionysos this golden amphora. This narrative thread has led other scholars – notably Andrew Stewart (1983) – to suggest that all the scenes on the vase derive from one poem. Stewart suggests a (lost) lyric poem by Stesichoros, originally commissioned to celebrate a marriage of some kind. In this interpretation of the scenes that do not quite fit in to the general theme of the deeds of Peleus and his son Achilles (Centauromachy, Theseus), some can be seen as digressions, others (Pygmies and Cranes, battling animals) as similes or allusions, in the best Homeric tradition.

Now, this is in many ways an attractive hypothesis. It explains the scenes. But I do not think it will quite do, for two reasons. There is first the basic implausibility of a series of scenes accurately transcribing a text, still less a transitory oral performance (the basic assumption of the *Bild und Lied* school of thought). This point has been reinforced by recent scholarship. The most popular mythological subject on vase-painting is the Trojan War cycle, but even here it is remarkable how rarely the scenes we can identify with incidents of the story correspond with the versions we have in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* (Snodgrass 1998). Such scenes do not then derive from texts. Rather, they arise from a range of story or epic cycles, transmitted orally, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the only versions we really know (see Burgess 2009). Texts therefore have no *authority* when it comes to imagery. Interpretations such as Stewart's expect that there can be some kind of set 'meaning' to the images, a meaning which, while not immutable, is rooted in literature. But, as the

example of the funeral games of Patroklos shows here, this is plainly not the case.

This first objection is therefore at once both empirical and theoretical, as is the second. Stewart's interpretation won't do because it takes no account of context and little of agency. That is, it sidesteps one fundamental question: 'What is this object doing in Chiusi, in an Etruscan tomb?'; and provides a limited answer to the second: 'Who made it and for what purpose?'. Now, there is a standard response to this objection: interpreting the iconography is something we can do. We do not really know why it was made, or what for, or why it ended up in an Etruscan tomb (see Chapter 27). We have Beazley and the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA). Let's do iconography!

This is not an answer that would satisfy Gell, or me. We can have a pretty good stab at what it was for. It is a krater, designed for mixing wine with water in the *symposion*, a form of 'diacritical feasting' about which we know quite a lot (Murray 2009). And we know who made it: the agency of the potter and painter has been painted on to the surface of the vase (twice!): KLEITIAS MEGRAPHSEN; ERGOTIMOSMEPOIESEN: 'Kleitias painted me' – 'Ergotimos made me'.

As we saw above, it is writing (in this case, painted labels) that inscribes agency. The two 'signatures' by Kleitias and Ergotimos then do more than identify the potter and painter. The same can be said of the painted labels that accompany the scenes, which are (by any account) excessive. We have over 130 painted labels from the François Vase (Wachter 1991), and they are doing something very odd. First, they do not simply 'identify' persons depicted. Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Ares are present but not shown in the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis; they are not depicted, but their presence has been marked by painted labels. Care was taken to note not only the human hunters of the Kalydonian Boar (Peleus, Meleager) but the seven hounds as well; and in the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, and the scene where Achilles meets Troilos, objects are animated by their labels; for the labels (*bomos* – altar in the marriage scene; *lithos* – stone, held by a centaur; *krene* (spring) and (*h*)*ydria* (water) jar; and *thakos* – seat in death of Troilos) are, in purely *narrative* terms, redundant – the pictures are perfectly clear in themselves. It may be that 'their purpose is not so much to clarify the scenes as to accompany them in an independent narrative' (Immerwahr 1990: 24). More may be at work here. The inscriptions do not simply accompany a 'narrative' scene, or clarify the identity of the persons shown. Rather, they animate the *dramatis personae* – the agents in the story, agents which comprise 'inanimate' objects as much as persons.

Writing and imaging are therefore complementary forms of magic used in the service of both extending and dividing agency; the story is, in a sense, fractal, divided into its component parts, which are not simply the scenes but the animate agents (human, divine, animal, and object). The François Vase then does not depict ‘stories’, but embodies persons and objects which (in turn) have their own agency. In this sense, it is rather like the statue of the ‘fractal god’ ‘A’ (Gell 1998: 137–140), an ‘assemblage of homunculi’, a being which incorporates a number of other deities in his person. Equally, the vase could be said to embody (in part) the ‘distributed person’ (Gell 1998: 96–154) of its makers, Kleitias and Ergotimos, distributed that is in the many other vessels found principally in Athens (Acropolis and Agora) and Naukratis (Beazley 1956: 76–78).

So much for the way in which the François Vase incorporates agency, or many agencies; but if agency (and personhood) is, in some sense, fractal (broken down into parts), it can also be cumulative. Nicholas Thomas (1991) has shown how objects can acquire ‘biographies’ through their entanglement with people and places. One such ‘entangled object’ has already been noted – the golden amphora that Dionysos holds on his return to Olympos (Hom. *Il.* 23.92; *Od.* 24.74). Elsewhere in Homer, kraters are often ‘entangled’ in this way; the silver krater that Menelaos gives Telemachos (*Od.* 4.611–55) was originally given to him by Phaidimos, King of Sidon; the silver krater that Achilles picks as a prize for the foot race in the funeral games of Patroklos (*Il.* 23. 740–749; see above) had a more extensive genealogy: made by Sidonian craftsmen, carried over the sea by Phoenician traders, given to Thoas of the Trojan royal house, and then to Patroklos by Euenos, son of Priam, as a ransom for Lykaon. The very fact that our krater, the François Vase, was found in Clusium, far from its place of manufacture in Attica, makes it highly likely that it too had accumulated (and incorporated) the agency of previous owners and persons in itself – this is what made it valuable in the first place. Indeed, the François Vase exhibits two complementary aspects of agency: cumulative and biographical, in the ‘entanglements’ which it had built up through its passage from Attica to Etruria; and fractal, in the many persons or ‘homunculi’ made present and animated in both image and inscription. Arguably, then, in depicting both the funeral games and the funerary amphora of Patroklos at an earlier stage of its biography, the vase itself is being doubly self-referential.

Much the same can be said of the red-figure calyx-krater signed by Euphronios (*Euphronios egraphsen*) and Euxitheos (*Euxitheos epoiesen*), once in New York (Figure 30.2; von Bothmer 1976; Immerwahr 1990: 64, 385). This shows two scenes; one, on side B, has four youths, arming, and a bearded warrior, accompanied by the painted labels

Hyperochos, *Leagros kalos*, *Hippasos*, *Megon*, *Akastos*, *Axippos*; the other, on side A, the side with both ‘signatures’, has a warrior (*Leodamas*), *Leagros kalos*, *Hypnos* (sleep) – presumably the first winged figure – *Hermes*, *Thanatos* (death) – the second winged figure – both carrying *Sarpedon*, then *Hippolytos*, another warrior at the right. This then is more than ‘Sleep and Death Carrying off Sarpedon’, still less a direct and literal transcription of the *Iliad* (16.676–683). As in the François Vase, the scenes incorporate through labels *personae* that are not shown – in this case the beautiful *Leagros*. Just as there is ‘fractal personhood’ in the figures, so there must have been cumulative agency in the entanglements which the krater must have gathered as it passed through many hands from its place of manufacture (Athens) to its final resting place – an Etruscan tomb in Cerveteri (ancient Caere; see Watson and Todeschini 2006; ARV 13–17).

Figure 30.2 Athenian calyx-krater signed by Euphronios. c. 515–510 BC (Rome, Villa Giulia ex. Metropolitan Museum 1972.11.10. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



The entanglements of the Euphronios krater continue to multiply. For, just like Achilles’s silver krater, it has passed on its way from Italy to New York and back again; for a time, it was alleged to have been

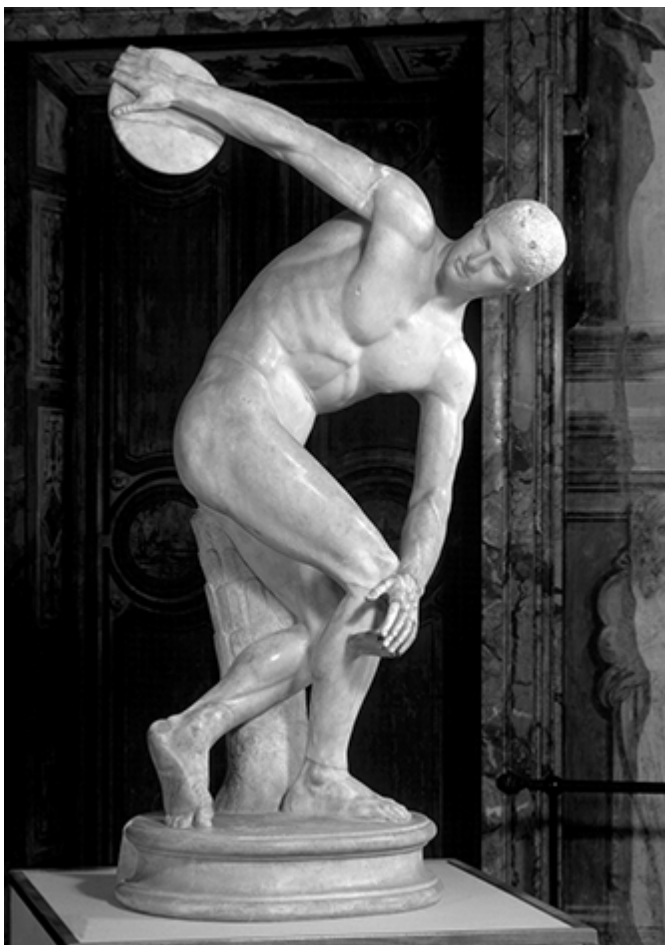
found in a hat box in Beirut; it was ransomed, not for Lykaon, but for the Metropolitan Museum's collection of coins; and, through the agency of Italian *tomboroli*, dealers in antiquities, and scholars such as Dietrich von Bothmer, it was transformed into a 'work of art'; now, in its new setting in the Villa Giulia in Rome, it stands as a reminder of the intellectual and material consequences of the illicit trade in antiquities (Kimmelman 2009c; see Chapter 36).

So far, Gell's approach has been used with regard to objects that are original Greek works whose context and purpose are known. The drift of the argument has been that the notion of agency undermines the object's status as a 'work of art', and places it firmly in the context of Greek society, religion, and history. In this, agency is fully compatible with the aims of a social and contextual archaeology (*sensu* Whitley 1994). But 'Greek art', traditionally understood, does not simply comprise original works from known contexts. It also embraces that peculiar hybrid, the Roman copy. How does agency work here?

30.4 Myron's Diskobolos

The marble sculpture we know as 'Myron's Diskobolos' (Myron's Discus Thrower) is known in five versions (Richter 1929: 205–206), of which the one in the Terme Museum in Rome is thought to be the best (Figure 30.3; see Chapter 5). We identify it as such, not from any surviving inscription, but because it corresponds to descriptions in Pliny (*HN* 34.57) and Lucian (*Philops.* 18; see Pollitt 1990: 48–49). Of course, none of these marble statues is an original – they are all, to varying degrees, copies (or versions), and their current and ancient context is Roman. The original, by the 5th c. Athenian sculptor Myron of Eleutherai, has been searched out, not through excavation, but through a branch of scholarship called *Kopienforschungen*, the comparison of copies with literary testimonia. Such studies provide a date on purely *stylistic* grounds for Myron's original of c. 450 BC. The original is thought to be of bronze, not marble.

Figure 30.3 Marble statue of a discus-thrower. Roman copy of the 'Diskobolos' by Myron, c. 450 BC (Rome, Terme National Museum 126371. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



There are several reasons for thinking this. First, Pausanias describes a number of bronze statues of athletic victors by Myron in his tour of Olympia: Lykinos of Sparta (6.2.2), Timanthes of Kleonai (6.8.4), Philippos of Pellana (6.8.5), and Chionis the Lakedaimonian (6.13.2), and it is clear from Pausanias's account that Myron had crafted a figure appropriate to each athlete's victory (in the horse race, *pankration*, and boys' boxing for the first three). Such effects are difficult to achieve in marble without recourse to struts. Moreover, though no complete bronze athlete statue survives from Olympia, the inscribed stone bases in which the bronze statues were set frequently do, and, like the Delphi Charioteer, give us a good idea of the agency relations (Smith 2007: 94–104). Two examples stand out: first the base of Kyniskos of Mantinea, victor in the boy boxing in 460 BC, whose bronze statue was seen by Pausanias (6.4.11). On this, the epigram celebrating the boy's victory, 'winning in the boxing, Kyniskos from Mantinea, who has the name of his famous father, set this up' (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 255–258, no. 149), is

prominently displayed around the base; the other inscription, naming Polykleitos as sculptor, was probably on a missing second step (Paus. 6.4.11). Similarly, the inscribed base for the bronze statue of Pythokles of Elis, victor in the pentathlon in 452 BC, had the victor's name prominently on the front of the base, and the sculptor (Polykleitos of Argos again), less obviously, on the side (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 281–284, no. 162; Paus. 6.7.10).

Two points deserve emphasis. First, the inscriptions show that, like both the Delphi Charioteer and Antenor's Kore, these objects are dedications, set up as thank-offerings in the sanctuary where the athletic victory was won. Second, they demonstrate that the bronze statues were commissioned by the athletic victor, whose name appears in large and prominent letters in the front; it is the victor who is the principal agent here. If there was a sculptor – even a sculptor as famous as Polykleitos of Argos – his name is given in smaller letters along the side of the base. Once Olympia and other sites for Panhellenic athletic festivals (Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea) must have been chock-a-block with such statues (Smith 2007).

Pausanias, writing in the 2nd c. AD, provides some insight into the 'Romanization' of these Greek athletic statues. The statue of Pythokles is a good example of this process of Roman appropriation. Sometime between 50 BC and the end of the reign of Nero, the original statue was either removed (by Nero?) or damaged, and a second statue (with a different foot posture) inserted. A reinscription (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 281–284, no. 163) of the base mentions the athlete in passing, giving much more prominence to Polykleitos. Such was the fate that, in all likelihood, befell the original of Myron's Discobolos, where the name of the original athletic victor has been effaced, and the statue turned into a 'work of art', for Romans in a new Roman setting.

For there are two successive sets of historical events here, and two corresponding sets of agency relations. First, there is the athletic victor, choosing the best means to perpetuate his fame, either in song or in statuary (or both). It is this, and the highly agonistic 'aristocratic' culture of 5th c. Greece, that is the driving force here (Fisher 2009; see also Duplouy 2006). Both the culture (in general) and the athletic victor (in particular) create a spiraling demand for ever more 'realistic' free-standing sculptures in a medium that can best capture the 'presence' of the victorious, male athletic body – namely, bronze using the lost-wax method. The sculpture (or victory image) 'not only honors and commemorates ... but actually does something as well, acting upon present and future audiences' (Steiner 1998: 146). Sculptors, such as Myron, respond to this demand with varying degrees of success (success which increases their fame as sculptors).

They cast appropriate statues, and set them up, either in the sanctuary where victory has been won, or in the victor's home town. At this stage, the statues are not treated primarily as aesthetic objects – they are extensions of the whole athletic competition in general and victorious athletes in particular.

Then come the Romans. One can debate to what extent Roman generals and aristocrats were intellectually indebted to a Hellenistic 'elite culture of viewing' (Tanner 2006: 205–276), which, if it emerged at all, did so no earlier than the 3rd c. BC. What is undeniable is that it is the Romans who were the most effective looters of Greek sanctuaries and cities from 196 BC onwards. When they looted a sculpture or a panel painting, they sometimes rededicated it in a Roman sanctuary, but they also invariably detached any bronze statuary from its original setting (and stone base). But they also did something else. First, they set up some of the captured statues in Rome with new bases, effacing the name of the original dedicator and deity, but retaining and giving prominence to that of the sculptor, who now for the first time becomes an artist. They then commissioned copies (in marble) of these bronze originals, and set them up, not in sanctuaries, but in houses, villas, and palaces. Here they could be admired for 'aesthetic' reasons which bore little relation to the statues' original purposes. It was in this way that art was invented.

Greek art is still being invented. Objects are discovered, often looted. Art-historical scholarship confers on these newly-found objects a new 'aesthetic' status and identity, one that pays little regard to their *archaeological* context. Corinthian and Athenian painted pottery found in Italy is almost never considered in relation to its ultimate consumers – invariably Etruscans, or some other Italic peoples. Instead, images from Athenian pots and cups are taken into a surreal parallel universe where the necromancers of art history summon them up to speak to us about the politics of the early Athenian democracy (e.g. Neer 2002).

30.5 Conclusion

Agency is not something to be 'applied' to Greek art. Though the concept of agency is ours, it is also clearly congruent with the way in which the Greeks themselves, both in Archaic times and in Pausanias's day, thought about and used objects; and congruent too with the way in which objects 'describe themselves' in their inscriptions and painted labels. In this, it is quite unlike that other concept, 'art', whose application to Greek material culture can only mislead. The utility of

the concept is most easily seen in the case of votives with accompanying inscriptions. More complex agency relations – both fractal and cumulative – emerge when we examine the case of painted Athenian kraters, in scenes which have hitherto been thought of as ‘narrative’. From a Gellian perspective, ‘narrative’ art is not straightforwardly narrative; it does not simply tell a story in pictures. Rather, scenes and painted labels incorporate the agency of mythological figures (whether they be gods, heroes, nymphs, centaurs, hounds, or water jars), who form part of a story, yes, but also part of an ‘assemblage of homunculi’ that can act on past and present users in different ways. Agents can be both human and divine, mythological and real, persons and objects; and agency can be both cumulative (through a succession of entanglements) and fractal; that is, dispersed, on the vase, in the persons in the images, or in the space of the Mediterranean, through the objects bearing the inscriptions Kleitias and Ergotimos, Euphronios and Euxitheos.

Gell’s concept of agency is moreover a major challenge to two assumptions that have dominated the study of Greek art: the aesthetic and the semiotic. A social theory of material culture has no real need for art. And Gell’s concept of agency (though neither post-processualist prehistorians nor post-structuralist classical art historians seem to have realized this) is simply incompatible with the ‘linguistic turn’. Framing the Aphrodite of Praxiteles in the text of pseudo-Lucian, rather than as an idol in her Temple in Knidos, is a fatal epistemological and historical error. Material culture is not text; iconography cannot be ‘read’; and there is nothing at all radical about sprinkling postmodern fairy dust over the traditional objects of classical archaeology and calling the resulting *mélange* ‘classical art history’. Classical art history is archaeology or it is nothing.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Anthony Snodgrass and Susanne Turner for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and the editors (Dimitris Plantzos and Tyler Jo Smith) for inviting me to make this contribution.

FURTHER READING

Gell (1998) remains the key work on agency. Osborne and Tanner (2007) contains many useful essays (particularly the Introduction) exploring the implications of Gell’s approach to (amongst other things) Archaic and Classical Greek art. Smith (2007) is the best contextual study of Classical statues, and explores both their genesis

and their subsequent 'Romanization'. Snodgrass (1998) is the best exposition of the relationship between poetry and imagery in Archaic Greek vase-painting.

PART V

GREEK ART: ANCIENT TO ANTIQUE

CHAPTER 31

Greek Art through Roman Eyes

Michael Squire

31.1 Introduction

Although this book is about ‘Greek art’, by no means all the artifacts discussed are ‘Greek’. For all our talk of Greek sculpture, as Damaskos has shown (Chapter 5), we cannot point to a single certain original work by the likes of Myron, Polykleitos, or Lysippos. Moreover, although we know countless anecdotes about painters such as Polygnotos, Apelles, and Zeuxis, discussed by Plantzos in Chapter 8, no scholar can claim to have clapped eyes on one of their original ‘master paintings’. It is a truth all too rarely acknowledged: that to talk of ‘Greek art’ is to talk in (at best) fragmented sentences.

That we can nevertheless say so much about Greek art is due to the fact that it was esteemed, emulated, and sought after in the Roman world. Many of the objects that we label ‘Greek’ are in fact known to us through and thanks to Rome. Granted, this is not always the case: numerous Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek artifacts were preserved in the contexts where they were originally installed – Archaic kouroi discovered in nearby deposits (e.g. [Figures 5.2](#) and [5.3](#)), architectural relief sculptures preserved on or close to their original buildings (e.g. [Figures 7.1](#) and [7.6](#)), and Attic vases of the 6th through 4th c. (most of them, though, found not in Athens, but in North Italian, Etruscan funerary contexts, e.g. [Plate 2](#)). But objects like these are in the quantitative minority. Whether we think of statues like Polykleitos’s Doryphoros ([Figure 5.4](#)) and Praxiteles’s Knidian Aphrodite ([Figure 5.7](#)), or a celebrated painting like Apelles’s Aphrodite Anadyomene, our knowledge of the Greek is largely mediated through Roman objects, texts, and contexts.

This chapter addresses the Roman mediation of the Greek head-on.

Why the Roman fascination with Greek *nobilis opera* ('masterworks')? What roles and functions did Greek objects serve for Roman viewers? And what does this interweaving of Greek and Roman visual traditions mean for our scholarly histories of Greek art? These are huge questions. My aim here, however, is somewhat narrower in scope: to examine them by way of three rather more manageable material case studies, each from Roman Italy, and each Late Roman Republic/Early Roman Empire in date (i.e. between the 1st c. BC and 1st c. AD). First, I examine a so-called *Tabula Iliaca* ('Iliac tablet') relief; second, the wall-paintings from 'Cubiculum B' of the Villa Farnesina in Rome; and third, the free-standing sculptural groups erected in the seaside grotto at Sperlonga. A final envoi then attempts to weave together some larger conclusions: to ponder what it meant – and continues to mean – to view Greek art through Roman eyes.

31.2 Greek Art as Roman Art, and Vice Versa: The *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*

My first case study is a small marble relief today housed in the Musei Capitolini in Rome (25 cm × 30 cm; [Figure 31.1](#)). It is one of twenty-two tablets that have come to be called *Tabulae Iliacae* ('Iliac tablets'), after the 'Iliac' (i.e. 'Trojan') epic subjects depicted on around half of them. Although we do not know where most of these tablets were found, this particular example seems to come from a large villa, 12 miles southeast of Rome (cf. Squire 2011b: 11–19, 34–39, 148–177; e.g. Horsfall 1979; Brilliant 1984: 53–59; Pollitt 1986: 202–204; Small 2003: 93–96; Valenzuela Montenegro 2004: esp. 22–207).

Figure 31.1 Capitoline Iliac tablet (*Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*). 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD (Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Columbe 316. Photo Scala, Florence).



The lack of more detailed provenance information makes it

difficult to be sure about purpose and function. Still, we can be confident about the tablet's formal composition. To the right, we see twelve friezes, each engaging with a single book of the *Iliad* and laid out from nu to omega (i.e. from Books 13 to 24 of the poem, from bottom to top). On the left is depicted the sack of Troy or *Iliouperis*, referring to another poem attributed to Stesichoros (the poem is today lost, and our knowledge of it is largely dependent upon this tablet); beneath this scene are two further horizontal friezes, depicting two additional Greek epic poems – the *Little Iliad* and the *Aethiopis*. Between the *Iliouperis* and *Iliad* scenes is a pilaster inscribed with 108 miniature lines of Greek text, providing a textual summary of *Iliad* Books 7–24. Although the tablet is broken at the left-hand side, its original appearance is beyond reasonable doubt: there must once have been another pilaster to the left of the extant fragment, summarizing the earlier episodes of the poem (Books 1–7); to the left of that pilaster, moreover, would in turn have appeared another set of horizontal bands, this time depicting the first twelve books of the *Iliad*. The design, in other words, was symmetrical: viewers were offered a miniaturized panorama of Greek epic, evoked in words and pictures alike.

But the question I want to pose of our tablet is this: is it 'Greek', or is it 'Roman'? In terms of subject matter, there can be little doubt: the relief takes viewers not only to Homer, the founding father of all Greek literature, but also to a host of related Greek poems, each cast in the same literary mold. Greek too are the inscriptions – whether on the monumental pilaster, beneath each Iliadic frieze, or within the central *Iliouperis* field. What is more, this particular tablet (like five others) associates itself with a Greek artist: a Greek elegiac couplet inscribed beneath the *Iliouperis* scene (engaging with a Greek literary tradition of epigrams on artworks) relates this object to 'Theodorean *techne*' – that is to say, with the *techne* ('art', 'skill', 'craftsmanship') of a distinctly Greek-sounding 'Theodoros' ('Mr God's-Gift'; Squire 2010a: 84–90; 2011b: 367–370).

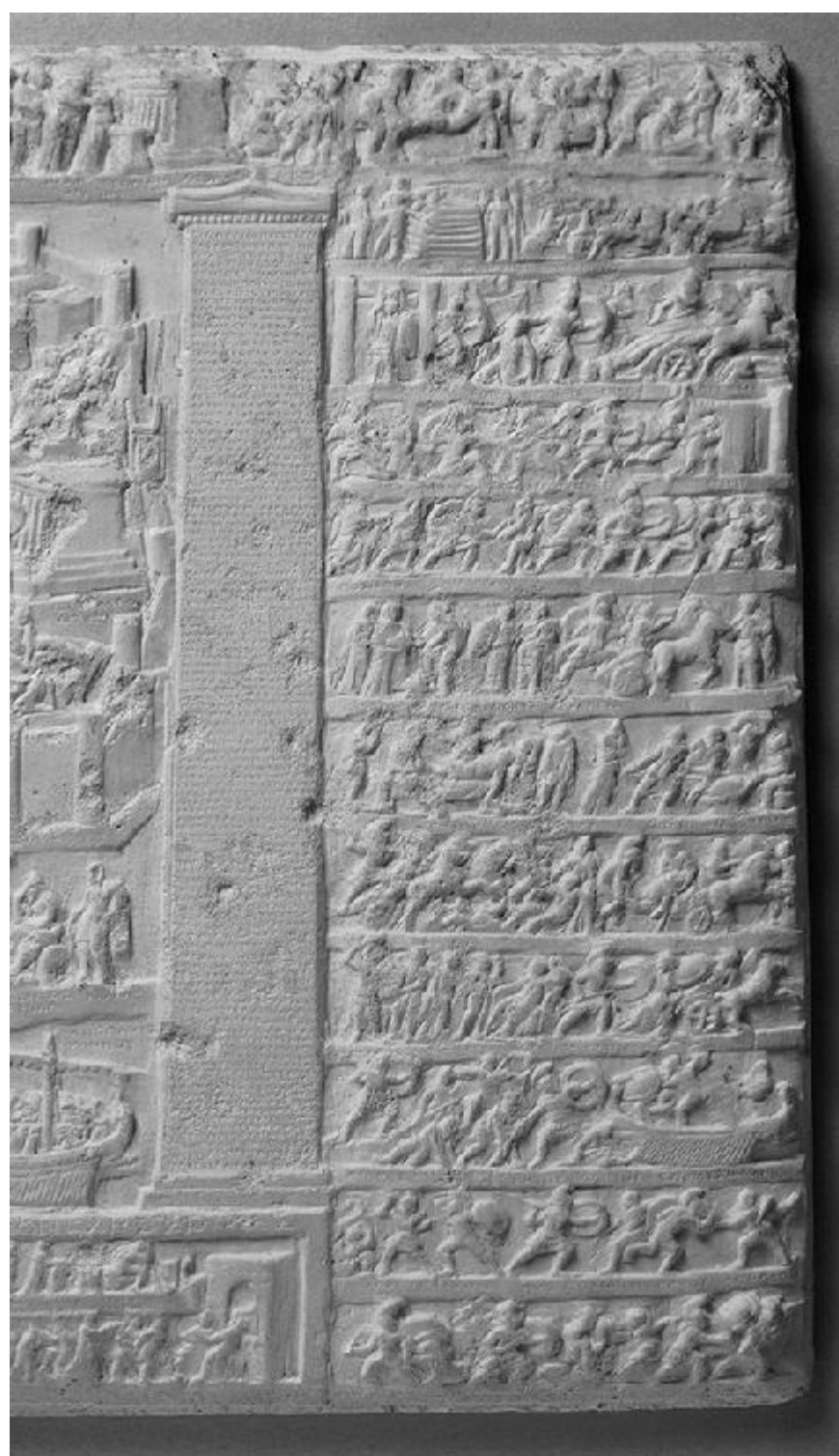
This tablet certainly *looks* 'Greek'. As we have already noted, though, it was found in a villa southeast of Rome, suggesting a distinctly 'Roman' sort of clientele (some have even associated the villa with a well-connected Roman aristocratic family, drawing attention to the other archaeological finds – among them, the Greek-inscribed relief of the Apotheosis of Homer, signed by Archelaos (Figure 22.6), and a copy of an Early Imperial military trophy. The date of our tablet corroborates this picture. Judging from the style of the reliefs and orthography of the writing, we can be confident that the object was crafted sometime between the late 1st c. BC and early 1st c. AD, and other related tablets mention the year AD 15/16

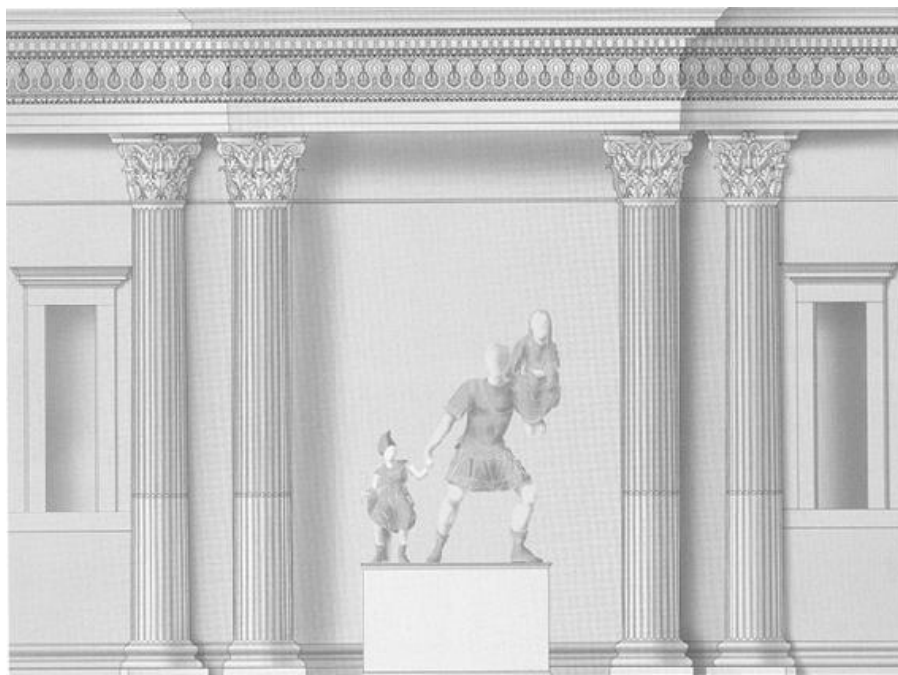
specifically.

For all the conspicuous flaunting of Greek literary themes, then, this tablet is both geographically and chronologically ‘Roman’. This explains some of the Roman cultural, literary, and indeed political allusions amid the visual imagery. Take the scene at the literal and metaphorical heart of the original composition. Here, in the center of the *Ilioupersis* scene, is an iconographic schema with particular contemporary relevance: we see Aeneas, ‘founder’ of Rome, shown escaping Troy with his father Anchises and son Ascanius. True, there are plenty of ‘Greek’ parallels for this schema (the earliest examples stretch all the way back to the Archaic Greek world: cf. *LIMC* 1: 386–390, nos. 59–154). The allusion here, however, seems to be to Augustus’s appropriation of the myth in the last quarter of the 1st c. BC. As founding Roman emperor, Augustus managed to forge a system of one-man rulership out of Roman Republican political machinery. In doing so, however, Augustus founded his own autocracy on the myth of ‘Trojan’ Aeneas – in particular, Aeneas’s pious journey from Troy to Italy (an expedition ‘to the Western Land’, which is in turn depicted at the bottom right-hand corner of the tablet’s *Ilioupersis* scene).

Augustus took the Greek iconography of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius fleeing Troy and turned it into a sort of copy-written logo for his new political regime (Zanker 1988: 201–210). Over seventy images of this type are known from all across the Roman Empire (Aichholzer 1983: 2–29, with nos. 1–73); we even find the schema burlesqued – with Rome’s founding heroes given comic drooping phalluses and grotesque animal bodies (cf. Clarke 2007: 143–147). What all of these images seem to have in common is their visual allusion to the biggest and most famous prototype in Rome: a 4 m statue erected in the Forum of Augustus (Figure 31.2; cf. Galinsky 1996: 197–213; Spannagel 1999: 90–131; Geiger 2008: 117–162). The same prototype seems to be recalled at the center of this tablet, which offers a (miniature) visual citation of that (twice-lifesize) Augustan model. Not only does the relief reproduce the essentials of that schema, it also puts viewers in mind of the Augustan architectural setting: the symmetrical frame of the Forum’s northern exedra is here transformed into central city-gate (Squire 2010b: 318–324; 2011b: 149–153).

Figure 31.2 Reconstruction of the Aeneas, Ascanius, and Anchises statue group, framed in the center of the northern exedra in the Forum of Augustus at Rome, installed towards the end of the 1st c. BC (drawing by Maria Luisa Vitali; photo courtesy of the Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Museum für klassische Abgüsse, Ludwigs-Maximilian-Universität, Munich).





I begin with this case study because it highlights the inherent *problem* of segregating the ‘Greek’ from the ‘Roman’. Although it is academically convenient to wrench the two apart – to teach separate courses on ‘Greek art’ and ‘Roman art’, with separate textbooks to match, managed by separate ‘Hellenist’ and ‘Romanist’ specialists – the Capitoline tablet demonstrates how, in visual terms, the ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ conspire and collude. It will be a recurrent refrain in this chapter that we cannot get to grips with Roman art without first understanding the Greek; moreover, that understanding Greek art means getting to grips with the Roman.

At this point, it is important to say something about the historiography of this issue. Where did the assumption of *separate* artistic traditions come from? One answer to that question is Roman texts themselves – many of them more or less contemporary with our *Tabula* (cf. especially Marvin 2008: 10–15). Latin authors developed a sort of love–hate relationship with Greek art. On the one hand, they present it as alien to Roman preoccupations with expansion, war, and conquest: it is a corrupting *luxuria*, anathema to the ancestral ways of old. On the other hand, Roman writers convey an all-encompassing cultural fascination: Greek art captivates and enthralls. ‘Captured Greece has conquered her savage captor,’ writes Horace in the late 1st c. BC, ‘and introduced her arts to rustic Latium’ (*Epod.* 2.1.156–157). Still more explicit is the *Aeneid* of Vergil – an Augustan Latin epic poem on the exploits of Aeneas, providing a sort of Roman literary

retort to the Greek epics of Homer (interestingly, the poem goes *unmentioned* on the Iliac tablets). Particularly revealing is Vergil's description of an encounter between Aeneas and the ghost of Anchises (*Aen.* 6: 847–853):

Others, I have no doubt, will fashion the breathing bronze with softer mold; others will coax living features out of marble, prove better at pleading their cases, and trace the motions of the heavens with their drawing-rods, predicting the rising of the stars. You, Roman, are to rule the peoples of the Earth with sovereign power. These will be your skills: to establish peace, to impose the rule of peace, and to subdue the proud (Trans. author).

Anchises's 'others' (*alii*) go unnamed here: the Greeks were so renowned for their bronze-casting, marble sculpture, and scientific discoveries that Vergil had no need to mention them specifically. But the *Roman* remit is defined in quite different terms. Not for them the effete artiness of the Greeks; *imperium* is (Augustan) Rome's destiny – which in turn entails ruling over the Greeks themselves.

For a long time, scholars took Latin texts like these at their word (Marvin 2008: 16–167). In the artistic stakes, it has been the Greek that has mattered, not the Roman. Sometimes, academics have tried to rescue certain classes of object as distinctly 'Roman' (specific sorts of portraits, for example historical reliefs, or what an Italian scholar named Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli labeled 'plebeian' art in the 20th c.; Hölscher 2004: xv–xxxi (Elsner)). But the usual reaction has been to use Roman objects simply to get back at lost Greek prototypes. The historiography of this issue is beyond the scope of the present chapter. The crucial figure is Johann Joachim Winckelmann, whose 1764 *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* enshrined a certain ethnic conviction of the Greek being superior to the Roman (see Chapter 35). Suffice it to say that, in Winckelmann's wake, the Greek has been synonymous with the original and good, whereas the Roman has entailed the derivative and bad.

Such residual assumptions could be demonstrated in relation to each of the case studies discussed in this chapter. But it is particularly true of an object like the Capitoline Iliac tablet, which has fallen especially foul of modern-day segregations between the Greek and the Roman. Faced with an object like the Capitoline tablet, the usual response has been to presuppose an earlier Greek 'original' that the relief passively 'copied'. Some have thought it to derive from lost 'illustrated' papyrus rolls of the 2nd c. BC (e.g. Weitzmann 1947: 36–44; 1959: 34–37), while others have deemed it a marble 'Roman' replica of an earlier Hellenistic 'Greek' work in precious metal, ivory,

wood, or even mosaic (e.g. Bua 1971: 23; Kazansky 1997: 74–79; Amedick 1999: 195–205).

Now, we are unlikely to know how ‘original’ an object like the Capitoline tablet proved in the late 1st c. BC or 1st c. AD. But we can nevertheless be sure that the *production* of objects and images did not one day suddenly ‘stop’ being Greek or begin being Roman. We are dealing with a living and continuing artistic tradition. Although classical philologists segregate their subject into subsidiary ‘Greek’ and ‘Latin’ fields, this sort of linguistic segregation simply does not work when thinking about Greco-Roman visual culture. The ethnic, geographical, and cultural stakes are much more complicated.

31.3 Greek Art as Roman Cultural Capital: ‘Cubiculum B’ in the Villa Farnesina

What we have said about scholarly responses to the *Tabulae Iliacae* holds equally true of scholarship on other media. When it comes to free-standing sculpture, for example, 19th c. German scholars invented the category of *Idealplastik* (‘ideal sculpture’) to explain the ‘Greek’ origins of what they deemed ‘Roman’ sculptural derivations: there developed a mode of *Kopienkritik* (‘critique of copies’) and *Meisterforschung* (‘research into [Greek] masterworks’, derived in large part from textual sources), with the objective of finding the supposed ‘original’ behind extant material ‘copies’ (cf. Marvin 2008: 144–150, discussing e.g. Furtwängler 1895 and 1896). The same working methodologies held true for other classes of object as well. A surviving image like the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, for instance (Figure 8.5), was related to a hypothetical Greek prototype, perhaps painted in 3rd or 2nd c. Alexandria (cf. Cohen 1997). Extant frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum were also interpreted in the light of literary references to lost Greek masterworks. By comparing and contrasting surviving paintings of Achilles at Skyros or Medea, could scholars not reconstruct the famous paintings by Athenion and Timomachos, as described by Roman authors like Pliny the Elder (*HN* 35.134, 136)?

This leads neatly to my second case study: the wall-paintings from ‘Cubiculum B’ of the Villa Farnesina in Rome (Bragantini and de Vos 1982; Sanzi di Mino 1998; Wyler 2005, 2006; Platt 2009). Rather than discuss (Greek) ‘originals’ and (Roman) ‘copies’, I introduce this room

to begin thinking about *how* visual languages could be appropriated within the private, domestic sphere. Why turn to Greek models? What did Greek art connote to Roman viewers? And how did Roman patrons exploit Greek prototypes for their own social, political, and cultural ends?

The Villa Farnesina is a particularly good scenario for addressing these questions because of its context in the heart of Rome. The ancient house was discovered in the grounds of a Renaissance villa on the banks of the River Tiber in Trastevere (the Villa della Farnesina – hence the name of the ancient site). Whether or not (as some maintain) the villa belonged to Agrippa, Augustus’s son-in-law and confidant, it certainly dates from around the 20s BC (Beyen 1948; Platt 2009: 42–43, n. 5). Although only part of the structure survives, we can be sure that the villa was kitted out in all the latest (and most expensive) fashions, with different rooms even painted in their own, individually themed way.

My chosen detail provides just one example (Figure 31.3). It comes from ‘Cubiculum B’ – a fairly long and thin room just the other side of a covered cryptoporticus, with a single entrance at its eastern end. The flat, two-dimensional space of the wall is here made to imitate a series of architectural trappings. In the center we see a painted *aedicula* alcove, containing within it a turquoise-tinted landscape (the subject is usually interpreted as the nymph Leukothea nursing the baby Dionysos); above the cornice are further fantastic figures, incorporated within protruding and receding niches; above these – at the top of the extant section – we can just about make out the remains of still more panel paintings (*pinakes* in Greek), their wooden frames opened so as to expose the precious pictures within. Crowning the room, a series of stucco reliefs once decorated the vaulted ceiling: this Tetris-style assemblage of quadrangular, paneled scenes depicted an additional range of landscape and sacro-idyllic subjects, this time in monochrome, three-dimensional relief.

Figure 31.3 Rome, Villa Farnesina. Detail from the frescoed wall of ‘Cubiculum B’ (west end). Late 1st c. BC (Museo Nazionale Romano, (Palazzo Massimo alle Terme), Rome. Photo Scala, Florence/Luciano Romano – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



What is particularly interesting about this room is its self-conscious resort to a spectrum of iconic styles and forms (Bergmann 1995: 102–107). So far as we can tell, the allusions are not to specific, nameable pieces. Instead the frescoes summon up a collective ambience of Greek pictorial fantasy – of countless imaginary works jostling for our attention. This is true not only of the framed scene at the center of our detail (immersing the wall within a windowed wash of delicate technicolor), but also of the framed images to the lower left and right. Both of these depict female musicians, painted against a white background: the creamy mimic a make-believe marble medium – rhyming with the pallid creams of the fluted columns, pediment, and dado rail; although the figures themselves are painted in gentle outline, their clothing and attributes are bathed in soft patches of yellow, blue, and green. Whether the palette, style, and ornamental frame are deliberately reminiscent of 5th c. Attic painted lekythoi (e.g. [Figure 3.7](#)) or not (as seems more likely), there can be no denying the knowing Greek dress (both pairs are clothed in chiton and himation) and musical instruments; by the same token, the slightly rigid formal compositions recall the sorts of pairings to be found on Classical Attic funerary stelai of the 5th and 4th c. BC (e.g. [Figure 5.6](#)).

If there are individual allusions to particular Greek styles, media, and forms at work here, the overall ensemble recalls a Greek gallery of paintings or *pinacotheca*; the wall grants pretend visual access to a

host of individual framed pinakes. In this connection, the recourse to illusionistic make-believe – the *trompe l'oeil* architecture that is the trademark of the so-called ‘Second Style’ of Pompeian wall-painting – itself pays tribute to a Greek tradition of theorizing pictorial representation, whereby painting is understood as a mimetic mirror of visible reality. One might recall, for example, the famous story of the painting competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasios, mentioned in Chapter 8, in which Parrhasios’s *trompe l'oeil* painting of a curtain trumped Zeuxis’s painted grapes (Plin. *HN* 35.64–65). In the Villa Farnesina, the scenographic *jeu d’esprit* plays out that Greek artistic quest for pictorial make-believe. At the same time, the scenes also resonate with other aspects of contemporary art criticism. Perhaps the very depiction of *musical* subjects, for example, might have had a rhetorical significance all of its own. True to a Greek dictum that ‘painting is silent poetry, and poetry speaking painting’ (attributed to Simonides, 6th c. BC), these musical pictures arguably raise questions about the relationship between things *seen* and things *heard*.

All this gives our cubiculum a distinctly Greek-sounding impression. And yet – and this point is crucial – not everything depicted here is ‘Greek’. Look more carefully, and we find that the frescoes incorporate other cultural symbols and allusions. In the center of the facing wall (as indeed in the upper registers of [Figure 31.4](#)), for example, are fantastic figures bearing *non-Greek* attributes: an emblazoned statue of a horned Zeus Ammon protruding out of an ornate, semi-iconic stand; an exotic Isis with distinctive *sistrum* wand. This assemblage, in other words, goes *beyond* the Greek in its various visual references.

Figure 31.4 Rome, Villa Farnesina. ‘Cubiculum B’. (Museo Nazionale Romano, (Palazzo Massimo alle Terme), Rome. Photo Scala, Florence/Luciano Romano – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



How, then, were viewers to put these *multiple* visual cultural references together? In one sense, a painted wall like this may be said to figure an overarching story about Roman Imperial control, order, and subjugation. Everything is organized in due symmetrical arrangement; even fantastic *monstra* join in and prop up the facade (the winged sirens of the lower register, for example, or the various cupids and fairy-like figures towards the top—just where *are* the boundaries between reality and fiction?). The overriding suggestion is of *continuity* between the Greek and the Roman. But the self-conscious juxtaposition of stylistic modes, iconographies, and genres – some old, others new; some decidedly Greek, others much more exotic in origin and cultural resonance – all this also contributes to a sense of retrospection and rupture. It is a classic case of having one's cake and eating it; of flaunting the Greek, certainly, and yet of simultaneously also claiming some sort of cultural removal. While Roman art cashes in on the cultural capital of the Greek, it also goes beyond it. The Greek forms only *part* of a Roman Imperial artistic investment.

In this connection, it is worth asking who painted a room like this. The Villa Farnesina is especially interesting here because ‘Cubiculum D’ preserves a rare signature scratched amid its plaster paintings: *Seleukos epoiei* – ‘Seleukos made it’ (Sanzi di Mino 1998: 59, fig. 72; Wyler 2006: 216). This might be a Roman house, perhaps even owned by a Roman political bigwig. But it is nevertheless signed – in Greek – by a Greek-sounding artist (someone from the ‘Seleucid’ East?). As with the ‘Theodorean’ artist of the Iliac tablet (Figure 31.1), our painter identifies himself as a speaker of Greek rather than Latin. Like ‘Theodoros’, moreover, this ‘Seleukos’ makes no attempt to transliterate his name into Latin.

The same scenario holds true all over Roman Italy (cf. Stewart 2008: 10–38). Not only do the vast majority of recorded Late Republican/Imperial artists have Greek-sounding names, Greek was evidently the *lingua franca* for penning a response to a picture (cf. the Greek epigrams painted/inscribed in the House of the Epigrams at Pompeii or the so-called ‘House of Propertius’ at Assisi, discussed in Squire 2009: 176–189, 239–293). The same goes for inscriptions on free-standing sculpture. In the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, for example, a bronze bust of Polykleitos’s Doryphoros was signed in Greek by ‘Apollonios of Athens’ (the Greek origin underscoring the Greek name; cf. Mattusch 2005: 276–278); by the same logic, a much later 3rd c. AD copy of Lysippos’s Herakles set up in Rome’s Baths of Caracalla was inscribed ‘Glykon the Athenian made [it]’ (*Glykon Athenaios epoise*; Marvin 1983: 367–368). Such signatures are enlightening because, despite (or perhaps because of?) the famous Greek master artists (‘Polykleitos’, ‘Lysippos’, etc.), they privilege the name of the modern-day copyist (‘Seleukos’, ‘Apollonios’, ‘Glykon’, etc.).

We shall never know the real identity of ‘Seleukos’, or for that matter of ‘Theodoros’, ‘Apollonios’, and ‘Glykon’. But there is more at stake in these signatures than simple onomastics. It is for this reason that, even when craftsmen *did* have Latinate names, they often chose to transliterate them into Greek. Gem-inscriptions provide a neat example of the phenomenon. Not only did Roman Imperial cutters frequently adopt the pseudonyms of celebrated Greek sculptors (‘Myron’, ‘Pheidias’, ‘Skopas’, etc.; Squire 2011b: 291–300), the seven preserved signatures that do have Latin- rather than Greek-sounding names are all transliterated *back* into Greek (cf. Zwierlein-Diehl 2005; Marvin 2008: 186–190). By this token, a gem-engraver named ‘Felix’ (a common name for a Roman freed slave) becomes ΦΗΛΙΞ, just as ‘Quintus’ is transcribed as ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ. Whatever the reality of artistic production, Roman consumers wanted their artifacts – and artisans – to *appear* Greek: just as in the Villa Farnesina, knowing one’s art

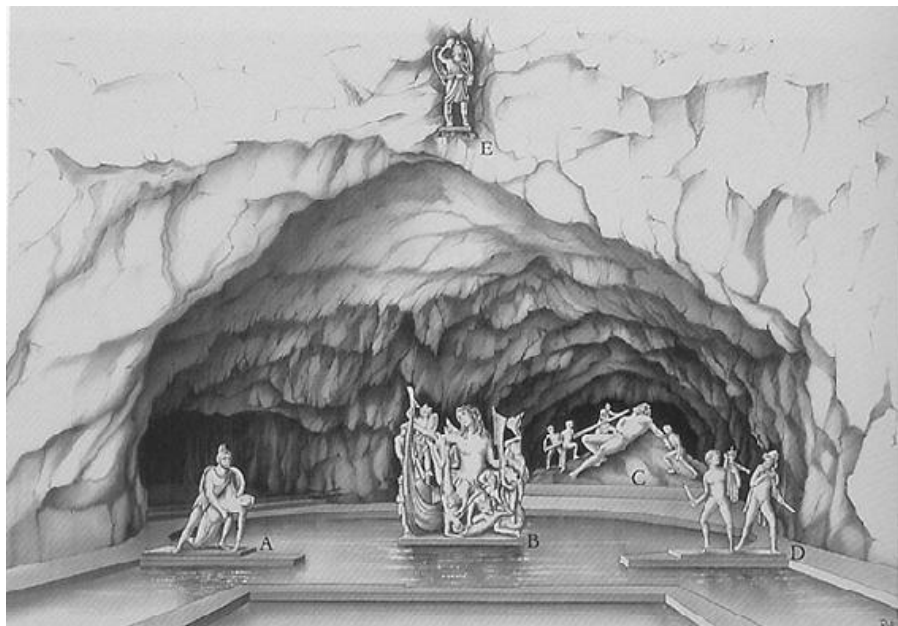
31.4 Greek Art and Roman Decor: The Sperlonga Grotto

So far this chapter has focused almost exclusively on material and archaeological case studies. But to understand Greek art through Roman eyes, scholars have also looked to literary texts. Ken Lapatin has already analyzed the rich array of art-historical writings known to us, written in both Latin and Greek (see Chapter 14), among them: the final books of Pliny's *Natural History* (long sections of which are dedicated to individual artists in particular media), Quintilian's *The Orator's Education* (with elaborate analogies of different styles), and Vitruvius's *On Architecture* (which illuminates Roman ideas not just about Greek architecture, but also about sculpture and Early Imperial wall-painting). The overriding impression is of a Roman elite very much au fait with the A-List of Greek sculptors and painters (cf. Henderson 2002; Tanner 2006: 205–276). Indeed, some Latin authors went so far as to send up the associated rhetoric of art criticism. When the lead character of Petronius's *Satyricon* finds himself in a *pinacotheca*, for example, the author parodies the Roman cultural capital of knowing one's Apelles from one's Zeuxis (cf. Slater 1987; Elsner 2007a: 177–199).

Just occasionally, we come across archaeological materials that seem to correspond with literary testimonia directly. One such scenario is to be found in my third case study: the statue groups set up in the seaside grotto at Sperlonga, about ten miles south of Terracina, on the Via Appia, which ran from Rome to Naples (Stewart 1977; Beard and Henderson 2001: 74–82; Kuttner 2003). The statues were discovered in 1957, smashed into thousands of tiny pieces. Careful restoration has identified a number of principal groups ([Figure 31.5](#)); each was installed in a single seaside cave, attached via a series of pools and channels to an elaborate *triclinium* dining-room (Salza Prina Ricotti 1979: 130–148; Kuttner 2003: 117–119). Architectural indications suggest that the grotto was restored around 30 BC, although debate rages about the sculptural groups themselves – with some maintaining that they are earlier ‘original’ Greek works, others that they are copies, perhaps even slightly later in date (Ridgway 2000a; Weis 2000: 137–139). Exactly who owned this villa remains uncertain. The most likely candidate is the Emperor Tiberius (ruled AD 14–37), following two references in the works of Tacitus and

Suetonius (*Ann.* 4.59 and *Tib.* 39; cf. Lavagne 1988: 515–558).

Figure 31.5 Reconstruction of the sculptural groups in the Sperlonga grotto, as seen from the island *triclinium* (reconstruction by G. Lattanzi, after Conticello and Andrae 1974: fig. 11, modified; photo by the author).



Immediately after they were first found in 1957, what particularly fascinated about these statues was a single signature inscription (Andrae 1988: 69–134; Kunze 1996: 139–165; Settis 1999: 27–40; Pollitt 2000: 99–102). The text was appended to a statue of Scylla shown attacking the ship of Odysseus (Figure 31.6). On a plaque grafted to the ship's tiller was a Greek text stating that 'Athanadoros son of Hagesandros, Hagesandros son of Paionios, and Polydoros son of Polydoros, all from Rhodes, made [this]'. The Greek names and medium tally with what we have already said about the identity of artists in Imperial Rome: the Roman kudos of owning a statue like this lay (at least in part) in the explicit claim that it was Greek. What was special about these particular artists, though, was that the same trio is accredited with one of antiquity's most famous statues: the Laokoon (Ridgway 2002: 76–80). Discussing the Laokoon – which may or may not be the same group that was discovered in Rome in 1506, and is now on display in the Vatican Museums – Pliny, as noted in Chapter 14, labeled it 'a work to be favored above all other works of painting and bronze sculpture' (*HN* 36.37). He then added the name of the sculptors (transliterating their Greek names into Latin): 'Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, all from Rhodes'. The correspondence

with the Sperlonga finds appeared truly remarkable. Were these not the same sculptors who had signed the Sperlonga Scylla? There followed all sorts of claims about Rhodian workshops, family relations, and Italian distribution (Conticello and Andreae 1974; cf. Isager 1995; Pollitt 2000). So influential was Pliny, indeed, that the earliest reconstructions of the Scylla Group restored the pieces into a lookalike of the Laokoon.

Figure 31.6 Sperlonga, marble sculpture. Scylla Group. c. 30 BC
(Sperlonga, Archaeological Museum. © 2011. Photo Scala, Florence).



I, for one, am skeptical about a direct relation between the Laokoon and the Sperlonga sculptures. But whatever the truth of the artistic origin, the signature testifies to the cultural capital of Greek names. What is most striking about the Scylla inscription, moreover, is its resort to patronymics. The statue's Greek credentials score a double whammy by emphasizing the pukka Greek lineage (each Rhodian artist descended from *other* Rhodian artists, two of them with the same name).

Rather than speculate about Greek artistic origins, I want to use this third case study to revisit issues of Roman consumption. Sperlonga provides a unique opportunity here. Whereas our Capitoline Iliac tablet was small, light, and mobile – a sort of laptop or Kindle that could be transported to a variety of different places (Squire 2011b: 247–302) – the Sperlonga sculptures were deliberately installed in *this* specific location. And although we cannot be sure of the sorts of activities that went on in a room like the *cubiculum* of the

Villa Farnesina, Sperlonga's attached *triclinium* confirms that the cave was intended first and foremost as an elaborate space for dining.

So why choose these particular sculptural subjects, and why install them in this specific context? The *triclinium* setting was evidently crucial here. The rationale was surely to spice up one's dinner by serving up a piece of epic theater: the aforementioned Scylla Group on a floating stand at the grotto's center; the so-called 'Pasquino Group' (a helmeted warrior carrying the naked corpse of a companion) to the left and the statue of Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the Trojan Palladion to the right; and the drunk and recumbent cyclops Polyphemos installed within a rear recess – with Odysseus and three companions preparing the wooden stake to drive through Polyphemos's eye. There was erudite conversation to be had in putting these sculptural subjects together, and in attempting to reconcile them with other themes besides (Neudecker 1988: 220–223; Cassieri 2000: 61–112): a ship bearing the Latin inscription of 'the ship Argo' (the famed vessel of Jason and his Argonauts) just to the north of the *triclinium*, for example; a statue of Ganymede seized by an eagle; and a shallow marble relief of Venus and Cupid. It was the *questions* of interpretation that ultimately mattered. Was there a single story to be told? If so, what was the underlying theme? Did interpretations change as viewers got up close and personal among the sculptures (walking/rowing around them rather than viewing them from the insular safety of the *triclinium*, for instance)?

With these questions in mind, it is worth drawing attention to two aspects of the Sperlonga installation in particular. The first is the recourse to the drunken Polyphemos in the rear cave. Polyphemos was the ultimate in bad hospitality. Rather than feed his guests, the cyclops fed on them, belching up the flesh and blood of Odysseus's companions and washing them down with excessive wine. Polyphemos's epically uncivilized behavior – and its comeuppance – must have nuanced the dining extravaganza in course. If the group served up an *anti*-paradigm of host–guest relations, it also tendered a sort of threat or warning: if nothing else, drink within your limits!

A second feature was perhaps no less important. As guests puzzled over the sculptures both individually and together, they must have been reminded of numerous literary texts. In this sense, the Sperlonga assemblage is a sort of large-scale 'big brother' to the Iliac tablet (Figure 31.1). Rather than take viewers to Homer and the Trojan Epic Cycle alone, however, the Sperlonga groups put them in mind of all sorts of different variants (for a bibliographic review, see Squire 2009: 209–220). True, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are undeniably one source for this Disney-style 'Homer-land' scenography. But finding textual parallels was never quite so easy. Does the Pasquino Group, for

example, depict Menelaos carrying Patroklos, Ajax carrying Achilles, Odysseus carrying Ajax, or for that matter Aeneas carrying Lausus (there are arguments for each interpretation)? Does the pairing of the Scylla and Polyphemos episodes remind one of Books 9 and 12 of the *Odyssey*, or of Ovidian and Vergilian retellings (e.g. the mythological pairing of the two events at *Aeneid* 1.200–3)? And how to square all this with *other* narrative strands visualized in the cave – the heroic exploits of the Argonauts, for example, or the statue of Ganymede seized by the eagle?

Readers of this book may come up with their own answers to those questions. During the course of the Sperlonga *cena* or dinner-party, though, it was the questions themselves that were to be savored. And over a very long time span. We can be fairly confident, for example, that the cave continued as a site for sculptural display late into Late Antiquity. By around the 4th c. AD, we even find a ten-line inscribed epigram about the sculptures in high, epic-sounding Latin hexameters (Squire 2007, 2009: 202–238). Not only does that poem reflect upon the relative resources of poetry and the visual arts, it also attempts to impose an exclusively Vergilian take on the subjects displayed. It invites viewers to look again as readers – and this time to see an explicitly Vergilian rationale behind the pictures.

The Sperlonga grotto therefore exemplifies something fundamental about Roman appropriations of Greek art – namely, the careful matching of subjects, themes, and styles to suit particular spaces, contexts, and social functions. Whether or not the Sperlonga sculptures can be associated with the character traits of the presupposed owner (e.g. Stewart 1977), they were clearly deemed appropriate during the Roman *cena*. Other sorts of domestic spaces would no doubt have required different themes. And archaeology teaches us as much. Not for nothing, for example, were the quiet reading spaces within the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum filled with the inscribed portraits of Greek philosophers (allowing one to read the extensive texts from the villa's library amid the silent panoply of busts; cf. Mattusch 2005: 289–295); as others have argued, moreover, the walls of Pompeian houses were often painted with an eye to complementary mythological themes – often infringing upon the specific rituals of a given room (cf. Bergmann 1994). Roman patrons were not simply passive consumers of Greek art but rather selected subjects and styles to fit the specific requirements of a given scenario. Better, perhaps, Roman patrons were heir to earlier Hellenistic practices of artistic patronage, collection, and display. Taking artworks out of established Greek civic and cultic contexts, they pondered as to how most effectively to install them within the *private* and *domestic* realm (Tanner 2006: 277–302).

Once again, Roman authors voiced this concern explicitly (Marvin 2008: 218–247). Discussing the Carian city of Alabanda, Vitruvius notes how magistrates broke the normal conventions of sculptural display – erecting statues of discus-throwers in the public forum, for example, and (vice versa) setting up sculptures of lawyers in the gymnasium (*De. Arch.* 7.4.5). Cicero’s letters testify to the same preoccupation even earlier in the 1st c. BC (cf. Marvin 1993: 161–167). The various correspondences between Cicero and his art agents champion the ‘appropriateness’ (*decor*) of an image above all else. When M. Fadius Gallus forgot that priority in 61 BC, Cicero penned the following reprimand (*Fam.* 23.2):

Of all your purchases, Gallus, there is none that I really want. You, however, in ignorance of my principles, bought these four or five statues for more than I would pay for the whole collection of statuary in the world. You compare these Bacchantes to Mettelus’s Muses. What is the similarity, exactly? To begin with, I would never have reckoned those Muses worth so much (and all the Muses would have agreed with me!). Still, at least the Muses would have been suitable for a library and in keeping with my literary pursuits. But these Bacchantes, where is there a place for them in my house? They are pretty little figures, I know: I am well acquainted with them and have often seen them before; had I approved of them, I would have specifically commissioned to buy statues that I had already known. For it is my custom to buy the sorts of statues that, decorating my palaestra, give the semblance of a gymnasium. But a statue of Mars? What good is that to me, the advocate of *peace*? (Trans. author).

It was not just the extortionate price that angered Cicero about these sculptures. It was also their subjects. How could Cicero install revelrous Bacchantes in a library? Had Gallus forgotten who Cicero was? What good was a sculpted god of *war* for a man pushing for *reconciliation*? Just like our patron at Sperlonga, Cicero evidently thought long and hard about what sculptures to display, and indeed where to display them.

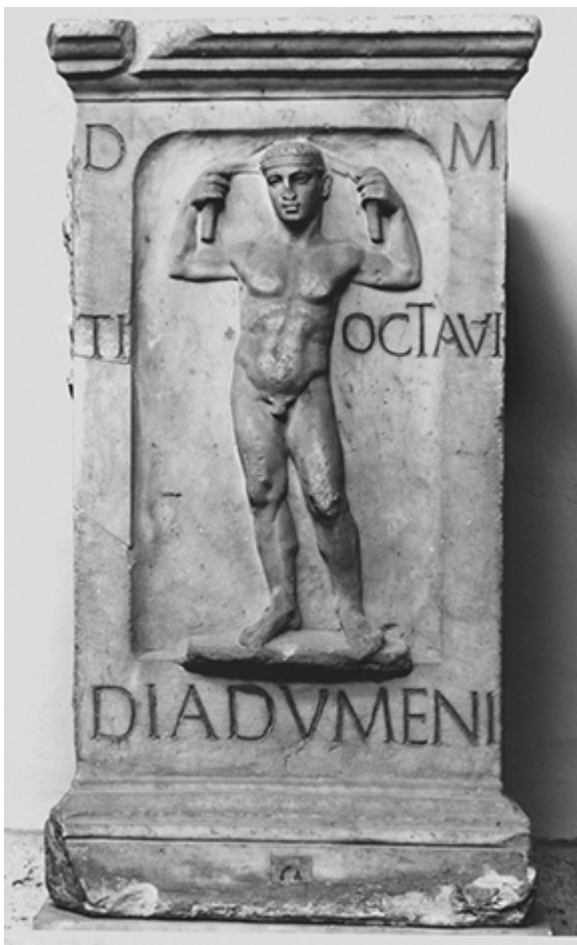
31.5 Conclusion: Greek Art through Roman Eyes

This chapter has presented a miniature survey of a very large topic. It has used three individual case studies to demonstrate three

overarching points about Greek art through Roman eyes: first, the intermingling of the ‘Greek’ and the ‘Roman’; second, the high cultural connotations of Greek art; and third, the considerations of setting and context – choosing particular themes and subjects to suit particular places and occasions. Where most 19th and 20th c. scholars tended to characterize Roman patrons as passive and uncritical consumers of the Greek, I have tried to sketch a two-way relationship between them. Postmodern perspectives have led us to rethink our simplistic language of ‘originals’ and ‘copies’; by the same token, postcolonial interests have reoriented scholarly concerns away from artistic production, back towards the moment of reception and consumption – of how Roman viewers themselves contributed to the meanings constructed out of Greek artistic prototypes.

In the interests of space, this discussion has been limited to 1st c. BC/AD Rome and its environs. Needless to say, attitudes towards Greek art were never static, but varied according to space and time. The category of the ‘Roman’ was as diverse as the Roman Empire itself. Were we to look further afield to 1st c. Aphrodisias in modern-day Turkey, or for that matter 3rd c. AD Attic sarcophagi or the mosaics and sculptures of 4th c. Roman Britain, however, many of the same conclusions would nonetheless stand fast. Wherever we turn, we find Roman patrons using Greek prototypes for their own cultural ends; they engaged *creatively* with Greek artistic traditions, tempering them to suit their particular social, political, and cultural needs. This self-conscious play with artistic subjects, iconographies, and styles is something that we find across all manner of media (e.g. Newby 2002 on Hadrianic ‘Spada reliefs’; Elsner 2007a: 88–109 and Squire 2009: 300–356 on images of Ariadne and Polyphemos, respectively). But it also applies across a fairly broad social spectrum. Even a relatively humble monument like a 2nd c. AD grave altar from Rome could afford a highbrow Greek art-historical pun – whereby the name of the deceased ‘Tiberius Octavius Diadoumenos’ is assimilated with Polykleitos’s sculpted Diadoumenos of the same name (Figure 31.7).

Figure 31.7 Marble grave altar. Tiberius Octavius Diadoumenos. c. AD 100–130 (Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere 7a (inv. 1142). Photo Singer, D-DAI-ROM-72.587).



Although this chapter has focused on Greek art in the private sphere, its general findings are also relevant for thinking about Roman public and monumental art history. Just as Roman patrons pondered the appropriateness of certain installations in certain spaces, Roman leaders could rely upon viewers' internalized knowledge of Greek artistic forms. It was not just a question of exploiting Greek subjects and iconographies; it was also a matter of referring to different Greek styles (cf. Squire 2011a: 133–141 on the body of the 'Prima Porta' Augustus). One German scholar has subsequently talked of Roman art as a sort of 'visual language' (*Bildsprache*), premised upon a knowing appreciation of different Greek artistic styles. According to Tonio Hölscher, Roman viewers associated different expressive forms with different subjects, themes, and abstract qualities (Hölscher 2004). By this logic, a monument like the Augustan Ara Pacis derived Roman political meaning via its multifarious Greek stylistic allusions (Hölscher 2004: 76–82; cf. Hölscher 2006). But even this might be said to oversimplify; as we saw of the Villa Farnesina, Roman art was

always a rather more cosmopolitan affair, nodding to traditions *beyond* the Greek (Elsner 2006: 273–276).

Allow me to end, though, on a different note. Each of the case studies examined in this chapter has previously been used in an effort to reconstruct not Roman but Greek art history. In each case, issues of Roman reception have been peeled away in the attempt to get back to the (‘earlier’, ‘pure’, ‘original’) Greek. I hope to have demonstrated something different: not just how Greek precedents influenced the Roman, but also how Roman appropriations shape our retrospective understandings of the Greek. From Rome’s creative copies of sculptural and painted works, through its pre-selection of subjects, styles, and media, to the histories and treatises written by Latin authors, Rome has mediated *how* we reconstruct Greek sculpture and painting. Like it or not, our views of both Greek and Roman art are each bound up in the cultural terms of the other. We too look at Greek art through Roman eyes.

FURTHER READING

The most important English-language attempt to rethink Greek art through Roman eyes is Ridgway (1984). Inspired in part by the postmodern concern with consumption and reception over production and origins, a number of studies have followed suit. Especially important are Marvin (1993 and 1997), reworked into Marvin (2008). See also Gazda (1995a, 1995b, 2002), Beard and Henderson (2001), Stewart (2003: esp. 223–260), Perry (2005), and Kousser (2008). Trimble and Elsner (2006b) provide a stimulating one-stop introduction to the themes and their historiography; for a German-language response, see Junker and Stähli (2008). While most studies have focused on Roman sculpture, Bergmann (1995) has been particularly influential in rethinking how wall-paintings exploited earlier Greek models and myths, focusing on a single Pompeian example; see also Bergmann (1996, 1999) and Lorenz (2008).

Some of the most important ancient literary sources are collected and translated in Pollitt (1983: esp. 76–79 for extracts from Cicero’s letters). For a discussion of how these sources relate to the ‘impact of Greek art on Rome’, see Pollitt (1978), as well as Jucker (1950: 46–86), Boschung (1989), Bergmann (1995), and Celani (1998).

Regarding the many Roman appropriations of Greek subjects, iconographies, and styles, the key volume is Hölscher (1987), translated into English as Hölscher (2004). For some methodological criticisms and responses, see Elsner (2006). More generally on the ‘intertextuality’ (or rather ‘intervisuality’?) of Roman allusions to the

Greek, compare Fullerton (1997) and (2003) – derived in part from the author's important work on 'Archaizing' styles in Roman sculpture (Fullerton 1990). For the Augustan political appropriations of the Greek, Zanker (1988) is key. But there are numerous other studies (especially in relation to Roman portraiture): for example, Elsner (1995: 159–172), Stevenson (1998), Hallett (1995), and Tanner (2006: 277–302).

CHAPTER 32

Greek Art in Late Antiquity and Byzantium

Anthony Kaldellis

32.1 Introduction

‘Greek’ art gradually disappeared as the Hellenistic world became part of the Roman Empire. It is unclear whether we can even speak of ‘Greeks’ in Late Antiquity, given that the historical context had become thoroughly Roman and was increasingly becoming Christian as well. The Greek-speaking inhabitants of the empire had not only been assimilated into a Roman legal order, with their civic, social, and economic lives fully integrated into Roman modes, but had taken on Roman identities that, with few exceptions, wiped out Hellenic distinctiveness: ‘we’ are now the Romans in texts written in Greek, and no one called himself a Greek, at least not in any sense recognizable in antiquity. Scholars read the literature of the 2nd c. AD in terms of Greek culture versus Roman power, but that dynamic had largely disappeared by the 4th c. Henceforth, Greek culture was an attribute and function of Roman life. Even if the themes and trends of ancient art continued to shape artistic production, it is properly discussed under the rubric of Late Imperial, Late Antique, or Byzantine art. Our focus, therefore, should be not on the distinctive artistic products of these ‘post-classical’ phases of history, but more on the reception of ancient Greek art, whose presence still defined both cities and countryside. This chapter, then, aims to benefit scholars of Greek art who wonder what its fate was in Byzantium more than specialists in Byzantine culture, but it is addressed to both groups.

The fate of Greek art in Late Antiquity was shaped by a number of factors, among them changing patterns in the use and

commercialization of urban public spaces; the appropriation of statues and architectural elements for private use by individuals whose power was based on the enlarged Late Imperial hierarchy and could overwhelm local interests; destructive barbarian raids (the passage of the Heruls through Greece in the 3rd c. and Alaric's Goths in the late 4th left many cities in ruins); and the monumental needs of the new imperial capital, Constantinople, which created new contexts and new meanings for the ancient art that was shipped there (see below). But by far the most important factor that shaped the reception of Greek art was the Christianization of the empire. Much of Greek art was religious in origin or use, or celebrated values to which the new faith was either hostile or indifferent. This resulted, infamously, in the widespread destruction or disfigurement of ancient representations of the gods (regardless of the medium) and of their temples, acts that were meant to either remove a source of religious pollution or symbolically demonstrate the triumph of Christianity. In other cases it led to a neglect that had equally deleterious effects. But this hostile attitude was by no means dominant. There is abundant parallel evidence for the positive valorization and preservation of Greek art, for aesthetic, cultural, and political reasons. These two approaches had different theological roots.

Early Christians never fully decided whether the ancient gods were evil demons who had actively seduced humanity away from the worship of the one true God or whether they were merely figments of the human imagination. The first belief was more likely to lead to acts of pious destruction or desecration of the images that housed these demons, while the second allowed the revaluation of religious images and architecture in aesthetic terms as 'art'. Two contrasting examples from the same period reflect this difference. The court of Theodosios I generally colluded with or ignored acts of violence against pagan shrines, and in AD 391 it mediated an end to a standoff over the Serapeion in Alexandria. When the Christians finally burst inside, one of our sources reports that they were initially afraid to touch the statue because of the widespread belief that to do so would cause the earth to crack and the sky to fall, until a soldier struck it on the jaw with an axe (Rufinus, *Ecclesiastical History* 11.23) (in other texts, holy men exorcized the demons from deserted shrines, while apotropaic crosses were carved on the foreheads of busts and statues, and images were ritually disfigured so as to negate their malevolent power). But at the same time, Theodosios issued an edict protecting a temple in the East and its statues, 'which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity' (*artis pretio quam divinitate*), provided they were not the epicenters of any religious disturbances (which is how the emperor justified the destruction of the Serapeion; *Cod.*

Theod. 16.10.8).

Moreover, starting with Constantine, the emperors had been filling the avenues, plazas, and public baths of Constantinople with statues of Greek gods and statesmen, as well as other dedicatory objects of symbolic value such as the Serpent Column from Delphi ([Figure 32.1](#)), and ‘private’ collections are also attested. The citizens of the capital did not go about their lives in fear of demons. As we will see, they could ascribe positive values to these objects. In general, one might say that it was not until the conversion of the Roman world to Christianity that such formerly devotional objects were fully treated as ‘art’; that is when they ceased to have any religious function and were appreciated and valued aesthetically *in spite* of their tainted past. The same complex dynamic played out in the reception of ancient literature, with hardline Christians arguing for its complete rejection. They did not prevail over those who found ways to value it in a Christian context and preserve it for its distinct virtues, which were understood not to be Christian virtues. But this was also a period when Greek monuments and art were sources of pride for most cities in the East, which is why they were used to enhance the streets and porticoes of Constantinople, and ‘tourism’ is attested in the 4th c., especially for places such as Troy, Sparta, and Athens. It comes perhaps as a bit of a surprise to learn that Jerome, a man who had nightmares about his excessive devotion to classical literature, had stopped at Athens on his journey East, mounted the Acropolis, and even tested his strength against a large bronze ball set there for athletes (*Commentary on Zachariah* 12.3). At the time, the site was thoroughly pagan.

Figure 32.1 Constantinople. Drawing of the hippodrome, featuring the Serpent Column from Delphi and the Egyptian obelisk. 16th c. AD (DAI Istanbul Neg. No. KB 02600/Nasuli 1546/47).



The problem that we face in dealing with this apparent schizophrenia is that there was a bias in favor of the production of ‘demonological’ narratives featuring supernatural combat and the triumphant vanquishing of the Enemy, in part because so many of our sources were written as religious polemics. They tended to highlight the extremist wing of Christian opinion, so we cannot be sure that the attitudes that they championed were dominant or even that the events that they record really happened. In some cases we can catch them in the act of distorting history. Eusebios of Caesarea, for example, one of the first theorists of Christian empire, praised Constantine as an ideal emperor and warrior against idolatry. But this was inconsistent with the mass transfer of statues of the gods to the new capital, so he lamely claimed that Constantine intended to ridicule them by putting them on public display (*Vit. Const.* 3.54). This was certainly not true. Unfortunately, imperial planners left us with no record or explanation for their actions, just as our narrative texts tend to focus on exceptional moments rather than things just staying the same in the relatively small cities of Greece. Also, mention of demons in these texts has proven useful to modern historians who wish to emphasize discontinuity between Greece and Byzantium, a topic that in some contexts has definite political undertones, as it also proved useful to early modern collectors of antiquities, who cited the (alleged) belief in demons to prove that ‘the locals’ had no true appreciation of what was being taken from them. We should treat these narratives with care.

To give a striking example of the contrast between what our sources deem fit to report or ignore and what we should regard as a

major change in policy, it seems that Constantine confiscated the gold and silver objects that were stored in many temples in the East, melting them to stabilize the currency and pay sundry expenses (Jones 1964: 92). Putting this bullion into circulation made economic sense, though it resulted in the destruction of a great deal of ancient art, and not only religious art given that temples functioned as museums of general interest. But again we have no memo explaining the pragmatic motives of this major policy, only scattered allusions in sources that are interested in scoring other kinds of rhetorical points.

To provide continuity with the other chapters of this volume, it would be interesting to survey what happened in Athens specifically during Late Antiquity and Byzantium, but also to look at Constantinople, because so much evidence survives from there (more than can be discussed here) and because it was the center of Byzantine civilization. But let us first look briefly at those who lost the struggle for Greek art, namely the pagans who still used much of it for religious purposes.

Despite increasingly draconian imperial prohibitions starting in the 4th c., in many places, including Greece, pagan cult continued into the age of Justinian. During this long defeat, pagans had to adjust the ways in which they used and perceived their sacred art. In the oration that he wrote for Theodosios to protest the destruction of temples and statues by monks, Libanios demanded that pagans' freedom of worship be protected. He formally denied that blood sacrifice was being performed (it was illegal) and even appealed to the aesthetic criteria that he knew could move Christians. For example, he expressed outrage at the destruction of a bronze statue of Asklepios 'in the guise of Alkibiades'. No sacrifices were being offered to it, but 'in art it imitated nature and such was its beauty that one could gaze upon it all day long' (*Or.* 30.22). Statues still survived in many temples, especially in Greece where no organized monastic movement is attested until the middle Byzantine period, but worship had to adjust to the new context. There is textual and archaeological evidence that worship centering on statues gradually moved to private residences. Obviously the larger temple statues, such as that of Athena in the Parthenon, could not be transported and used for this purpose. But they continued to be productive in the imagination. Pagan legend had it that when Alaric approached Athens he saw Athena, in her Promachos guise, standing on the walls with Achilles, and so declined to attack (Zos. 5.6). In an age of imperial retrenchment, some pagan theorists attributed defeat to the removal of protective talismanic objects from temples, walls, and even the imperial border, or hoped that pagan *palladia* would protect Constantinople from attack. They, at least, did not view it as a 'Christian city' (see below). Meanwhile, the

Platonist philosophers relied on ways of contacting the divine through images and other sacred objects that did not involve sacrifice, through rituals that promoted the ideal of ‘theurgy’. Ancient statues often served as the conduits for these cosmic forces.

32.2 Athens

The prestige, history, and socioeconomic profile of Athens as a ‘university town’ made it different from any other city in the empire. Moreover, mainland Greece remained attached to traditional religion long after other places had converted, and Justinian had to intervene directly to close the pagan schools in AD 529. Late Antique and Early Byzantine Greece seems to have produced no Christian holy men, and there was little violent disruption on the religious front. The statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous was smashed to pieces (cf. [Figure 22.1](#)), and the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis was also destroyed, but that was all (and the motive in the latter case may not have been religious). Far greater destruction was wrought by the Heruls, Goths, and possibly Vandals (archaeology has revealed that Alaric was not that afraid of Athena after all). Athens was otherwise crammed full of statues and temples, as St Paul had complained during his visit, and there was no question of clearing all that away. In fact, lanterns continued to be produced depicting Greek gods into the 7th c. AD, which may have been used and appreciated by Christians too. Athenian Christianity was practiced in the midst of this classical culture. The cathedral of the early 5th c. may have been the tetraconch church built in the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian ([Figure 32.2](#)) – and the Tower of the Winds may have been its baptistery. The Parthenon was converted into a church in the 480s, and it became the city’s cathedral (Kaldellis 2009). Sooner or later, the city’s entire monumental center was Christianized. It must be stressed that this entailed minimal architectural changes, compared at least to the way temples were being treated elsewhere.

Figure 32.2 Athens, the tetraconch church. 5th c. AD (photo: A. Kaldellis).



Cult statues were cleared away or removed to Constantinople. But there was no systematic purge. The Temple of Athena Nike was not converted into a chapel, nor, whatever its use during the Byzantine millennium, was it (or the sculptures on its frieze depicting battles and Greek gods) harmed. The Parthenon was a more complicated case. Three-fourths of the metopes were disfigured, all except those on the south side and one in the northwest corner that represented Hera and Athena (Boardman 1985: fig. 87, no. 32), apparently because its form resembled the Annunciation scene between Gabriel and the Virgin (the Christian Parthenon was rededicated to the Virgin). It was apparently possible to read Christian narratives into these ancient images (what scholars call *interpretatio Christiana*; see Chapter 33). This act of destruction is often taken as emblematic by those who emphasize discontinuity or Christian hostility to classical culture. But we do not know when it was done or by whom. It could have been anytime before the mid 15th c., even by the Latin rulers of Athens after the Fourth Crusade (1204–1456). Moreover, it was the act of but one moment. In contrast, there was the survival of the pediment sculptures, most of which remained in place down to the early modern period. The Parthenon was the only Byzantine church above whose entrance stood unmistakable statues of Athena, Poseidon, and other gods. Unfortunately, while we have many texts that relate to the Christian Parthenon, none mentions these sculptures or offers a hint as to their interpretation. What did Christian Athenians think of these gods? One possibility is that the Greek gods on the outside of the temple and the mosaics and icons of the Virgin and saints inside configured the architecture of Byzantine ideology, which admired the classics but held them to come ‘from outside’ or to lie ‘outside the doors’ of the Christian community.

There are indications that the inhabitants of Byzantine cities took

pride in their local antiquities. At Athens, the evidence is extensive, and a major source is the works of Bishop Michael Choniates (c. 1138–c. 1222). When he arrived from Constantinople, he was given a tour of the city before taking up residence in the Propylaia. His guides boasted of the city's famous monuments and locations, even if they could not identify them correctly. This is when we first learn that the choragic Monument of Lysikrates ([Figure 28.8](#)) was being called the Lantern of Demosthenes, based on a passage in Plutarch's *Life*. It also seems that sometime before AD 1100 the custodians of the Parthenon equipped their church with an ever-burning lamp modeled on the one that Pausanias describes for the Temple of Athena Polias. Ecclesiastical art of this period featured sculpted sphinxes and centaurs, and one classical funerary relief was endowed with Byzantine ivy decoration. Both civic pride and Christian cult, then, were enhanced by monuments and artifacts that were crafted or interpreted on the basis of ancient sources. The unique church of the Gorgoepikoos, today known as 'the Little Metropolis' consists almost entirely of reused Classical and Byzantine blocks and sculpted elements ([Figure 32.3](#)). It has now been conclusively dated to after the mid 15th c. and interpreted as an expression of pride by the Christian community, now under Muslim rule, in their Classical and Byzantine heritage (Kiilerich 2005). There are no references to demons in the abundant record for Byzantine Athens. The preservation of the city's prestigious monuments and past inflected the 'triumph of Christianity' there in an idiosyncratic way.

Figure 32.3 Athens, the Gorgoepikoos. 15th c. AD (photo: A. Kaldellis).



32.3 Constantinople

Constantinople has conventionally been called ‘a Christian capital’ by modern historians, but the term has been questioned as an anachronism. It would have meant little at the time of the city’s foundation. Constantinople was above all an imperial capital; there is, in fact, almost no reliable evidence of Christian building by Constantine himself. The fact that the city contained many displays and even collections of Greek art and statuary reinforces this conclusion (Bassett 2004). Such objects had always served to promote Roman grandeur. In this case, they buttressed the claim of Constantinople to rule over the eastern provinces: their grandeur represented the best that the provinces had to offer, but it was also the provinces’ tribute to the capital. There were complaints of despoliation. Jerome punned that the city ‘was adorned by the *nudity* of almost all other cities’, referring both to the statues themselves and the stripping bare of the other cities (*Chron. s.a.* 324). But the specific

artworks had more specific associations too, and acquired new ones in the complex culture of the eastern capital.

One of the most studied objects is the Serpent Column from Delphi, which still partially survives in the remains of the hippodrome ([Figure 32.1](#)), and whose history can be reconstructed through its mention in the sources (Madden 1992; Stichel 1997). This originally celebrated the Greek victory in the Persian Wars and it is possible that, in imperial eyes, it highlighted the theme of triumph over Persia in a time of renewed conflict with the Sasanian empire. Later, however, it was also believed to be a talisman against snakes (as were other ancient statues of animals about the city, one of which, an eagle clutching a snake, was allegedly established by Apollonios of Tyana). Pipes were placed inside the column so that it could be used as a fountain, and perhaps this was why it was spared by the Crusaders after 1204. But the column did not stand alone in the hippodrome *spina*; it was part of a rich ensemble that included a Herakles by Lysippos, the Roman Wolf with Romulus and Remus, an Egyptian obelisk, and statues of athletes, gods, animals, and monsters. The meaning of this ensemble evolved in connection with the functions of the hippodrome itself: as a stage for the display of the universal dominion of the emperor; for the succession of New Rome and its rule over the eastern provinces; and, above all, for the victory and competition associated with the games. The Dioskouroi, statues of whom stood in the porticoes, were the patron ‘saints’ of the races. In fact, the hippodrome’s layout, monuments, colors, elements, and numerology were interpreted by some astrologically, as a model of the cosmos. Magical (usually apotropaic) properties were associated with specific objects over the centuries, which contributed to their preservation or, in some cases, their mutilation (when their power was seen as baneful). Some statues were believed to be linked to the fates of nations or individuals, and were treated or interpreted accordingly (for example, when accidents befell them). It is reported that during an invasion by barbarians in the 9th c., the patriarch Ioannes Grammatikos had a three-headed bronze statue in the hippodrome struck by three men while he chanted incantations: two of the heads fell off, whereupon two of the three barbarian leaders died (Theophanes Continuatus in Bekker 1838: 156–157). But of course the historicity of this tale is doubtful, as it was meant to cast the disgraced iconoclast patriarch as a magician.

There were other collections of ancient statuary in Constantinople. The most famous was that in the Zeuxippos Baths, containing at least eighty statues, the subject of a long poetic *ekphrasis* by Christodoros of Koptos, probably meant for recitation onsite in c. 501 (it is the second book of the *Greek Anthology*; Kaldellis 2007). The collection had a

prominent Trojan theme, which evoked the association of (New) Rome with Troy. It was destroyed in the fires of the Nika Riots in AD 532 (though two inscribed bases have survived). Another important collection, which was also destroyed by fire, in AD 475, was the one belonging to Lausus. It was a private initiative but open to the public and included famous works such as Pheidias's chryselephantine Olympian Zeus, an Archaic Athena from Lindos, Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos (Figure 5.7), a Samian Hera, and other gods and beasts. It is hard to interpret this collection, but an episode from the patriarchate of Gennadios (AD 458–471) illustrates how such images affected the contemporary imagination: a painter's hands withered when he made an icon of Christ modeled on the iconography of Zeus (but he was healed by the patriarch; Theodoros Anagnostes in Hansen 1971: 107–108). The Forum of Constantine was another focal point of the city's symbolic and political life that was framed by ancient works of art, including a reused colossal bronze statue of the emperor standing atop his porphyry column (at the highest point of the city, in fact); the (Trojan) Palladion beneath the base of the column, allegedly brought by Constantine from Rome, which guaranteed the inviolability of the city (or so the pagan community believed); and a 30-foot-tall bronze Athena that stood outside the senate house in the forum.

The main collections were made during the 4th and 5th c. AD, though many were destroyed during the 5th and 6th c. Additions were made later, but they must have been a trickle by comparison. The Cow of Myron was moved to Constantinople from Rome in the late 540s (Corso 2001). A late collector of ancient art was the 11th c. polymath and courtier Michael Psellos, who asked governors of Greece to send him choice pieces and wrote a short work explaining an ancient relief with a fragmentary inscription for the benefit of the emperor Michael VII (according to him, it depicted Odysseus and Kirke and the inscription was about *moly*; Angelidi 2005).

Let us return to the statue of Athena outside the senate. The modern discussion has focused on whether it could have been one of Pheidias's from Athens, the Promachos or the Parthenos. Opinion today is generally against both options. The statue was described in the 10th c. by Konstantinos of Rhodes (who says it was from Lindos) in his *ekphrasis* of the (mostly Byzantine) monuments of Constantinople. In his account of the senate, Konstantinos notes that its great bronze doors were taken from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos and depicted the Battle of Gods and Giants. He offers an evocative description of the battle but notes that its subject matter belonged to the folly of the pagan Greeks. He then comments on what he calls the beautiful statue of Athena, noting the helmet, gorgon, and snakes, and again commenting on the deceit of the pagans (Legrand

1896). This poem allows us to make three points. First, it was not only statues and dedications (such as the Serpent Column) that graced the boulevards and public spaces of Constantinople, but also large-scale architectural elements such as bronze doors. Some of the doors and columns of Hagia Sophia had an ancient provenance. Not everyone would have been aware of this, and even those who were would not have been able to tell a Classical provenance apart from a Hellenistic or Imperial Roman one.

Second, Konstantinos's aesthetic judgment on these images, which was a positive one, conflicted with his religious verdict. This points to the fundamental tension within Byzantine culture as a whole and its reception of antiquity, as we have seen. Some had a wholly negative religious response, and others a wholly positive aesthetic one, though always depending on context and genre.

Third, Greek art present in the capital became an occasional topic for the composition of rhetorical *ekphraseis* and other literature. It is mentioned, sometimes even described, in chronicles, but takes center stage in the works of local antiquarianism, known as the *Patria*. In particular, a text from the 8th c., the *Parastaseis Synomoi Chronikai*, is a gazetteer of sorts of the statues in the capital, telling odd little stories about them which highlight their strange and ironic powers (Cameron and Herrin 1984; James 1996). This was long considered a work of superstition and ignorance, given its fanciful view of history and general inaccuracy, but it can also be seen as a parody of a scholarly text, a hoax along the lines of the *Historia Augusta* (of the late 4th c.). It should be used with caution. At any rate, the writers, artists, and rulers of Constantinople lived in an urban environment rich with classical images that they were free to deploy and use as they saw fit, in either symbolic, literary, or magical ways. When, in the 12th c., they really began to compare their contemporaries to figures of myth and ancient history, they often did so with direct experience of specific images. Even unicorns were on display and informed writers' ethnographic accounts of distant and exotic places (Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.11).

We can tie these themes together with the statue of Athena by turning to the historian Niketas Choniates (the brother of Michael, Bishop of Athens), who narrated the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Choniates itemized the artworks destroyed by the Crusaders in their greed and savagery. He laments their destruction and is a major source for the survival of ancient art to that point (*History* 647–655). He provides an *ekphrasis* of the statue of Athena in the forum because it was foolishly destroyed by the Byzantines themselves in 1203, as it seemed to be beckoning on the Crusaders. Choniates was not one to spare his fellow Romans from

criticism, and here, far from having a religious bias against the statue, he castigates the mob for attacking the patron goddess of courage and prudence (*History* 558–559). He used the fate of ancient artwork to expose both the foolishness of the Romans and the savagery of the Latins. He also had contempt for the superstitious beliefs that many held regarding these images (Papamastorakis 2009).

In short, there is no single master narrative – whether demonological, magical, aesthetic, literary, or political – driving the late antique and Byzantine reception of Greek art. Each of these factors played a role at different times and in different contexts, but one thing can be said for all of them: the Byzantines did clearly value ancient Greek art and found many ways to ascribe meaning to it. In the end, however, it was a finite, nonrenewable resource, and much of what was not buried under the earth for archaeologists to find was gradually destroyed by religious violence, wars, and fires. The antiquities of Athens survived in better shape down to the onset of the modern period than those of Constantinople.

FURTHER READING

For Late Antique and Byzantine attitudes toward ancient art, see Mango (1963), emphasizing demons. Saradi-Mendelovici (1990), Corso (2001), and Deligiannakis (2008) cover the use of pagan images by a Christian magistrate, as do many of the papers in Hahn et al. (2008) and Eliav et al. (2008). For different approaches to destruction in Late Antiquity, consult Stewart (1999) and Sauer (2003); and for spoliation in a Mediterranean context, see Greenhalgh (2009). Athens specifically is dealt with by Kaldellis (2009); and for collections of antiquities, Lepelley (1994). Bassett (2004) is recommended for Constantinople, but for individual objects, collections, and primary sources, see the main text above.

CHAPTER 33

The Antique Legacy from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment

Jill Johnson Deupi

33.1 Introduction

Embracing everything from philology to philosophy, aesthetics to theology, Greece's polyvalent legacy evolved radically between the onset of the Middle Ages and the end of the 18th c. Beginning with the earnest, if somewhat guarded, colonization of ancient texts by Late Medieval scholastics, writings from antiquity were revived with remarkable energy and vigor by Renaissance Neo-Platonists and their followers. By the Age of Enlightenment, such works – as well as, indeed, the related commentaries they spawned – were regarded as the bedrock of any civilized education; *de rigueur* in the 18th c. for anyone aspiring to the esteemed quality of *virtù* (Redford 2008: 183, n. 4). Practitioners, critics, and consumers of the visual arts in the periods under discussion were equally captivated by the antique canon: from Nicola Pisano's (c. 1225–c. 1284) tentative inclusion of Herakles cum Fortitude in his justly-famed pulpit for the Pisan Baptistery (Figure 33.1) to the overt embrace of Aphrodite and her cohorts during the luxuriant age of the Rococo, the inhabitants of Mounts Olympos and Parnassos proved not only alluring – both aesthetically and intellectually – but also flexible enough, in formal and iconographic terms, to serve a nearly limitless array of needs and desires (Weiss 1969: 14; Greenhalgh 1978: 69–72).

Figure 33.1 Nicola Pisano, *Fortitude*. 1260 (Pisa, Baptistery. Photo Scala, Florence).



Such malleability lies at the heart of this essay, which charts the course of antiquity's legacy in mainstream Western European art and culture through a survey of key moments in the history of classicism between the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment. Before launching into this overview, however, it is necessary to define terms and set parameters. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a 'legacy' is 'anything handed down by an ancestor or predecessor'. Thus understood, the word implies an unbroken chain – a bequest uninterrupted by temporal or physical ruptures. That is certainly not the case here, for the inheritances of ancient Greece not only transgressed regional boundaries but varied widely in intensity, reception, and absorption according to time and place. 'Legacy', in its canonical form, similarly implies an identifiable testator, be it an individual or a class of persons. Again, this understanding is far too limited for the discussion at hand. In the days when archaeology was not yet a true science and historiography was still in its infancy, 'antiquity' was a rather nebulous concept, with the boundary

separating ancient Greece and Rome proving particularly permeable. As Joselyn Godwin has insightfully observed, '[t]he fifteenth-century public had no better idea of ancient chronology [...] than the general public today: antique was antique, and that was that' (Godwin 2002: 55). Thus two very distinct cultures were crudely elided, particularly during those moments when the fever for all things antique raged. It is for these reasons that in this essay, 'antiquity's legacy' is used as a synecdoche for the inheritances of ancient Greece and Rome, understood in fairly broad terms. To do otherwise – to impose modern archaeological precepts and imperatives for the sake of purity – would be nothing more than rhetorical posturing.

33.2 The Medieval Period

The Middle Ages in the Latin West were much more tightly bound to antiquity than later critics and commentators would have dared imagine. While it is true that the '[p]ersonifications of localities, natural phenomena, human emotions, and abstract concepts as well as such familiar products of classical imagination as Victories, *putti*, Tritons and Nereids' (Panofsky 1960: 50) had been eviscerated from Christian art as early as the 7th c., this apparent rejection of antiquity's forms was not as seamless – nor as definitive – as it may, at first blush, appear. Rome, in particular, clung fast to the remnants of her ancient heritage, even after successive 'barbaric' invasions in the Late Antique and Early Medieval periods brought the city to its knees. The Eternal City's legacy, however, was tempered by important components of Hellenistic culture, elements whose infiltration was particularly potent in the 7th and 8th c. when the election of a string of Sicilian popes strengthened Italy's tie to Byzantium. This interest in Hellenism, and the Antique generally, was by no means confined to papal Rome. Indeed, one of the earliest high-water marks in the history of classical revivals was reached in the Frankish domains of Charlemagne (742–815) during the late 8th and early 9th c., when the languishing culture of the ancients was embraced with new energy and enthusiasm. A series of smaller revivals followed in the 10th c. during the successive reigns of the three Germanic King Ottos (I: 962–973; II: 967–983; and III: 996–1002).

Historians continue to grapple with the details of these micro-renaissances. What is irrefutable, however, is the fact that these small, self-contained efforts at recovery and revival preserved a kernel of the Greco-Roman legacy for future renewal and reinvigoration (Weiss 1969: 3). Nowhere was this more apparent than in the so-called

‘proto-Renaissance’ of the *dugento*. Unlike the short-lived ‘Carolingian Renaissance’ and the even briefer ‘Ottonian Renaissance’, the cultural events of the 12th c. resonated much more deeply, above all in Italy, where they spilled over into the 13th c. before flowering into the canonical Renaissance of the *quattrocento*.

Antiquity’s persistent legacy in Medieval Europe should not come as a great shock, for the Continent’s classical heritage was never, in fact, terribly distant, either literally or metaphorically. As W.S. Heckscher noted in 1938:

Medieval thinkers were convinced that they themselves were still citizens of the empire which had been founded by Augustus. Though they were eager to assimilate in their historical constructions all available accounts of events from the creation of the world down to their own present, political history to them meant first of all Roman, post-Republican history (205).

Borrowing in the Middle Ages, however, was quite selective. It was also frequently marked by a clear disregard for the ancients’ carefully contrived dialogues between form and function (Panofsky and Saxl 1933: 228). Such distortion may be attributed, in part, to a conscientious desire to cleanse antiquity of its idolatrous associations. A carefully calibrated *interpretatio Christiana* proved particularly efficacious in this regard, for it held the power to convert pagan relics into *tabulae rasae* upon which liturgical dogma could be scripted. Thus, though forms remained intact, meanings could be radically altered, as in the frequently cited transformation of Orpheus into Christ as the Good Shepherd or Perseus into David. In such cases, ‘Christian themes not only assumed the prestige of long history and of ancient prefiguration, but doubting neophytes were weaned away from the orientalised mystery cults such as the Orphic and Bacchic’ (Miner 1939: 67).

Such cooption was not always driven by a Christian imperative: formal beauty could prove equally motivating. Aphrodite, for instance, was an apt model for the Blessed Virgin Mary not only because the ‘colonization’ of the pagan goddess of love allowed Christian artists to claim her idealized forms for God but also because she was the embodiment of canonical feminine beauty. Medieval designers and manuscript illuminators followed suit by transforming images of ancient writers and philosophers into Christian Evangelists, or choosing deliberately to incorporate antique details and ornaments into their works (Miner 1939: 61). Fitting models existed, so why not use them?

Borrowing occurred on a literal level as well, as physical fragments were routinely recycled for contemporary building projects. Abbot

Suger (c. 1081–1151), for example, famously toyed with the idea of integrating columns from the Roman Baths of Diocletian into the Abbey Church of St Denis (Suger 1979: 91). Though Suger's grand designs ultimately were frustrated, others' were not. *Spolia*, great and small, were included in Medieval architecture and design enterprises with a frequency that belies a simple paucity of raw materials. Working in tandem with such practical concerns as necessity and ready availability (ancient Rome, after all, proved a ready marble quarry for the ages that followed) were the same sorts of spiritual and aesthetic impulses suggested above.

The Middle Ages engaged in this same ambivalent flirtation with ancient texts. Running the gamut from assimilation to annihilation, one of three divergent fates awaited the vestiges of antiquity's written legacy. Those that bore no appreciable taint of heresy were faithfully transcribed or translated, not just once but, for more important texts, many times over. Works deemed heretical, however, were publicly immolated, victims of a Christian routing. Somewhere in between lay a great swathe of heterogeneous works that were absorbed into the canon, whether under a Christian pretext or not. For these works, form and meaning again were frequently unbound, as with the early 14th c. *Ovid moralisé*.

Such variable responses illustrate the potency of Panofsky's 'principle of disjunction', described by the eminent scholar thus:

[W]herever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its form from a classical model, this form is almost invariably invested with a nonclassical, normally Christian, significance; wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its theme from classical poetry, legend, history or mythology, this theme is quite invariably presented in a nonclassical, normally contemporary form (1960: 84).

As Panofsky suggests, and the contemporary writings of St Augustine and others confirm, the Medieval mind regarded Greco-Roman tradition as something to be judiciously culled. The result was a somewhat messy legacy, by turns both static and malleable.

An enduring interest in antiquity during the Middle Ages was by no means limited to derivative or mimetic examples. Authentic gems, cameos, and small antiquities were regularly used as decorative embellishments or incorporated into personal seals and emblems (Weiss 1969: 11). Sarcophagi and inscriptions were also greatly prized, not only for their material value but also for their cultural cachet: the former provided ennobling tombs for Christian saints, martyrs, and Church leaders, while the latter – like ancient texts – increasingly were admired for what they had to say, both literally and

metaphorically, above all in the Renaissance. There were, however, very clear differences between the accommodation and absorption of antique culture in the Middle Ages and in the ages that followed.

33.3 The Renaissance

If the term *imitatio* may justly be used to describe the actions of Medieval craftsmen and writers as they faced off with antiquity, *renovatio* is surely an apt characterization of their Renaissance counterparts, particularly in Italy. For while the Middle Ages disassembled ancient remains in an effort to recycle, reiterate, and reinterpret what they found most fitting, 15th c. artists and theoreticians focused on reintegration. This new imperative stemmed from the cognitive changes and attitudinal adjustments associated with Renaissance humanism; shifts marked by a new worldliness, a growing interest in foreign travel, scientific advancement (including, most saliently, achievements in the field of archaeology *avant la lettre*), and the related resurrection of antique culture. Florence, frequently cited as the birthplace of the Renaissance in Italy, emerged as the cynosure of these remarkable trends, in large measure because of the singular men who were drawn there in the *quattrocento*. Fully invested in the brilliant legacy of Petrarch (1304–1374), progressive humanists such as Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Luigi Marsigli (d. 1394) carried the torch of classical learning forward; beyond merely championing the ongoing study of Latin, however, these men and their followers also promoted the inheritances of ancient Greece.

This paradigm shift was aptly characterized in a letter penned by Salutati, who, in his capacity as the chancellor of Florence, invited the Greek scholar Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355–1415) to Florence as the city's scholar in residence. Salutati noted:

Moved by this opinion [that the intellectual heritage of Roman Florence was ultimately derived from that of the ancient Greeks], wishing that our youth may drink from both founts, mixing Greek things with Latin to obtain a richer teaching, we have decided to enlist someone expert in both tongues who can teach Greek to our people and to adorn the university of the flourishing city of Florence with these advantages and splendours (Gherardi 1881: 365).

The rapprochement between East and West was given further impetus in July 1439 when a decree uniting all Christians was signed at the Council of Florence (Gill 1959). Further fueling the mounting interest in Hellenism was the presence of high-profile classical scholars in

Florence in the latter half of 15th c.: men such as John Argyropoulos (1415–1487), Angelo Ambrogini ('Politian', 1454–1494), and Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), the most influential translator of the period.

In Rome, too, an interest in the intellectual and material remains of ancient Greece and Rome, which had been germinating for more than a century, burst into full bloom in the latter half of the 15th c. The unanticipated election of Nicolas V Parentucelli (p. 1447–1455) was particularly propitious in this regard, for the new pope brought with him a determination to reinstate the Eternal City as the spiritual and cultural capital of the western world. To achieve this lofty end, Parentucelli tapped into the powerful legacy of Imperial cultural propaganda. Determined to make the Vatican the permanent seat of the papacy, he focused on rebuilding St Peter's Basilica on a grand scale. Nicolas also founded a library with works in Latin and Greek, in addition to employing the Hellenist Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406–1457) as his notary. The Pontiff's achievements in the realm of urban renewal were equally significant: he drove new avenues through Rome, buttressed the city's fortifications, and restored its languishing water supply (Westfall 1974). Beyond rendering the Eternal City safer and more beautiful, Parentucelli intended his monumental undertakings to conjure up the achievements of the Caesars. Such works were, accordingly, intended as testaments to the newly solidified power and glory of both papal Rome and, by extension, the *Respublica Christiana* (Stinger 1998: 83–155).

The majority of Nicholas V's successors were keen to follow suit, perhaps none more so than Sixtus IV della Rovere (p. 1471–1484) and his nephew Julius II (p. 1503–1513). Paradigmatic in this context is the latter's triumphal entry into Rome on March 28, 1507 on the heels of his important victory over Giampaolo Baglioni (c. 1470–1520). Nicholas's return – purposefully scheduled to coincide with Palm Sunday – began, predictably enough, with a Mass at Santa Maria del Popolo, a church particularly associated with the della Rovere family. A procession down the Via del Corso, carefully scripted to emulate Imperial victory parades in all their known particulars, followed (Stinger 1998: 235–238). The message trumpeted by these events was clear: the Pope, like Caesar Augustus more than a millennium and a half earlier, was both *princeps civitatis* and *Pontifex Maximus*, with his capital – Rome – once again claiming for itself the title of *caput mundi*.

Further binding della Rovere to the ancients were the commemorative medals he had minted to immortalize his lavishly trumpeted victory (Stinger 1998: 236–238). Here, too, one finds the Pontiff making deliberate allusion to Imperial triumphs. He was also participating in an important revival that had been under way since at least 1390, when Francesco Novello da Carrara, Lord of Padua (1359–

1405), memorialized his great martial exploits ‘on the pattern of the imperial bronze *sesterces*, showing his bust in the garb of a Roman Emperor’ (Weiss 1969: 53). Like ancient gems and coins, medals were extremely portable. Facsimiles were also relatively easy to produce, particularly those made of plaster rather than bronze or precious metal. With their contained production costs, such pieces were perfectly poised to increase the range of distribution of *all’antica* emblems and ornaments. Not surprisingly, collectors and antiquarians were fascinated by these objects, both Renaissance derivatives and of course ancient originals. Beyond their simple material value, these objects were bearers of great cultural capital. As Barkan explains, ‘they [were] aesthetically pleasing, they [required] expert philological and historical knowledge to be properly deciphered; they [were] understood as the objects par excellence of exemplarity, to be contemplated by rulers so that they [understood] the proper uses of power as sanctioned by the ancients’ (1999: 28).

Artists were no more immune to the multifaceted charms of coins and medallions than popes and princes. Giorgio Vasari, in his *Life of Lorenzo Ghiberti*, tells how the latter ‘delighted in counterfeiting the dies of ancient medals’ (Vasari 1996: I. 290). This interest was of a piece with the extant vogue for prints and drawings after the Antique. It also accorded well with the growing taste for bronze statuettes in the 15th c. Testaments to this new trend are manifold. In the 1440s, for instance, Antonio di Pietro Averlino (‘Filarete’, c. 1400–c. 1469) created a small-scale bronze equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius in direct emulation of the famed ancient exemplar then on display in the courtyard of Rome’s San Giovanni in Laterano. By the mid-1490s, Piero Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi (c. 1460–1528) – a sculptor who, tellingly, bore the nickname ‘*antico*’ – was regularly producing small-scale bronze replicas of classical works in Rome, including his own rendition of the aforementioned Marcus Aurelius.

While coins, gems, and medallions drew the admiring gazes of artists and antiquarians, counts, and cardinals, nothing could replace the prestige of large-scale statuary (Figure 33.2). Rome’s building boom of the late 14th and early 15th c. simultaneously stimulated and satiated the gnawing hunger for such pieces, since construction necessitated excavation and excavation unearthed new finds. These fortuitous circumstances enabled patrons of costly building projects to fill their grand new halls with recently discovered antique remains, which of course only heightened the frenzied competition for more. The commotion surrounding the unearthing of the Laocoon, discovered on January 14, 1506 (see Chapter 31), is instructive on this point. Francesco da Sangallo (1494–1576), son of the more famous Giuliano (c. 1443–1516), wrote a telling account of this electrifying

event some sixty years later:

Figure 33.2 Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), *Garden of the Casa Galli*. 1532–1535 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Photo Scala, Florence/BPK, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin).



[T]he pope was told about the discovery of some very beautiful statues in a vineyard near S. Maria Maggiore. The pope ordered one of his officers to run and tell Giuliano da Sangallo to go and see them. He set off immediately. Since Michelangelo Buonarroti [1475–1564] was always to be found at our house, my father having summoned him and having assigned him the commission of the pope's tomb, my father wanted him to come along, too. I joined up with my father and off we went. I climbed down to where the statues were when immediately my father said, 'That is the Laocöon, which Pliny mentions.' Then they dug the hole wider so that they could pull the statue out. As soon as it was visible everyone started to draw, all the while discoursing on ancient things, chatting as well about the ones in Florence (Fea 1790: I. 329).

The work was bought almost immediately by Pope Julius II.

Despite being damaged and missing members, the Laokoon quickly entered the canon as a work of perfected classical beauty. As a somewhat ironic corollary, it also – precisely because of its damaged and degraded state – fostered new trends in the antiquities market. Specifically, since very few pieces emerged from the earth intact, a niche for sculptors specializing in 'restoration' quickly developed (before the iconic Laokoon had even been completely unearthed,

Julius II convened Sangallo the Elder, Giancristoforo Romano (c. 1470–1512) and Michelangelo to advise on its repair). And with restoration came imitation, for artists and artisans who excelled in the art of making antiquities whole again soon realized that their valuable skill sets could be turned to other, frequently more profitable, uses. Thus fakes and forgeries not only proliferated but also were not unknown to command higher prices than contemporary works advertised simply as *all'antica*. Profit was not the sole motivator, however. Many artists felt compelled to try their hands at 'besting' the ancients, as was the case with Michelangelo's famed pseudo-antique Sleeping Cupid; it was a work so compelling that nearly everyone was fooled. As Vasari recounts:

[He] then set himself to make from another piece of marble a Cupid that was sleeping, of the size of life. This, when finished, was shown by means of Baldassare del Milanese to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco [de'Medici] as a beautiful thing, and he, having pronounced the same judgment, said to Michelagnolo [sic]: 'If you were to bury it under ground and then sent it to Rome treated in such a manner as to make it look old, I am certain that it would pass for an antique, and you would thus obtain much more for it than by selling it here.' It is said that Michelagnolo handled it in such a manner as to make it appear antique; nor is there any reason to marvel at that, seeing that he had genius enough to do it, and even more (1996: II. 650).

Beyond the charm of high jinks, this account makes clear that Renaissance artists (and their humanistic commentators and biographers) were keenly aware of just how high the bar had been set by their ancient forebears. This anecdote further suggests that contemporary practitioners were convinced that they had the ability to match – if not surpass – those same accomplishments. Such an arrogant attitude is evinced by Raphael's ambitious scheme for the *Sala della Segnatura*, Julius II's private library in the Vatican papal apartments. The artist's masterful frescoes there not only pay homage to the style and manner of the ancients, they also embody the heart and soul of classical art and learning as it was then understood (Joost-Gaugie 2002). Like Sleeping Cupid, Raphael's work reveals a mimetic impulse that is directly tied to a contemporary urge to reunite the husks of antiquity's 'idols' with their original myths and meanings (albeit often with a uniquely Renaissance flourish) on a far more examined and intentional basis. As Panofsky – who may have seen in this a principle of *conjunction* – so poetically opined: '[T]he Middle Ages had left antiquity unburied and alternately galvanized and exorcised its corpse. The Renaissance stood weeping at its grave and tried to resurrect its soul' (1960: 113). These efforts were facilitated by a clarity of vision and new sense of historiography that is

intimately related to Renaissance humanism and its attendant conception of antiquity, achievements that would be built upon in the age of the Enlightenment.

33.4 The Age of Enlightenment

Crossing the threshold to the 18th c. demands a shift in focus from continental Europe to Great Britain, whose participation in the wryly styled ‘anticomania’ was virtually unparalleled in the Age of Reason. British subjects embarked on the Grand Tour in record numbers in the latter half of the century (see Chapter 34), after hostilities associated with three long successionary wars – Spanish, Polish, and Austrian – as well as the Seven Years War finally concluded (Ingamells 1996: 21–30). Britain’s expanding economy further encouraged travels to the Continent by bolstering discretionary incomes and facilitating the upper middle class’s emulation of the *milordi* on their tours. With these expanded opportunities came an exponential growth in the demand for souvenirs, for while the affectation of continental tastes and manners communicated a certain worldly mien, nothing was as effective as chattel in advertising one’s experiences abroad. And for those unconstrained by the size of their purse, there was no substitute for the genuine article. Thus, in spite of relatively stringent export controls in a number of Italian states and kingdoms, wealthy tourists dreamed of returning home with a trove to call their own.

The antiquities market, like the allied taste for Neoclassicism, received a great boost as rudimentary excavations began in earnest at Herculaneum and Pompeii in 1738 and 1748, respectively. These two sites proved irresistible to Grand Tourists: this despite the shroud of secrecy in which the Bourbon King of the Two Sicilies, Carlo VII (1716–1788), had enveloped them to protect them from plunder, both physical and, it would seem, intellectual (Deupi 2006: 76–136). The secretive haze enveloping Herculaneum began to lift, however, with the appearance of *Le Antichità d’Ercolano esposte*, the first volume of which arrived in 1757. Published under the auspices of Carlo VII and his Neapolitan Academy, the eight volumes (the last of which did not emerge until 1792) included engravings of many of the principal finds from Herculaneum. These illustrations disseminated knowledge of the Antique far and wide. As one writer has noted, ‘the Royal Press [...] brought Herculaneum and Pompeii before the eyes of Europe; and from Naples came much of the impetus to the late eighteenth-century styles in furniture and decoration’ (Gunn 1961: 149).

As a result of this and other, related publication efforts, the legacy

of Greece and Rome emerged as an obvious model for emulation in terms of both civic virtue and refinement in the arts. Valued for its notions of *civitas* and Republican ideals, pre-Imperial Rome provided the perfect template for dismantling Stuart claims to dynastic absolutism in Britain while still preserving the de facto oligarchy of England's landed gentry (Ayres 1997: 12–13). Ancient Greece, on the other hand, was the touchstone in matters aesthetic. Hellenism's presumptive superiority in the arts was cemented in 1764 when the Saxon theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, a work that revolutionized the nascent fields of both aesthetics and art history (Winckelmann 2006; see Chapters 2 and 35). Connecting the purported superiority of the art of ancient Greece to the archipelago's salubrious climate, democratic leadership, and inherently beautiful inhabitants, Winckelmann surmised that the path to manmade beauty lay in the direction of intellectual exertion and the imitation of perfected nature (Pater 1980: 140–185). Before long his laudatory assessment of the Laokoon, '*Edle Einfalt und stille Größe*' ('Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur'), had entered the lexicon as a benchmark for 'great' works of art. This criterion, however, was not reserved for ancient statuary alone: it served as an assessment tool for all manner of ancient relics, including potted vessels (Honour 1977: 58).

Though accounts of ancient vases may be found in Renaissance texts, it is clear that collections of such wares were sporadic at best before the 18th c. As more aggressive excavation efforts in Italy unearthed an increasingly large cache of Greek pottery (particularly in the tombs of Campania), however, the situation changed rapidly. Soon, as Joseph Rykwert has noted, antique vases 'appeared in all polite houses, on consoles [and] on *étagères*, over doors and mantelpieces, with porcelain and Bohemian crystal' (Rykwert 1983: 274). This assessment is confirmed by a letter from one early collector, Giacomo Martorelli (1699–1777), to a Florentine professor:

Your grace cannot imagine what a pile of such vases there are in Calvi [...] they bestow them as gifts as if they were bitter oranges, and they end up in Naples buried in the rooms of music-masters and litigators. I observe that in Naples, there is no manner of person of however common a station who does not have vases for decoration (Lyons 1997: 233).

Indeed, when Giovanni Gastone Bottari (1689–1775) went to Naples in 1734, he reportedly found such a large quantity of vases that he was unable to muster the requisite energy even to begin recording them all.

Though Bottari may have been disheartened by the large corpus of

material he encountered, others were not. By the late 1730s, formal written accounts of such collections were emerging with increasing rapidity, contributing greatly to a taste that daily grew more deeply entrenched. For despite their many inaccuracies – which reveal just how embryonic archaeological methodologies truly were at this stage – such publications aroused the interest of scholars, connoisseurs, collectors, and artists alike. In the years between 1767 and 1775, for instance, G.B. Passeri (1694–1780) published more than 300 engravings of vases from collections throughout Italy in his *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis*. The acme, however, had actually been reached one year earlier, in 1766, with the appearance of the first volume of the *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon. W. Hamilton, his Britannick Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples* ('AEGR') (Jenkins 1996: 40–64).

Eventually stretching to a full four volumes, AEGR (Figure 33.3) was unified by the rather impenetrable texts of the self-styled 'Baron' d'Hancarville (Pierre François Hugues, 1719–1805). More remarkable than the volumes' inscrutability and sheer heft are their 521 plates of vases, which, though virtually unparalleled as historical documents, are riddled with idiosyncrasies. AEGR, for example, not only excludes select items from Hamilton's first collection (amassed during his first two years as British Envoy to Naples; see Chapter 34), it admits many that were never in fact his. Further, the images lack coherence and ignore recognizable taxonomies, stylistic or otherwise. These quirks all speak to a nascent fascination with Greek vases amongst Hamilton's compatriots back in Georgian Britain, an interest more closely linked to visual impact and the dictates of taste than to intellectual rigor (Coltman 2006: 65–96). In other words, form was once again becoming severed from – if not privileged over – content.

Figure 33.3 Pierre François Hugues d'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton envoyé extraordinaire de S. M. Britannique à la Cour de Naples* (Florence, 1801, vol. 1, p. 2) (Heidelberg University Library).



P R E F A C E.



Is to M^r. Hamilton that the Public is indebted for the fine Collection of designs from Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Vases, which we this day present it with; Led by a most enlightened taste in every branch of the polite Arts, he has long made it a pleasure to collect these precious Monuments of the genius of the Ancients; and less flattered with the advantage of possessing them, than with that of rendering them useful to Artists, to Men of Letters and by their means to the World in general, he has been pleased to intrust tem to

The primacy of Greek exemplars was given a major boost in the middle of the 18th c. when the long-forgotten temples at Paestum were 'rediscovered' (Lang 1950). Interest in ancient Greek settlements elsewhere in Italy, together with sites in Sicily and Asia Minor, soon surged, giving rise to a whole new body of published texts and drawings that introduced the exotica of places like Spalato (Split), Baalbek, and Palmyra into London's polite salons and dining clubs. Groups such as the Society of the Dilettanti, an aggrandized Georgian dining group, played pivotal roles in this context. Members of the Dilettanti, for example, not only encouraged one another's individual collecting activities but also corporately underwrote James 'Athenian'

Stuart and Nicholas Revett's efforts to record the antiquities of ancient Athens in situ. The resulting work, *The Antiquities of Athens* (the first of three folios of which appeared in 1762), like Julien Le Roy's slightly earlier *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments in Greece* (1758), cohered the extant taste for antiquities in Britain and on the Continent into a raging trend: *le goût grec*. The impact was palpable: tripods, bedsteads, wallpapers, stuccoed ceilings, and pottery with lines, profiles, and decorative motifs reflecting those of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and other high-profile sites soon proliferated. Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1792), who corresponded regularly with Sir William Hamilton, worked hard to encourage this fad. His wildly popular basalts and biscuit wares (produced, not incidentally, in a factory he called the 'new Etruria') did not imitate Greek and Campanian vases in all their ancient particulars, but rather were freely interpreted by Wedgwood and his designers to suit the dictates of taste and market conditions. The legacy of ancient tripods was mired in a familiar fate. The famous sphinx tripod, for instance, which was first illustrated by Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, Comte di Caylus (1692–1765), in volume three of his *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et romaines* (1759) and later by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) in *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodì, ecc.* (1778), set off a mania for household objects that quickly lost touch with their original purpose: no longer needed as implements in pagan rituals, *all'antica* tripods were used instead to house everything from flowers to goldfish, cosmetics to embroidery (Praz 1976–1980: 125).

Despite later criticisms about the underlying superficiality of *le goût grec*, the movement was championed by contemporaries as an apt tonic for the perceived excesses and frivolity of the continental Rococo style. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the realm of painting. In France, for example, the saccharine bourgeois dramas of Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) were counterbalanced by his own more astringent works, which recast many of the artist's own simpering maids as virtuous maidens from a distant Arcadia. In Britain, where the market for history paintings (the most appropriate vehicle for Neoclassical imagery on a noble scale) was sparse, antique vases were very consciously – and very successfully – deployed to ennoble the 'lesser' genre of portraiture. Emblematic in this regard is Sir Joshua Reynolds's (1723–1792) portrait of *Lady Sarah Bunbury Sacrificing to the Graces* (1763–1765), a work whose many ancient quotations endow what is at root a contemporary portrait of a socialite with an academic heroism in the grandest manner (Wise and Warner 1996: 276–282). Such overt references to the Antique were also, of course, intended to communicate the taste, refinement, and superior education of the sitter. This was certainly the case with Adam Buck's

(1759–1833) *Portrait of a Family with the Bust of a Deceased Child*, in which the artist included a number of red-figure vases conspicuously displayed in columbarium niches along the rear wall. Their inclusion, Ian Jenkins reasonably suggests, ‘signif[ies] the aesthetic predilections of a man of taste, in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Greek revival’ (1998: 449). Much the same could be said about Johann Zoffany’s (1733–1810) portrait of the Woodley family (Kingston Lacey Estate, Dorset), in which an urn – inspired by the Medici Vase, now in the Uffizi – provides a majestic focal point, stabilizing the dynamic of the painting while simultaneously elevating its tone (Porter 2000: ill. 13). In each of these instances, form and meaning were willfully separated to suit the demands of the Enlightenment mind and the desires of the Neoclassical eye.

33.5 Conclusion

In the Medieval period, antiquities were – generally speaking – prized for their material value, their utility, or their superficial beauty; not, typically, as venerable relics of a distant past. Beyond simple laws of chronological and temporal proximity, this attitude may be explained by the fact that critical thinking and historiography did not leave a deep impress on Western Europe’s intellectual landscape until the early Modern period. The situation changed dramatically during the Renaissance, when shifting intellectual agendas and new aesthetic priorities catalyzed pioneering efforts in the literary and visual arts, both of which held up the ancients and their cultural legacies as exemplars to be clawed back from the inexorable march of time. Thus, while the Middle Ages did not flinch before separating the warp of shape from the weft of meaning, the Renaissance attempted to recover the whole cloth. In the 18th c. the tapestry began to unravel once again as the reasoned demands of *philosophes*, antiquarians, and academicians, coupled with Grand Tourists’ zeal for all things antique, gave rise to forms that, though fixed according to the antique canon, held meanings that were flexible enough to accommodate the competing dictates of aesthetics, politics, and taste. Quiet and grand, noble and simple they may have been, but the resulting Neoclassical pieces often failed to connect in a truly meaningful way with the soul of antique exemplars. In a sense, then, one finds distortions of form and meaning that dovetail in interesting and unanticipated ways the Medieval reception and resurrection of the Antique. Despite the vicissitudes and varied fates of antiquity’s legacy over the course of the many centuries here surveyed, however, one thing remained

steadfast: the tenacious grip of a legacy whose long shadow held the promise of eternity.

Acknowledgement

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FURTHER READING

The points of entry into the vast topic of classicism's legacy in post-antique Western European culture are manifold. For a broad overview, the reader is directed to *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (2010), edited by Kallendorf. Beard and Henderson (2001) provides a similarly cogent – if more cursory – thematic survey of the material. The Late Antique and early Christian periods are thoughtfully addressed in MacMullen (1997) and Bolgar (1971). Useful starting points for the Renaissance include Bull (2005), Bolgar (1977), Seznec (1953), and Haskell and Penny's unparalleled *Taste and the Antique* (1982).

Like the Renaissance, the 18th c. suffers from an embarrassment of riches in terms of relevant bibliography. Among the innumerable texts that tackle this rich subject, see the writings of S. Howard, including his *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (1990), as well as the works of V. Coltman, whose recent *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (2009) provides a welcome update of Michaelis's iconic *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882). Also helpful are the writings of Jenkins and Ramage, both of whom have written extensively about the collections of Sir William Hamilton and Neoclassicism as a cultural phenomenon, both in Britain and in Naples. In the realm of Neoclassicism generally, the reader is directed to the work of Carlo Pietrangeli, Hugh Honour, and Mario Praz. For Neoclassical architecture, Middleton and Watkin (1980) has yet to be surpassed as a general survey amongst Anglophone scholars.

CHAPTER 34

Greek Art and the Grand Tour

Sue Blundell

34.1 The Grand Tour in Outline

‘*Athens*, once the seat of the polite arts, but now a place of little consequence, and subject to the Turks’ (Wallis 1802). This succinct account of the most creative city of the classical world can be found on a board game called *Tour of Europe: A New Geographical Pastime*, published in London in the early 19th c. The game could be played by two to six people, and their task was to move a small pyramid (representing a traveler) around a map of Europe, stopping off at a series of notable places according to the throw of a die. Sometimes the ‘traveler’ was compelled to kick his heels for a while in one of his destinations. After landing on the city of Naples, for example, he had to ‘stop one turn to view its antiquities, and Mount Vesuvius’. But Athens imposed no such demands. If the player arrived there, he could depart almost at once, for apparently there was nothing to see. He may well have appreciated this, since the object was to keep on moving ‘till the traveler reaches No. 102, which is *London*, the first city in Europe, when he wins the game’.

As in a board game, so in real life. We cannot believe that all British travelers in the 18th c. left the shores of their country with a view to returning there as soon as they possibly could. But it is certainly true that most of them gave Greece a wide berth, while Italy attracted them in their thousands. The rediscovery of the art of ancient Greece was a very important aspect of cultural production in the 18th and early 19th c.; but for the majority of northern Europeans this revelation occurred only in the course of the Grand Tour to Italy, not in Greece itself. Happily, some of the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula had been so passionate about Greek art that they had

accumulated examples of it that were to make a considerable impact on later visitors.

In real life, the Grand Tour was an educational journey undertaken for the most part by young British men of the wealthy upper classes. The institution can be dated back to the latter part of the 17th c., when the term 'Grand Tour' first appeared in print, in a guide book intended to convey to 'young noblemen' the multiple benefits of traveling abroad (Lassels 1670). In the years that followed, Britain became increasingly prosperous as a result of the growth of trade and empire during 'the long 18th c.'; and in the same period, the Grand Tour developed into a fashionable means of introducing men in their twenties to the delights of art, good taste, and refined society. Their tours might last from several months to several years; and the most popular itinerary took the travelers down through France and on into Italy, sometimes via Switzerland. Often they were accompanied by a tutor, or 'bear-leader', who conducted his charges, like dancing bears, from one city to the next in search of culture. We can only assume that some of these tutors offered considerable value for money. Certainly a few of them were later to earn tremendous distinction in other fields. The economist Adam Smith, for example, traveled with the young Duke of Buccleuch, while other Tourists enjoyed the benefits of being escorted by philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes or John Locke. But most of the bear-leaders, it must be said, were fairly unremarkable clergymen or university teachers.

Not all the travelers were 'noblemen', or even very wealthy. Some were aspiring painters or architects, who had a fair amount of difficulty in paying their way. And although the Grand Tour was essentially a British invention, young men from France, Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands followed similar routes into Italy in their desire to absorb its artistic atmosphere. The great majority of these Tourists were, of course, male. But there were some notable women travelers as well, and on occasion they were rather more observant than the men, even if their journeys were not generally dignified with the name Grand. Hester Lynch Piozzi, better known as Hester Thrale, wrote a lively account of her expedition to Italy in 1784–86, revealing how entranced she had been by some of the Greek statues she saw there. And the tour that was undertaken by Lady Hester Stanhope early in the following century was probably the grandest of them all, since it took her as far as Greece, Constantinople, Cairo, and Syria.

34.2 Greek Art in Italy

In the 18th c., Greek sculpture was rather more visible in Italy than it was in mainland Greece. The excavations which were to uncover outstanding examples of Greek carving after the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Turks in 1828 had not yet taken place. Instead, the works of the Greeks were beginning to be known through the copies and adaptations which the Romans had produced from the 1st c. BC onwards. For example, the famous bronze Discus Thrower created by the Greek sculptor Myron had disappeared long before; but it survived in the form of a couple of marble versions that had been made by Roman artists ([Figure 30.3](#)). One of these, found in the course of excavations at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, was purchased by the English collector Charles Townley and is now in the British Museum. It was included in a painting by Johann Zoffany while it was still on display in one of its earlier homes, Townley's house overlooking St James's Park in London (Wilton and Bignamini 1996: 261, no. 215).

As well as Roman copies, some original works of Greek sculpture were accessible to 18th c. travelers to Italy. These pieces had arrived in the peninsula by a variety of routes. Some had been imported or appropriated by the Romans after their conquest of Greece in the 2nd c. BC. Others had been crafted by earlier Greek settlers in southern Italy or Sicily, or by Greek artists who had immigrated to Italy after Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. The Laokoon, for example – probably the most remarked-upon ancient statue on view to Grand Tourists – had almost certainly been carved by Greek sculptors, although nowadays there is a great deal of debate about when and where they were living when they made it (Pollitt 2000: 99–102; see Chapter 31). Were they in Rhodes or in Italy? The answer remains doubtful, but one thing is certain: the Romans' great admiration for Greek sculpture means that for us today (as for most of the Tourists in the 18th c.), it is often hard to say where Greek sculpture ends and Roman sculpture begins.

More straightforward and certainly more numerous examples of Greek art were provided by the painted vases being unearthed from tombs in Etruria and southern Italy throughout the 18th c. From the 8th c. BC on, both the Etruscans (living between the Arno and the Tiber) and the Greek settlers to the south had imported pottery from mainland Greece in enormous quantities, first from Corinth and later from Athens. This in turn had inspired Greek potters living in southern Italy to produce some very fine red-figure vases of their own (see Chapter 19). Since Etruscans and Italian Greeks also liked to place vases in their tombs, a fair number of them had survived. These were now being rediscovered by excavators in Tuscany and Campania, and

were finding their way into collections which were being built up by Italian aristocrats and prelates in Florence, Rome, and Naples. For some time, these vases were thought to have been manufactured by Etruscan craftsmen, who had indeed made some passable imitations of them. But during the 1760s, Winckelmann's theory that these were authentic Greek works of art began to be more widely accepted (Nørskov 2002: 42; see Chapter 35). Although the vases never caused the sensation which some of the Greek sculptures produced, a few examples were certainly available for inspection by Grand Tourists. In Zoffany's large-scale painting of the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence, a South Italian pot is visible among the items crammed into the foreground, and a few more vases can be seen on the shelf at the back (Figure 34.1).

Figure 34.1 Johann Zoffany, *Tribuna of the Uffizi*. 1772–1777 (The Royal Collection. © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II/The Bridgeman Art Library).



34.3 What They Saw on the Grand Tour

Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples were the Italian cities that attracted the largest number of Grand Tourists; and in all but the first it was possible to view some considerable works of art from the ancient Greek world. On the *Tour of Europe* board game, Florence was labeled as the location where the player was forced to ‘stay one turn’ to look at ‘fine paintings’. But the city’s real-life Tourists were able to see a wealth of Greek sculpture there as well. Some outstanding items from the Medici art collections were on display in the Tribuna, an octagonal room that had been designed as part of the Uffizi buildings in the latter part of the 16th c. By the 1770s this venue had developed into a highlight of the Tourists’ stay in the city. Zoffany’s painting of the room shows a great array of British visitors gathered around the artworks (Figure 34.1). Here both the art and the visitors are recorded in such meticulous detail that they can still be identified quite easily. Where the Tourists are concerned, we may be inclined to agree with the writer Horace Walpole, when in a letter of 1779 he dismisses them as ‘a flock of travelling boys, and one does not know or care whom,’ (Walpole 1937–1938: vol. 24, 527). But the levels of spectatorship depicted in the scene are fascinating nevertheless.

In the bottom left-hand corner of the painting, one of the finest of the Uffizi’s Greek sculptures, the Crouching Slave, has been awarded no viewers at all; it is simply part of the assembly of objects in the foreground. But the figure is in a prominent position, and we can readily identify with him because, like us, he seems to be surveying the rest of the exhibits. Nowadays this statue is thought to have been part of a Roman copy of a dramatic set-piece from Pergamon called the Hanging Marsyas Group, made in the 2nd c. BC. In it, the Slave succeeded in prolonging the onlooker’s sense of agony by turning to stare at the imprisoned satyr Marsyas (now lost) as he sharpened his knife to flay him (Pollitt 1986: 118–119). Most of the remaining Greek sculptures in the picture are also generally suspected of being Roman copies of Greek Hellenistic works. Still on the left, behind the Slave, the romantic embrace between the winged figures of Cupid and Psyche has attracted an audience of two – the young man who is sketching it, and the friend who is peering over his shoulder. So ‘puppy love’ is on display here, but is clearly not meant to be seen as the visitors’ main concern. Further to the right, the beautiful dancing Faun (possibly a Roman copy of a 4th c. BC bronze original) seems similarly to be clashing his cymbals in vain, since only a couple of spectators are absorbed by the piece. To the right again, there is a superb Hellenistic sculpture, the pair of wrestlers found in a vineyard in Rome in 1583. This work stands in splendid isolation, ignored by the whole room. The likely reason for this may be found in the erotic character attributed to such sculptural struggles ever since the time of

the Romans (Pollitt 1986: 130). There are some fairly well-known homosexuals among the 18th c. Tourists in the picture, but Zoffany no doubt thought that it would be wise to avoid any obvious allusion to this predilection (especially since his painting had been commissioned by Queen Charlotte). However, the painter Thomas Patch, who is in the foreground supporting the top right-hand corner of a canvas by Titian, may be discreetly pointing towards the Wrestlers and indicating where his own preference lies (Wilton and Bignamini 1996: 136).

The largest single group of spectators in the room is assembled around the base of the Medici Venus statue on the right, another probable Roman copy of a Hellenistic work, and justly very famous. This piece is presented quite strikingly as the mature (and straight) man's object of desire among the sculptures; and to add weight to this statement, the statue is visually linked to Titian's Venus of Urbino to its left, the work of art that succeeds in standing out from the multitude of others exhibited around it. As Shawe-Taylor suggests, Zoffany's picture in general invites us to make comparisons between paintings and sculptures, and between ancient and modern cultural artifacts; perhaps in the case of the two Venuses, a basic supplementary question is also being asked: 'So which of these two women do you think is the more beautiful?' (Shawe-Taylor 2009: 137).

When Hester Piozzi visited the Uffizi in 1785, she at any rate was moved to compare these two striking pieces. She speaks of 'the apparent contest between Titian's recumbent beauty, glowing with colour [...] and animated by the warmest expression, and the Greek statue of symmetrical perfection and fineness of form inimitable'. For her, the positioning of the Crouching Slave is similarly suggestive: he appears to be raising his head to listen, 'disturbed by the blows of the wrestlers [the Greek sculpture] in the same room'. But her most vivid emotions are roused by the statue of Niobe (another Roman copy of a Hellenistic work), displayed in a separate apartment, and not included in the Zoffany painting. 'Nothing is worth speaking of after this Niobe!', she exclaims. 'Her beauty! her maternal anguish! her closely clasped [child]! her half-raised head [...]! What can one do [...] but "drop the shady curtain on the scene," and run to see [some] portraits...?' (Piozzi 1789: vol. 1, 302–304). When she moves on to Rome, like many others, Piozzi goes to the Palazzo Farnese to view the Farnese Herakles and the Bull, Roman versions of late Greek works made for Caracalla's Baths. Later she crosses the river to the Vatican and sees other notable Greek sculptures. 'Laocöon's agonies torment one,' she declares, then catches sight of the nearby Apollo Belvedere, 'in whom alone,' she says, 'no fault has yet been found'. She and her

party have been told that this Apollo (a copy of a Classical bronze original) has just killed the serpent Python, and his position next to the Laokoon prompts a typical Tourist joke: “‘Let us beg him”, says one of the company, “just to turn round and demolish those cursed snakes which are devouring the poor old man and his boys yonder”.’ The fashionable – and surely delightful – practice of going to see the Vatican statues by torchlight was also one that was much appreciated by Piozzi: Apollo, she enthuses, ‘looks like Phoebus then, the Sun’s bright deity’ (Piozzi 1789: vol. 1, 422–429).

As for Greek vases, the Tourists might have glimpsed a few of these in the Uffizi, and seen a bigger and more splendid collection in the Vatican in Rome – the one bequeathed to it by Cardinal Gualtieri on his death in 1728. The truly conscientious visitor might also have traveled to the town of Velletri, southeast of Rome, to examine the vases and other antiquities owned by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, nowadays housed in the Naples Archaeological Museum (Smith 2007b: 6). But for most British people, Naples itself was the city to go to if you wanted to view Greek pottery. Over four hundred examples had been assembled in the first half of the 18th c. by the Marchese Felice Mastrilli, and in 1766 many of these had been sold to Sir William Hamilton, who since 1764 had been the British Envoy to the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies. Soon after his arrival in the city, Hamilton had embarked on his alternative career as a dedicated student of local volcanic activity and a passionate collector of Greek and Roman antiquities. Greek pottery rapidly developed into a serious interest, and in 1766–67 Hamilton and his associate d’Hancarville published the former’s first collection of vases in four superbly illustrated volumes (d’Hancarville 1766–1767; see [Figure 33.3](#)). Here a strong argument was put forward for the Greek (as opposed to Etruscan) origin of the vessels. This massive work did a great deal to popularize Greek ceramics in Britain, and in 1772 Hamilton sold his first collection to the recently formed British Museum, mainly because he was beginning to run out of funds.

By now it was starting to be fashionable for both Tourists and committed antiquarians like Hamilton to have their portraits painted with prominent symbols of their journey or their enthusiasms displayed in the background. In Joshua Reynolds’s painting in [Figure 34.2](#), we see Hamilton posed in front of a distant view of a smoldering Vesuvius, holding the first volume of his catalogue of vases on his knees. Some of the items that had been transferred to the British Museum are displayed at his side, including – on the floor – the magnificent Meidias hydria made in Athens in the late 5th c. BC (Boardman 1989a: fig. 287). Hamilton found it hard to wean himself off Greek vases, and in 1789 he started collecting again. His second

cache of decorated pottery, the fruit of fresh ancient tombs that were being opened up in the Naples area, had a less happy fate than the first. Most of them were lost in a shipwreck when they were en route for Britain in 1798. The ones that survived were finally bought by another great 18th c. collector, Thomas Hope. They too are now in the British Museum.

Figure 34.2 Joshua Reynolds, *Sir William Hamilton*. 1777–1782 (© National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG 680).



34.4 Emma Hamilton's Attitudes

Many Grand Tourists, as well as serious scholars like Winckelmann, had made the journey to Hamilton's palazzo in Naples in order to view his collections. But still more went to watch the performances

staged by his stunningly beautiful mistress Amy Lyon, later his wife as Emma, Lady Hamilton. Born in 1765 to a poor family in northwest England, Emma had moved to London in around 1778, and earned her living as a kept woman supported by a series of young British aristocrats. She lived with one of them, Charles Greville, for about four years, but in 1786 he packed her off for a 'holiday' in Naples, having secretly asked his uncle Sir William Hamilton to take the young woman off his somewhat impecunious hands. Hamilton was a widower, aged fifty-seven, while Emma was just approaching her twenty-first birthday. When she discovered that her stay in Naples was meant to be a permanent one, she was desperately unhappy, but eventually she adjusted to the situation. She was a lively and intelligent woman, and under Hamilton's tutelage she blossomed – as a linguist, as a singer, and above all as a performer of accomplished and breathtaking classical Attitudes. These began as a sort of entertainment for Hamilton's guests, but before long Tourists and locals alike were flocking to view them. One young English painter, William Artaud, reported back to his father that during his stay in Italy he was doing everything he could to gain a visual insight into classical civilization: 'The environs of Naples are truly Classic ground,' he says in a letter. 'I have visited lake Avernus, been in the Elysian fields, in the baths of Nero, and in the tomb of Vergil [...] I have been at Herculaneum and Pompeii, and the Museum at Portici, and saw Lady Hamilton's Attitudes' (Sewter 1951: 115; Reynolds 2003: 30).

Nowadays we may be more inclined than we once were to take Emma Hamilton seriously as an artist capable of reanimating the classical world for her admiring audiences. I, for one, certainly believe that we ought to do so. It is clear from the surviving sources that Emma was doing far more than just dressing up and executing a series of Neoclassical poses: by introducing mobility and passion into her material, she was facilitating a sensuous appreciation of a culture that had hitherto been generally received as static and decorous. Still, it is not easy for us to fully appreciate today what exactly the Attitudes consisted of. But one eloquent witness, Goethe, is able to offer a few graphic clues. 'Sir William Hamilton', he writes, '[...] after many years of devotion to the arts [... has] found the acme of these delights in the person of an English girl of twenty with a beautiful face and a perfect figure. He has had a Greek costume made for her which becomes her extremely'. He goes on to describe how Emma performs a sequence of lightning moves – she stands, sits, kneels, and reclines, shifting from one pose to the next with hardly a pause (von Goethe 1970: 208). Goethe is not alone in noting the way in which Emma uses facial expression to enhance the drama of her actions: according to the painter Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (a later audience member), she

‘passed from sadness to joy and from joy to terror with such astonishing rapidity that we were all enraptured’ (Vigée Le Brun 1835: vol. 2, 90–91). Returning to Goethe, we learn from him that the spectator at one of Emma’s displays ‘sees what thousands of artists would have liked to express, realised before him in movements and surprising transformations [...] The old knight idolises her [...] In her, he has found all the antiquities, all the profiles of Sicilian coins, even the Apollo Belvedere’. For the German writer, it seems, Emma Hamilton’s Attitudes were quite specifically Greek in inspiration.

Two sets of images in particular provide us with a little more detail about the Attitudes. One is a series of elegant engravings based on drawings produced by Friedrich Rehberg (Rehberg 1794; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, PAD 3215). The other is a page of rapid sketches by Pietro Antonio Novelli, who gives us a much better idea of the fluidity and emotional range of Emma’s movements (Figure 34.3). When we put the images side by side with the written descriptions, we get some idea of the simple props she was using (a shawl, an urn, a tambourine) and of the characters she represented. These ranged from a drunken Bacchante to Agrippina, carrying the ashes of her husband Germanicus home with her to Italy. One French aristocrat, the Comtesse de Boigne, relates how as a young child she had been taken to a performance at the Hamiltons’ palazzo, and had been roped in as an extra. At one point Emma suddenly grabbed her by the hair and started brandishing a dagger: ‘Bravo, la Médéa!’ the audience cried. The next moment she clutched the girl to her bosom in a protective gesture. ‘Viva la Niobé!’ they called out in rapture (Boigne 2007: 171).

Figure 34.3 Antonio Novelli, *Attitudes of Lady Hamilton*. 1791 (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, Image courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1988.14.1).



I have never been able to track down a single statue or figure in a vase-painting which might have served as a clear-cut model for one of Emma Hamilton's poses. It seems likely that none exists, and that Emma was drawing on a wide range of sources when she developed the Attitudes. In London she had sat very many times for the painter George Romney, and in the twenty-eight beautiful portraits that he produced of her he quite often transformed her into one of the more vivid and expressive characters of Greek mythology (Kidson 2002: 167–168, 184–187, 200–201). Once in Naples, she would doubtless have looked at the Greek vases that Hamilton was enthusiastically acquiring as he began to build up his second collection. She also visited archaeological sites in Campania alongside her scholarly consort. Herculaneum and Pompeii were both being excavated at the time, and some of the dazzling finds – including statues that were certainly Greek in inspiration – had been transferred to the museum set up by the Bourbon King of Naples in the royal palace at Portici. Like Hester Piozzi, she may well have visited displays of such sculpture at night-time, when torchlight seemed to make the statues quiver and move.

A rather more recondite source of inspiration may have been available in the accounts that survived of ancient pantomime. Some modern scholars have pointed out that Hamilton owned at least one of the contemporary volumes in which they were discussed; and the rapid transition from vigorous movement to statue-like immobility which apparently featured in ancient performances sounds very like Emma to us (Touchette 2000; Lada-Richards 2003). It is difficult to believe that she would have perused these accounts in detail herself – bearing in mind that she was barely educated – and so we are

compelled to conclude that the Attitudes probably came about as a result of collaboration between Emma and Hamilton. But the execution and the skill were hers alone. In a brilliant novel, Susan Sontag has pictured Hamilton as a kind of Pygmalion in reverse – he managed to convert a living woman into a statue (Sontag 1993: 45); and 18th c. humorists would doubtless have agreed with her. When Emma became Hamilton's wife in 1791, Horace Walpole remarked that Sir William Hamilton had 'actually married his gallery of statues' (Walpole 1937–1938: vol. 11, 349). However, a passive object of male manipulation is something that Emma Hamilton could surely never have been: she had far too vigorous and self-willed a personality for that.

I also want to argue that Emma ought not to be dismissed (to quote a phrase that somebody recently used in my hearing) as 'an 18th c. pole-dancer'. No doubt many members of her audiences thought she was sexy. But among the people who had seen the Attitudes, the feature that men and women alike both commented on more than anything else was her phenomenal physical expressiveness; and hardly any of her poses possessed any explicit erotic content. From everything that we see and hear, we can easily imagine that the emotional reaction to ancient art that people like Piozzi are straining towards when they picture Greek statues actively responding to each other was something that Emma Hamilton could evoke quite easily all on her own. After her long-term love affair with Admiral Nelson became public knowledge, she began to be appraised by a much wider audience; and it is true that at that stage her status as a Neoclassical icon was inevitably associated, in the popular imagination at least, with her considerable erotic charms. When the trio returned to Britain in 1800, the caricatures came thick and fast. In [Figure 34.4](#), a very decrepit William Hamilton peers at a broken bust of Emma (labeled 'Lais', a famous courtesan in ancient Greece), while Nelson can be seen in a painting above her, and in the picture to the right Vesuvius is joyfully erupting. The antiquities that were being rediscovered in the course of the Grand Tour to Italy clearly brought pleasure to people in a great variety of ways. Poking fun at the objects and the kind of people who were avidly collecting them was just one of the many sources of entertainment they provided.

Figure 34.4 James Gillray, *A cognocenti contemplating ye beauties of ye antique*. 1801 (The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1851,0901.1045/Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-8796).



34.5 Rediscovering Greek Architecture on the Grand Tour to Italy and Greece

The British architect Sir John Soane may well have met Sir William Hamilton when as a young man he visited Italy on a Traveling Scholarship, in 1778–80 (Smith 2007b: 5–6). Naples was one of several sites of classical significance which featured in Soane's conscientious itinerary. But undoubtedly for him the most powerful experiences came when he embarked on the journey southwards. From Naples he went to Pompeii, and then on to Paestum, the ancient Greek settlement of Poseidonia, which had recently been made

accessible by the construction of a coach road. The three magnificent Doric temples that rise above the plain at Paestum are among the best surviving examples of Greek architecture to be found anywhere, and they made an enormous impact on Soane. While there, he produced some vigorous drawings, which are preserved today in his *Sketchbooks* (Soane 1779; <http://www.soane.org.uk/sketchbooks>). Later he crossed to Sicily, where he certainly looked at several more exceptional Greek temples – but sadly the notebooks for this part of his journey are lost. One thing we can be sure about: this detailed examination of ancient Greek structures in Italy and Sicily was to help shape not only Soane's own work, but also one of the most significant movements in British architecture. Soane's delightful 'barn à la Paestum', a functional building in Warwickshire that sturdily imitates a Doric temple (and is now converted into a private house), was just one of a number of small beginnings that heralded a shift in taste. In the late 18th and early 19th c., Greek Revival architecture gradually emerged as a cultural force in the land. Before long it came into conflict with a different stylistic approach, that of the Gothic Revival, and by the mid 19th c. the contest between the two had developed into a full-blown Battle of the Styles. The Glasgow architect Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, who in the 1850s and 60s provided his home city with many superb examples of 'stripped down' Neoclassicism, was one of the latest and most brilliant exponents of the Greek Revival movement. Thomson had never journeyed to either Italy or Greece – indeed, he scarcely ever set foot out of Scotland. But the way had been paved for his genius by Tourists of the previous century.

Things had been very different in Soane's day. He, of course, was far from being the only Neoclassical practitioner to have visited Italy during the 18th c. Many fledgling architects from northern Europe had traveled there before him. William Chambers and Robert Adam – to mention two of the most obvious British candidates – had both been enormously impressed by their journeys through the peninsula in the 1750s. But for them, the relics of Rome had been much more compelling than those left behind by the ancient Greeks. James 'Athenian' Stuart, on the other hand, had been an outstanding devotee of Greek architecture, and by Soane's time had already established a firm foundation for its reappraisal. Not having the benefits of any kind of grant or scholarship, in the 1740s Stuart had been forced to travel most of the way to Rome on foot. Then in 1751 he and his friend Nicholas Revett had ventured still further – this time with the aid of some funds from the Society of Dilettanti. Mainland Greece was still during this period 'subject to the Turks', and had little in the way of urban culture. So the two young men were in the nature of pioneers when they crossed the Adriatic to visit the heartland of Greek design.

In Athens they set about diligently measuring and recording many of the surviving buildings, some of which have totally disappeared today. Stuart's drawing skills are on display in [Figure 34.5](#), where he has inserted himself into the bottom right-hand corner of his own picture; we can see him there wearing a splendid Turkish outfit and industriously sketching the Erechtheion.

Figure 34.5 James Stuart, *Erechtheion, Acropolis, Athens: view from the west showing James 'Athenian' Stuart sketching in the foreground*. c. 1752, gouache (Victoria and Albert Museum, London. RIBA Library Drawings Collection RIBA3029-33).



Once home, neither Stuart nor Revett ever succeeded in establishing themselves as major architects. But the first volume of their ground breaking work *The Antiquities of Athens* was eventually published in 1762 and became a major source-book for Greek Revival architecture (Stuart and Revett 1762–1816). However, the accolade for having been the first European in the 18th c. to have published a studied account of mainland Greek buildings has to be awarded elsewhere. The French artist and architect Julien Le Roy had reached Greece a little later than the British duo, but had managed to get his work into print before they did; his *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* came out in 1758 (Le Roy 1758).

After the Napoleonic invasion of Italy in 1797–98, the peninsula became a much more difficult destination for British travelers, and as a consequence, Greece began to receive rather more in the way of

visitors. One of them, Lord Byron, arrived there in 1809, and was to have a considerable impact, though not directly in the field of art and design. Lady Hester Stanhope, the niece of William Pitt the Younger, was another early visitor; but by the end of 1810 this intrepid woman had shifted the scene of her exploits to Constantinople, and thence to the Middle East. Meanwhile – and rather more significantly for the history of Greek art – in 1799 the diplomat Lord Elgin had made his own famous contribution to the fostering of British philhellenism by arranging for the Parthenon sculptures to be removed from the Athenian Acropolis and shipped back to his native land. Other acquisitive explorations of classical Greek sites were to follow. In 1811 the architect C.R. Cockerell was one of a group of travelers who discovered the glorious 5th c. BC Bassai frieze while recording the ruins of the Temple of Apollo in the remote and rugged landscape of Arcadia. A full excavation was carried out a year later, and in 1814 the frieze was bought by the British Museum. Cockerell later reproduced this set of sculptures in a number of his buildings, including most notably the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. As far as Grand Tourists were concerned, however, Greece was destined never to develop into a regular feature of their leisurely itineraries. With the arrival of the railways on the continent of Europe in the 1830s, the Grand Tour as we know it was about to come to an end. In Greece and Turkey the Tourists' place was to be taken by professional excavators.

34.6 The Impact of the Grand Tour

Although the Grand Tour was fundamentally a British institution, Germans such as Goethe and Frenchmen such as Le Roy had of course made similar journeys. After the British, the Germans were probably the visitors to Italy who were most thick on the ground. Winckelmann's revolutionary work on Greek art had persuaded many of his compatriots to follow in his footsteps; and Goethe for one was deeply affected by his experiences when traveling through the peninsula in 1786–88. Emma Hamilton had been a very minor diversion as far as he was concerned. He made drawings of statues and ruins, visited vase collections, and like Soane was wonderfully struck by the dramatic power of Greek temples. The unfinished painting by his friend Tischbein in [Figure 34.6](#) shows the writer reclining in the Roman campagna, surrounded by fragmentary emblems of his journey, including a beautiful Ionic capital. For

Goethe, the creative outcome of his journey was a profound classicism which prompted him to produce works such as his play *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. Other Germans expressed their response to their travels by designing Greek Revival architecture. Carl Gotthard Langhans, for example, visited Italy in 1768–69. His most famous work is the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, built in 1789–94 and modeled on the Propylaia on the Athenian Acropolis. This imposing structure might be read as a monument to the new ideas about Greek art which Winckelmann had so effectively promoted in his homeland and in other European countries.

Figure 34.6 Johann Tischbein, *Portrait of Goethe in the Roman Campagna*. 1787 (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, Germany. akg-images).



But when it came to acquiring important collections of antiquities, no one at this stage was able to surpass the buying power and enthusiasm of the British. William Hamilton's efforts in this direction have already been mentioned. Soane only developed into a keen collector after gaining success as an architect back in England, but at that point he made up for lost time by acquiring a vast and eclectic range of items, including Greek vases, architectural fragments, sculptures, and terracottas. These are now distributed in a pleasing array around the distinctive Neoclassical house which he designed for himself, his family, and his antiquities from 1792 onwards, in

Lincoln's Inn Fields in London. However, in terms both of wealth and scholarly discrimination he could never compete with the two men who built up the largest collections of classical sculpture in Britain, Charles Townley and Henry Blundell.

These two Catholic landowners were friends; both owned estates in Lancashire in northwest England, and both had traveled through Italy on the Grand Tour. This experience, and perhaps also the fact that their religion excluded them from a conventional university education, converted them into collectors who pursued their passion with enormous diligence and seriousness. Townley made three trips to Italy in the 1760s and 70s, and worked closely with some notable dealers in Rome, including the painter and excavator Gavin Hamilton and the redoubtable businessman Thomas Jenkins. Through them he amassed so large a collection of Greek-inspired Roman sculptures that he moved to a larger house near St James's Park in London in order to display them. This soon developed into a sophisticated attraction, and received several hundred visitors a year. Henry Blundell's collecting habits were rather less systematic than those of Townley, but the huge assortment of sculptures that he acquired was nevertheless of great importance. Large-scale adaptations were made to his home at Ince Blundell, close to Liverpool, in order to show the works off to their best effect. Both of these men made ample use of the services of sculptors in Rome who specialized in the restoration of antique works, a practice which was already being decried in some other quarters. Even an amateur like Hester Piozzi had retrospectively commended Michelangelo for doggedly refusing to supply the Laokoon with a brand new arm; Bernini had afterwards agreed to take on the job, but only on condition that 'it might remain always a different color, that he might not be suspected of hoping that his work could ever lie confounded with that of the Greek artist' (Piozzi 1789: vol. 1, 428). Generally speaking, art dealers in 18th c. Rome had no such scruples, since their wealthy clients obviously preferred to buy whole statues rather than broken ones. In subsequent years, these additions have rather too often been 'confounded' with work done by the Greeks.

The British Museum and Liverpool Museums respectively were to become the ultimate beneficiaries of Townley's and Blundell's collecting zeal. But before long, both men were to be rivaled in the salerooms by Thomas Hope, a member of a wealthy Scottish-Dutch banking family, who in 1794 was driven out of Amsterdam and over to London by invading French revolutionary forces. There he turned his wide artistic interests to good account as a designer, novelist, and patron of the arts. His home, on Duchess Street off Portland Place, had been designed by Robert Adam, and was bought specifically with a view to presenting the owner's collection of antiquities to select

visitors in a series of themed interiors. The surviving vases from Hamilton's doomed second collection were among Hope's many elegant purchases.

The infiltration of classical artifacts into upper-class homes in Britain and the Greek Revival inclinations of some of the returning architects were to have an enormous impact on practically every aspect of design in the period that followed. Paintings, sculptures, tableware, domestic ornaments, ceramics, and entire buildings (such as the British Museum itself) all reflected the major shift in taste that the Grand Tourists had been instrumental in provoking. Nowadays it is easy to mock the superficiality of the large majority of these fun-loving young travelers. It may well have been true, in the words of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, that they and their tutors had 'gained us [the British] the glorious title of Golden Asses all over Italy' (May 1758; Montagu 1965: vol. 3, 148). In addition, it is worth bearing in mind that the Tour greatly contributed to the cultural power of the governing classes, both in Britain and in various far-flung reaches of its empire. Nevertheless, many exceptionally fine works of art and architecture were produced as a result. And the collecting activities of some of the Tourists also meant that, sooner or later, some remarkable examples of ancient Greek creativity were to enter our public museums, where they were studied and appreciated by much wider audiences. In all of their settings, these works were destined to influence artistic ideas and production right up to the present day. Long may they continue to do so.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks are owed to Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Surveyor of The Queen's Pictures, who not only allowed me into Windsor Castle to look at Zoffany's *Tribuna*, but also spent a great deal of time discussing it with me. I am very grateful to him for his insights.

FURTHER READING

There are interesting and scholarly treatments of many aspects of the Grand Tour in Hornsby (2000), and also in a catalogue of an exhibition organized by the Tate Gallery, London: Wilton and Bignamini (1996). The life and collections of Sir William Hamilton are discussed and illustrated in Jenkins and Sloan (1996). Margaret Reynolds gives a brief but fascinating insight into Emma Hamilton's Attitudes in *The Sappho History* (2003: 28–31). Far and away the most detailed and scholarly account of Emma's Attitudes is Holmström (1967). The possible link between the Attitudes and Romney's earlier

portraits of Emma is discussed by West (2002). David Watkin is very illuminating both on the architectural significance of the Grand Tour and on its effect on Soane (2000a, 2000b). The work of Alexander 'Greek' Thomson is comprehensively described and analyzed, and beautifully illustrated, by the eminent authority on his architecture, Gavin Stamp, in *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson* (1999). Charles Townley has received the detailed attention he deserves in Kitto (2005), and the sculptures from his collection are discussed by B.F. Cook in *The Townley Marbles* (1985). The Blundell collection is described in detail in Fejfer (1997) and Davies (2007). Henry Blundell as a collector is discussed by Southworth (1991).

CHAPTER 35

Myth and the Ideal in 20th c. Exhibitions of Classical Art

Delia Tzortzaki

35.1 The Rise of Idealism

Much of the current discussion of museums revolves around art exhibitions. While modern and contemporary art is, for the most part, shown in ‘white cube’-like rooms with almost no interpretive means, Greek art has many faces in museum displays. In Greek museums, recent redisplays present antique objects in thematic constellations, which bear proof of their original cultural contexts and elaborate the traditional chronological arrays of pedestals and glass showcases. However, residues of the aesthetic paradigm cut through late modern cultural approaches in order to preserve the aura of the ‘masterpiece’. An excellent illustration of this is the display of the Parthenon marbles at the New Acropolis Museum (Plantzos 2011). Those residues are flashes of a powerful discourse, one of the most powerful of modernity, the *humanist-idealist* discourse, which has influenced museum collecting and exhibiting in the course of the last couple of centuries.

The humanist-idealist discourse treats classical beauty as a means of reaching inner truths. Its main argument, *simplicity*, is first formulated with the Enlightenment and becomes the core principle in classicist revival from the 18th c. onwards in art and in other life practices, including politics (Greenhalgh 2005). The Antique, from the viewpoint of an emancipatory era, is renegotiated as the absence of the superfluous. It incarnates pure beauty freed from authority, and reveals inner harmony. Thus, it is the nest of ideal subjects, of people nurtured with values that overcome the mundane and search for

eternal truths. In visual terms, the absence of ornament and the effacement of the excesses of the princely Rococo style turned Neoclassical theorists into 'protestants', reacting against anything that could contaminate their project and block the way to the beholder's spirit. One compelling exemplification of modern simplicity is the rhetoric of white marble. White marble was conceived as nonpersonal. It seemed to mask individual features, any flaws in the skin, any sign of veins, of blood running, of human traits that could reveal the futility of the absolute. Long before confirmations from biology and race theory, whiteness substantiated purity, which the 20th c. imposed as an authoritative formal language in the arts, namely abstraction. In the colorless museum rooms of the greatest art museums worldwide, the two ends of modernity, Neoclassical simplicity and pure abstraction, map out their common historic horizon.

What this chapter is about, then, is how idealized simplicity, either in the form of the perfect nude standing outside history (the *beau-ideal* tradition) or in the form of scientifically based approaches raising claims to truth (the *historical-archaeological* tradition), offers museums their most important organizing principle as shrines of classical values. Establishments such as the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, reworked the idea of antiquity on the basis of the contrapuntal relation between art and archaeology, or else, beauty and system. Such a process, not without tensions and compromises as regards idealism and materialism, kept on tantalizing the imagination and feeding the myth of antiquity well into the 20th c.

35.2 The *Beau-Ideal* Tradition

The 18th c. was the decisive moment for some of the most dominant ideas about antiquity to take visual form. It was the moment in Western thought when representation became the social barometer of fair judgment, and a source of pleasure to the eye. In the mid 18th c., almost a hundred years before the major excavations on the Greek peninsula, the islands, and Asia Minor uncovered contested facts, the German (Prussian) historian and classicist Johann Joachim Winckelmann laid down his utopian conception: the reinvention of the unity between ideas and matter so that the essence of art could be uncovered. What is, in this view, the essence of art? For Neoclassical idealism, the essence of art is the essence of humanity having reached its apogee in the mid 5th c. BC, in so-called Periklean Athens. As

much as Winckelmann lamented what was past and gone, namely the ‘noble simplicity and quiet grandeur’ of Classical Greece, he searched for a way out of the impasse. The painstaking study of classical texts and antique fragments – at the time understood as original Classical Greek statuary – was, he thought, the only way to attain the heights of ancient Greek thought and thus to reconstruct the Greek ideal, the incarnation of the simple, the pure, the core of beauty. Beauty in idealist terms rises above nature, above humanity, and becomes divine. ‘The highest beauty is in God’ (Winckelmann 2006: 196). If, then, the 16th and 17th c. were times of infinite curiosity, experiment, and gradual alienation from the mystical cosmology of earlier stages, where material objects – rare and *curieux* – were thought to be carriers of strong but hidden resemblances with things lying beyond visual perception, a century later, connoisseurship, or else the ability to argue about beauty and taste, set new ground rules in the domain of art. Even though the ultimate goal was the definition of ideal art through the exploration of the dynamics of style – in other words, why this particular statue is more pleasing than that, why this form of art is inferior or superior to that one, and how style changed – the criteria were more subjectively rooted in the assessment of the connoisseur and his (almost never *her*) ‘intuitive sensitivity’ (Winckelmann 2006: 24).

Within this broader context, the *beau-ideal* tradition can be seen as a form of critical judgment constitutive of the 18th c. classical revival, or Neoclassicism. It has to do with the pursuit of ‘colorless, unclassified purity of life’ (Winckelmann 2006: 36), which is more an idea in the mind than something external that should be faithfully represented. So pervasive was the myth of the white marble statue and so ambitious was the attainment of simplicity through the negation of color that, albeit with periods of regression to colorful nostalgia, especially in the 19th c., archaeologists and curators attempted to erase traces of ancient coloring or further whiten the marbles.

35.3 Ideal in Style – Ideal in System

However, Winckelmann’s bequest to modern culture was not only his – consciously futile – *pathos* for the ideal. His contribution to art history and theory, and to theory in general, consists of something more concrete. It lies in the fact that Winckelmann was the first to

systematize objects of antiquarian interest into a logically classified system bearing its own rules and shortcomings on the basis of *style* (see Chapter 2). In *History of the Art of Antiquity*, published in German in 1764, the systematization of style under the broader sphere of idealism created a new language of receiving classical art. The perfection of Athens at the time of Perikles is measured by means of two distinct styles: the *high* and the *beautiful*. The high style, epitomized in the work of Pheidias and Polykleitos, rises above nature and humanity to render the immaterial, the sublime, the hidden essence of mankind, that which stirs wonderment and leaves the beholder speechless. The beautiful style, seen later in the 5th c. BC in the work of Lysippos and Praxiteles, exemplifies the sensuous, the flesh, the material aspect of beauty that exists in external reality and can be savored by the trained eye, described by punctilious writing.

Yet the high and beautiful styles would not have had the same impact had they merely been treated as singular phenomena of 5th c. Athens. Winckelmann conceptualized those styles within a scheme of rise and decline, which included four phases: (i) the Archaic phase – source of inspiration for later artistic production; (ii) the austere Early Classical phase of Pheidias; (iii) a Late Classical phase, that of Praxiteles; and finally (iv) the phase of imitation and decline associated with Hellenistic and Imperial Roman times (Potts 1994: 15). The classification of style into chronological periods was the turning point from plain antiquarianism to a more coherent whole prevailed over by the notion of *sequence*. Put otherwise, it was the shift from isolated descriptions of objects of art, or even from attempts *à la mode* of the Enlightenment to contextualize art and its origins according to the makers, the climate, the mode of governing and so on, to a schematic, still fragmented, narrative of art.

From the closing decades of the 18th c. onwards, chronology enters museum space and becomes the device that orders styles, schools, artists, and eras in a line heading towards the future. Museums found the idea of a historical progression very useful for didactic purposes. The linear movement of time, on the one hand, and the Enlightenment belief that life, history, and art production evolve from more primitive forms to refinement on the other, made it possible for museums to narrate culture(s) by setting European culture as the guardian of the Antique. Told this way, the story of humanity both aestheticizes and historicizes the past, as it exhales classical beauty while at the same time giving it a place in chronology. An articulation between pure beauty and beauty-as-history has constituted the basic framework of exhibiting Greek art ever since.

35.4 The Overtly Political Louvre

The politics of beauty in Europe during the last couple of centuries has had a constant point of reference: the Louvre. The story unfolds by tracing the origins of the museum in royal collections, royal ambitions, and the attempt of the pre-Revolutionary (*ancien*) regime to create a Museum of Fine Arts for the education of the artists. The predecessor of the museum was not only the famous salons of the 18th c. (temporary exhibitions of contemporary art), but also the innumerable collections of the aristocracy and high-bourgeois class, who amassed decorative objects for their gardens and voluptuous interiors. The royal palace of the Louvre, with its age-long tradition of status and insignia, did not find itself strained to incorporate the few originals and the many casts of the early 19th c. As a trace of Neoclassical taste, the sculpture collection became the mainstay of the Louvre's educative role with regard to the cultivation of steadfast aesthetic values.

To start with, the *beau-ideal* tradition manifests itself in Visconti's vision of turning the new museum into an apparatus of politics: the politics of taste hand in hand with the politics of the mighty. Visconti was a dreamer of the Napoleonic kind and in 1802, when the museum of the Revolution, known as the Musée Central des Arts, became the museum of the Emperor Napoleon and was renamed the Musée Napoleon, Visconti set out to visualize a national goal. He conceived and supervised the display of sculptures, mainly from Rome, and made sure that no minor objects, such as coins, medals, inscriptions, and the like, would impure the grandeur of the galleries. Objects of secondary choice were mounted on the walls, with the bulk housed in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The sculptures in the Louvre were often chosen to match the ornamentation of the ceilings, which bore heavily sculpted mythological scenes (Laugier et al. 2004: 200). Even after the defeat of France and the restoration of monarchy, classical sculpture in the Louvre remained under the spell of subject-based classification, as Visconti had primarily wished it.

From 1802 to the early 1930s, the concept of the display of Greek and Roman art in the Louvre stayed more or less the same (see [Figure 35.1](#)). Despite certain efforts during the 19th c., and especially in its second half, to incorporate new acquisitions from excavations, to expand the museum, and to follow British empiricism in terms of chronology and cultural contexts, the Napoleonic project was not really questioned. The *beau-ideal* tradition resumed its course and

remained the norm for classifying classical collections. Eventually, materials and types of construction were understood as valid modes of classification within the broader aesthetic standard. The objects acquired a certain ‘technical’ character in comparison to earlier classifications, yet still the pace was slow.

Figure 35.1 View of the Victory of Samothrace dominating the Daru staircase in the Louvre, c.1921–22 (Photo Giraudon/ The Bridgeman Art Library).



Change became evident in the decades that preceded World War II. As the publication of Étienne Michon’s guide in 1922 shows, chronology had started replacing classification by subject and Greek art was finally separated from that of the Romans (Michon 1922). The aesthetics of simplicity veered towards modernism. The rooms appeared plainer and better lit, the statues shed restored parts, and a number of objects that did not fit the chronology found their way into the museum storage rooms.

The new entrance to the museum, marked by the inauguration of I.M. Pei’s Glass Pyramid in 1989, disturbed the timeline and put into question the whole concept of display, but that’s another story.

35.5 Epistemological Tension at

the British Museum

While the Louvre did not face serious dilemmas in its policy of the beautiful, the British Museum was strongly affected by the tension between the idea of a system (historical approach) and the *beau-ideal* tradition (nonhistorical approach). Indeed, there was a marked discord between two parties involved in the museum's affairs: on the one hand, the emerging cast of professional archaeologists, who saw in the collections the possibility to reconstruct the linear progression of civilization according to Darwinian principles, and on the other hand, the *aesthetes*, inspired by the quasi nontemporal values of Winckelmann's idealism (Jenkins 1992). The Elgin (or Parthenon) Marbles exemplify this tension, which manifests itself in the 19th c. and becomes the explanatory force for many of the decisions made in the course of the 20th.

From the first display of the Elgin Marbles in the Temporary Elgin Room in 1817 to the final arrangement in the Duveen Gallery well into the 20th c., a number of changes in the location and mode of exhibiting took place. Each and every time, the display gave evidence of shifts and rifts in the ideas that dominated the museum's intellectual milieu. In studying the history of the collection at the British Museum, however, one thing remains clear: the display in 1817 and that in the Duveen Gallery have more in common with each other than with the rest of the redispays in the 19th c.

Specifically, the first display in 1817 was aesthetically appealing, and the objects, aligned to the walls, were for the most part used decoratively and out of context, be it chronological, geographical, or cultural. On the other hand, the displays in 1831 and in 1873 showed an increasing interest in the invocation of the temple where the fragments once stood. Those tentative suggestions of an architectural context for the fragments (where the picturesque was not altogether out of the picture) were to become a constant source of concern not only for the custodians of the Greek and Roman Collection at the British Museum but also for the curators of classical art in general. How were the Elgin Marbles to be better viewed? Mounted upon a natural-scale model, thus revealing their initial origin and purpose, or as isolated fragments pointing to an unattainable ideal? Archaeology or idealist art? Obviously, the clash between archaeologists, who favored the idea of visual context, and aesthetes such as Richard Westmacott, who could only tolerate an array of cords to evoke the shape of the pediment (Jenkins 1992: 95), was unremitting. Indeed, a number of proposals in the 1850s underlining the educative role of architectural reconstructions for both the expert and the layman hinted that the *beau-ideal* tradition had somehow become old-

fashioned, and that the archaeologists were gaining ground.

Moreover, the British Museum was constantly expanding. The old Montagu House was demolished, and new wings were constructed. So strongly was the taste of the times marked by Neoclassicism and the admiration of Periklean architecture that it demanded an adequate building for the recently acquired treasures. The decision to transform the existing building into a Neoclassical Museum right at the heart of the British Empire was the sign of a transition from the old British Museum, committed to the collection of books and natural specimens, to a museum that would bear proof of its universal humanist mission (Caygill 2002). As Jenkins points out, the entrance to the new building was crowned by a pedimental synthesis entitled 'The Progress of Civilization' and sculpted by the custodian of the Greek and Roman Collection, Richard Westmacott. This was the core of the museum's ambition in the 19th c., particularly the second half, to visualize the concept of progress as a 'chain' bringing together the milestones of ancient art chronologically. However, typology and Darwinian discourse in archaeology mostly affected the domain of prehistory and early English history. The Three Age System, a mode of chronological classification based on the combination of stratum and material (stone, bronze, and iron in successive strata) was applied to prehistoric material in Denmark and Britain during the 19th c., but not to collections of classical art (Renfrew and Bahn 2000: 264–268). The systematization of prehistory and early history was a menace to the *beau-ideal* tradition, as it shook the fixed platonic archetypes, of which the Elgin Marbles stood as the best example. In the course of the 20th c., however, many museums worldwide chose to treat prehistoric collections as curiosities instead of chronological specimens, thus gradually ascribing to prehistory a fetishist fixation with the exotic nature of 'primitive' art.

Notwithstanding the ambition and its epistemological literacy, the British Museum did not manage to comply with the principle of chronological arrangement, which was to become a new display paradigm around the turn of the 19th c. at the Munich Glyptotek. The museum was vacillating between theory and praxis, between the past and the present. In theory it was becoming an academic institution propagating the succession of civilizations, from Assyria and Egypt to Etruria and Greece. In praxis, the British Museum was striving to prove the excellence of classical art, which was never really considered an equal partner in the chain. The arrangement of the exhibits was largely based on the concept of the Athenian grandeur. This was eloquently communicated by the location of the Phigaleian Room (anteroom to the Elgin collection): even though chronologically later, the Phigaleian marbles from Bassai in the Peloponnese (see

Chapter 34) were stylistically prior to the glorious Pheidian masterpieces. They stood as an overture to true art. Only later, in 1891, was a room devoted to the Archaic period created, assembling sculptures from various locations in the museum. The museum went that far towards chronology (more likely in the Winckelmannian sense) regarding the Elgin 'dream collection'.

Be that as it may, the victory of context-based didacticism over pure contemplation characterized the closing decades of the 19th c. and intensified in the early 20th c. (Figure 35.2). This was, for instance, reflected in the *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* issued in 1908, where curatorial concerns focused upon the 'historical progress of each class of objects' (British Museum 1908: 1). Specifically for the Elgin Marbles, formal descriptions were combined with descriptions of the sculptures' locations on the monument, and the mythological backdrop was amply described. However, in the same catalogue, the spirit of the ideal manifests itself by references to 'the serene grandeur and simple power of sculptures of the school of Pheidias' (British Museum 1908: 21), the 'dignity and beauty' of a Late Classical Demeter (British Museum 1908: 12), and the grotesque of the Archaic production (British Museum 1908: 27) and its role in the transition to a fully developed art (British Museum 1908: 9). These are indirect references to Winckelmann's *History*, combining his admiration for the high style with his concern for a chronological system that could explain the rise and decline of true art.

Figure 35.2 The British Museum, London. The Elgin Room in 1934 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).



Grains of the *beau-ideal* survived, then, within more positivist conceptions of archaeology. They re-emerged, for example, in the closing years of the 1920s. In a report to the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries in 1928, John Beazley, Donald Robertson, and Bernard Ashmole give strong evidence of the shift in mentality:

The Parthenon Marbles, being the greatest body of original Greek sculpture in existence, and unique monuments of its first maturity, are primarily works of art. Their former decorative function as architectural ornaments, and their present educational use as illustrations of mythical and historical events in ancient Greece, are by comparison accidental and trivial interests, which can indeed be better served by casts (Jenkins 1992: 225).

The spirit of Winckelmann, as interpreted by 20th c. purists, prevailed. It brought back the love for the revered, isolated antiquity and placed enormous distance between art and the newfangled science of archaeology. The Duveen Gallery, which was about to open in 1939 just before the outbreak of the World War II, exemplified change. Donated to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Duveen and built by J. Russell Pope, an American architect of Duveen's choice, the gallery became the final destination of the Elgin Marbles and a fine example of the *beau-ideal* revisited. The architectural-didactic approach was abandoned and the casts were removed from the display. In the name

of clarity and decorative harmony, the frieze and metopes mounted high up on the walls and bearing anatomical and chronological gaps visualized idealist simplicity. The Duveen Gallery officially reopened in 1962 and has more or less remained intact to date. In the current floor plan, Room 18 is the Parthenon Room, together with two annexes accommodating minor fragments and pieces of architecture, as well as audiovisual material. The museum Web site includes a video of the Marbles, where the narrator ‘celebrates the enduring beauty and humanity of the Parthenon sculptures’ (www.britishmuseum.org/explore/galleries/ancient_greece_and_rome/room_18_greece_parthenon_sculptures.aspx; last accessed January 18, 2010): there is no better argument for a Universal Museum (ICOM News Magazine 2004).

35.6 The Educational Aspect of Beauty at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

On the other side of the Atlantic, the Metropolitan Museum of Art was founded in the 19th c. to promote the beautiful and the industrious. But there was more to it than that. In the closing decades of the 19th c., the museum showed explicit interest in educating the public. My main source in this matter is *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Howe 1913). The catalogue presents in detail the birth and evolution of a museum aiming to cultivate on the basis of beauty. It comprises that part of the story that spans from the closing of the 18th c. to the first decade of the 20th.

From the very first meetings to discuss the founding of the museum in the 1850s, the committee of the most renowned personalities in New York City made clear that the museum should not become ‘a gallery of painting and sculpture’ (Howe 1913: vii). Instead it should develop into a place where ‘complete collections of objects illustrative of the history of “all the arts, whether industrial, educational, or recreational, which can give value to such an institution” ’ should be amassed (Howe 1913: viii).

Thus, from early on, the museum expressed interest in collecting (i) objects of the same type (‘complete series of objects’) and (ii) objects that could document diverse aspects of material culture production, spanning from industry to art. While the former proved that scientific criteria informed collecting, the latter drew a dividing

line between the Met and what was fashionable for an art museum in the 19th c., namely Classical Greek, Renaissance, and Baroque art. Reading the catalogue, one realizes the subtle balance between the role of beauty and the concern for the people.

Prior to the foundation of the Met, the American Academy of Fine Arts (1802–41), one of the first six art institutions established in Manhattan during the opening decades of the 19th c., aimed to ‘procure casts in plaster of the most beautiful pieces of ancient Sculpture now collected in the National Museum’ – that is, the Louvre (Howe 1913: 8). However, in order to complement viewing as a means of educating people about art, the permanent and temporary exhibitions were strengthened by lectures, education, a library, and other instructive approaches to create a context for the works after the model of the Royal Academy in London. Faith, then, in republicanism and the elevating though pragmatic nature of art, slightly twisted the reception of Winckelmann’s ‘classical ideal’. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, during its many phases of organization and relocation, carried in the 20th c. the mission of its pioneers:

Besides the cultivation of the sense of beauty – in other words, the perception of order, symmetry, proportion of parts, which is of near kindred to the moral sentiments – the intelligent contemplation of a great gallery of works of art is a lesson in history, a lesson in biography, a lesson in the antiquities of different countries. Half our knowledge of the customs and modes of life among the ancient Greeks and Romans is derived from the remains of ancient art (Howe 1913: 111).

Since the aim was to create a public and popular art institution for all layers of the population, the display mode could not be merely aesthetic but had also to be illustrative of the educational process. Chronological progress was both fashionable and highly edifying. By the time the museum moved to Central Park, in the 1880s, the distance from the idea of a *cabinet de curiosités* – a place of strange and rare objects with no obvious visible or historical connection – was great. In the beginning of the 20th c., the objects were rearranged with the major purpose of enhancing their educational value. Moreover, contacts with schools were established by the appointment of the Supervisor of Museum Instruction. The museum had entered its phase of national pride and the trustees made that clear. The rearrangement of the collections aimed to ‘group together the *masterpieces* of different countries and times in such *relation* and *sequence* as to illustrate the history of art in the broadest sense, to make plain its teaching, and to inspire and direct its national development’ (Howe 1913: 295, my emphasis).

The classical ideal at the Met was scientifically inspired. The presence of the classical archaeologist Gisela Richter, who in 1925 became Curator of Greek and Roman Art, stressed the aesthetic-formalist approach of the displays. Richter placed particular emphasis upon the rigor of style that dictated the classification and study of the collections. In the 1940s, the bulk of the Greek and Roman collections was put in storage, and it remained hidden from the public eye for almost sixty years (Nørskov 2002: 158–163). The new Greek galleries opened in 1999 (Figure 35.3), comprising the Archaic and Classical periods and presenting the objects under a whole new concept of thematic and contextual arrangement. Finally, in 2007, the impressive restoration of the Leon Levy and Shelby White Court, housing Hellenistic, Etruscan, and Roman art, allowed the rest of the collections to be publicly accessible.

Figure 35.3 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Mary and Michael Zaharis Gallery, opened in 1999 (Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).



Obviously, the aesthetic element is far from absent in the redisplay. The majestic refurbishment in impeccable classicist style and the restorations of Roman interiors and frescoes combine the everlasting charm of the picturesque with the educational goal that the museum has always prioritized (www.metmuseum.org/collections/new-installations/greek-and-roman-galleries; last accessed November 30, 2011). As for the online displays, the Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History helps visitors, from their own homes, to explore collections from Paleolithic times onwards, according to chronology, geography, and themes (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collections>; last accessed November 30, 2011). This dominant visual feature proves that the old project of art history as the linear recount of cultures lives on in the 21st c. It is true that neither the notion of progress as a constant refinement in art, nor Winckelmann's scheme of rise and decline, prevails in the displays. Yet Winckelmann's proto-historical attempt to classify cultures into confines of chronological periods and artistic styles, and the eventual emergence of the timeline as a narrative device, was the bedrock for later exhibitions of classical art. Even though Greek antiquity at the Met was not traditionally shown as the zenith of artistic production, the 'forest of the nude' (Figure 35.3) looms behind contemporary beliefs in cultural differentiation, relativity, and multiculturalism. Museums are places where ideas form collages of the most startling patterns.

35.7 Antiquity at the National Archaeological Museum at Athens

The figure who sealed exhibition practice with regard to classical antiquity in 20th c. Greece is without question Christos Karouzos. For a period of more than twenty-five years (1942–64), Karouzos held the position of Director at the National Archaeological Museum. Together with his wife Semni, an archaeologist and curator at the museum, who served their common goal after her husband's death, Karouzos renewed the paradigm of archaeological displays. The ambition was to turn away from the treasure-like presentations that had packed the rooms of the museum during the first decades of the century (Gazi 2008; Mouliou 2008). Karouzos's sturdy intellectual baggage, his strong affiliation with German culture and methodology, and his faith in the humanist project shifted the emphasis from overtly national

claims and romantic overtones to archaeology as a way of understanding the nexus of ideas that enlivened artistic production in different periods (cf. Plantzos 2008b). The means to reach higher levels of consciousness was, in his view, the meticulous study of classical form in its more refined version (namely, the period between 450 and 420/10 BC), where form attains architectural solidity, balance between movement and stillness, and, more importantly, depth. Depth was a crucial concept in Karouzos's understanding of ancient Greek art. It was his way of talking about the essence of the world: art as if shaped by gods. This kind of art results in the elevation of the human spirit and makes classical production vivid and euphoric for the viewer.

In the redisplay of the collections that took place in the 1950s, which had been anticipated by a temporary exhibition organized by the couple in the closing years of the previous decade, theory was put into view. The focus was upon the aesthetic education of the public in a manner of subtle didacticism revolving around the objects themselves. Owing to space limitations, marble statues, bronzes, and vases were combined together, close to each other but not too close, so as to reveal both affiliations and the power of each individual item. The particularities of the various workshops and of artists in different geographical areas, and the overall arrangement in chronological and typological series, were of great interest to the curators. From the perspective of pedagogy, Karouzos believed that the museum should be able to recount the story of art history, as had been the tradition since the late 18th c., when the Belvedere Palace in Vienna opened to the public. An archaeological museum, especially a national archaeological museum, should first and foremost forge links among the objects, links so vivid and self-evident that additional information would be superfluous. For Karouzos, archaeology was understood as art history rather than history. The museum should look at historical and social processes, yet only indirectly should it disclose elements related to contexts. The museum need *not* discuss and visualize the processes themselves. That was the role of the objects. So, the collections were more or less left to 'speak themselves' (Barthes 1967). Detailed knowledge of history, philosophy, and literature was, in Karouzos's view, a far better background for the display than pedagogical and learning theories could possibly be. The role of the museum was to make the objects talk just on the basis of their powerful truths. Be this as it may, the visual connections made by the archaeologist who wished to unveil 'the superior artistic beauty springing from marble, bronze and clay' were not transparent to the layman (Karouzos 1981: 142, trans. author).

Finally, if we wonder how much of Winckelmann's writing is

present in Karouzos's thinking, there is no easy answer. On the one hand, certain aspects, such as the belief in the essence of art as something evolving in humankind itself, the aim of the artist towards clarity and simplicity, the particularity of the self-reflexive Pheidian style bespeaking the awakening of individual consciousness, the awe and empathy on the part of the viewer during the act of contemplation, the connection of poetry and visual arts, and the painstaking study of form to disclose the *psyche* (the spiritual content) of the object, all point to the ethos of Winckelmann's passion with respect to the redemptive power of the antique. On the other hand, Karouzos himself was an anti-classicist. He believed classicism, first seen in Hadrian's time in the 2nd c. BC and then again in 19th c. Europe, diminishes the luminous power of ancient art and transforms it into a ghost, a gloomy representation of nostalgia, which has nothing to do with the warmth of the original context. Classicism constitutes a historical category emerging within the distinct historical and social horizon of the 19th c. and should not be taken for an eternal given. It is the beauty of the statues themselves that never ceases to amaze us.

In theory, then, Karouzos retained many of Winckelmann's observations regarding the virtues of the Antique, namely the articulation between anatomy and inner spiritual force, light and depth, subject and freedom, archaeology and art. Yet, as a true modernist and a person who had seen the originals, Karouzos had faith in the idea that art history evolved linearly (not just in schemes of rise and decline) and expressed itself in taxonomic series that the museum should represent, without dismissing the ideal of pure, inner beauty. This was also his point in the National Archaeological Museum – that is, to keep additional features to a minimum and to emphasize the purity of ancient art, be it Geometric, Archaic, Classical, even prehistoric, against a neutral exhibition space.

35.8 Conclusion

The rise of idealism and the distinct interpretation which Winckelmann offered with regard to classical art has never ceased to concern museums since the Louvre turned itself into the popular shrine that we are familiar with today. Idealist simplicity, whiteness, and spiritual elevation marked the museum-icons of modernity and ascribed to Greek art a touch of veneration close to the nature of a secular religion. And while for its Classical sculpture the Louvre remained faithful to the *beau-ideal* tradition until the third decade of

the 20th c., the British Museum went the other way and abolished the quasi educational principles that it had adopted in the 19th c., at least as far as the Elgin Marbles were concerned. The Metropolitan Museum struck the balance more effectively between the beauty of Roman copies and conscious educational policy in the 20th c., while the National Archaeological Museum reinterpreted Winckelmann as the aura that enlivened the original universal heritage.

Simplicity is, then, a notion that extends from naked bodies open to contemplation to naked environments, unobtrusive colors, and the new austerity of the 20th c. Even at the opening of the 21st c., the austerity of the new Acropolis Museum is deemed the right environment for the ritual of displaying the local Parthenon marbles. This is what makes the gap between original and reconstruction so great. Reconstructions, particularly virtual reconstructions, which seem closer to fiction even though they raise claim to utmost authenticity, have not subdued simplicity. On the contrary, they are allowed to show color, restored parts, alleged environments, and hyper-realistic lighting. Interactive and virtual-reality platforms, where ancient cities come back to life and the body feels kinesthetically involved, place the experience of the visitor at the core of current museological requirements. While Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology seems to be reinstated, positivism hides behind the frenzy of the accurate reconstruction and the idea of the past 'as it was'. Is it possible that we are going through a phase like that in the mid 19th c., in which the ideal is treated as something concrete, open not only to contemplation but to scientific accuracy and didacticism? In the 19th c., the attempt to present the Elgin Marbles at eye-level in the British Museum brought changes to the way artists and the public had fathomed classical art until then. Today, digital heritage promises to create truthful electronic representations of ancient architecture. The essence of art becomes the fidelity of the simulation. And yet, this is not completely true. The story of the reception of classical art tells us that didacticism and the *beau-ideal* tradition have never really coexisted in museum displays. We would hardly find classical statues flanked by introductory panels and lengthy captions. Even though the *beau-ideal* (and its aesthetics of simplicity) is nowadays just one of the display modes encountered in the museums discussed above, in the case of universal masterpieces, the notion of the original whitens the display and leaves no space for color, mock-ups, scale models, and fancy simulations, at least not in the same room.

If we understand aesthetics from the point of view of the history of ideas and social theory, we realize that rifts do not happen abruptly and that continuities live on into the next era. Maybe even longer than that. The humanist-idealist discourse is still being flagged, like a

national or universal emblem (ICOM News Magazine 2004). What might be noted is that we enter a new phase of the ideal by having to redefine the national versus the universal. While the ideal is retreating to its 18th c. context, humanity, by distancing itself from the short interval of the national museums of classical art, should begin to ponder seriously the terms according to which Neo-Humanism is to be interpreted and staged.

FURTHER READING

On the emergence of museums in modernity and the social and ideological implications involved, see Bennet (1995). For further research into the issue of museums as Foucauldian ‘spaces of knowledge’, see Hooper-Greenhill (1992). For the much-debated dissonance between emotional and more intellectual approaches in museums, including the issue of virtual reconstructions, make-believe spectacle, and living history, see the informed critique of Hein (2000). On the same topic, albeit from a more historical viewpoint, see Samuel (1994). For an investigation into contemporary Greek cultural politics, see the introduction and papers in Damaskos and Plantzos (2008). Finally, the joint work of Bourdieu and Darbel (1990), first published in French in 1966, is a seminal research into the sociopolitics of art museums, discussing issues of taste and cultural exclusion. On the diverse contemporary readings of Winckelmann’s work, see particularly *Winckelmann: La Naissance de l’ Histoire de l’ Art à l’ Époque des Lumières* (Pommier 1991). On Winckelmann’s mode of detailed description in *History of the Art of Antiquity* and the semiological status of word and image in his writings, see Décultot (2006). The origin of the ideal in Vasari’s thought and its impact on Winckelmann’s rationale is dealt with in Belting (1989); the book points to the end of art history as a ‘grand narrative’.

CHAPTER 36

The Cultural Property Debate

Stelios Lekakis

36.1 ‘Who Owns Ancient Art and Cultural Heritage?’

This rather flamboyant – and to a certain extent, misleading – question has been hotly debated by academics and interested parties for almost three decades. During this time, various arguments have appeared in favor of individual, collective, or national viewpoints, construed in Western priorities and conceptual frameworks, together with the relevant issues of collecting, looting, ethics, politics, and legal frameworks.

The institution of ownership, individual or collective, has had a long history in the development of civic society. Although different processes and mechanisms have appeared over time, and in different political systems and cultures (Scarre and Scarre 2006: 5), *ownership* and the exclusive rights over circumscribed *property* is largely considered a primordial right of citizens emanating from ‘natural law’, the ‘social convention’, or ‘morality’. From Aristotle to the thinkers of the Enlightenment, Marx and the anarchist philosophers, the political economy of ownership and its criticisms has held a vital role in the formation of society and self-composition, and is considered one of the main constituents of sociopolitical systems around the world.

In its legal perception, ownership is dealt with, nowadays, in three large categories: (i) *private property*, where individuals have exclusive rights over their ownership; (ii) *common property*, where rights are shared collectively by a group of individuals; and (iii) *state property*, where rights are abrogated to a national government, ‘in the public interest’ (Carman 2005: 29–31). Each of these categories’ owners are

elevated, through the right to own property, to a beneficiary status, when it comes to symbolic and use appropriation of their belongings; they are granted autonomy and allowed to arrange their relations – among other owners – in regard to things; that is, to ‘sell, rent, mortgage, transfer, exchange, consume or destroy their property, or to exclude others from doing these things’ (Davies 2007: 13–14).

Nowadays, it is most common that omnipresent capitalism and its spirit of commoditization promote the liberal-individual category of private property, turning any possible particle into a valuable object to be sold. Collective forms of ownership, on the other hand, are critiqued as wasteful, leading sooner or later to the mismanagement of resources and ‘the tragedy of the commons’; that is, degradation through overuse by multiple stakeholders. Moreover, state property is criticized as exclusive to people and insufficient in terms of possible gains (Young 2006: 18).

36.2 Owning Ancient Art and Cultural Heritage

Even though these patterns apply to most of the categories of material commodities, how might the ‘unique’ art and heritage of ancient Greece fit into this scheme? And if they do, who is the ‘rightful’ owner?

Questions such as these and others – especially concerned with the location of a possible ‘owner’ and the ethical connotations – generated a heated debate in the 1980s, under the uneasy heading: ‘Who owns heritage?’ In this context, a number of arguments sprang up in favor of various categories of ownership: belonging to the ‘imagined’ nation and the ‘public’, to individuals (supporting the rights of art collectors), to the suppressed indigenous and local communities, to the encyclopedic museums, to humankind at large. Or does heritage belong to the ancient edifice or landscape that it initially had a close affinity with? Be that as it may, the ownership of cultural heritage became an oft-quoted conundrum in the post-modern era of the globalization call, the fragmentation of ethics, and the reality of the tourist industry. Along with these, hushed voices emerged denying heritage ownership and attempting to connect it with a fourth category of potential ‘non’-ownership; that is, ‘open access’.

Attempting to unravel this bundle of arguments, a crude sketch of the dominant categories of ownership rhetoric follows. This is necessary before pursuing an arrangement of ownership patterns

historically, through the reasons that created them and the practices that they have dictated.

Legal frameworks in most countries opt – in one way or another – for ‘collective’ ownership and pose a number of limitations to individual owners’ rights, in favor of the ‘public’. Ancient art is considered an exemplary form of heritage in its aesthetic appreciation, and it holds a special status that removes it from the ordinary. It reflects multiple stakes for different agents and is loaded with a number of political, social, economic, and moral connotations, being at once the carrier of history and identity and a national remnant of stability, too important to be left in the jurisdiction of individuals. It is thus stewarded by governments, who manage it for the benefit of their public and the rest of the world, and place it outside the appropriation, market, and trade processes of standard types of property (Lowenthal 1996: 5; Preucel and Hodder 1996: 520; Scarre and Scarre 2006: 6; Davies 2007: 15).

Opposing this stands what we could term the *individualistic view* of collectors and ancient art dealers, the private museums and auction houses concerned with ancient art and heritage. This view overemphasizes the value of aesthetic experience and the ‘exotic fascination’ of ancient objects and focuses on the material, pointing to the antiquarian infancy of archaeology. State appropriation is criticized as inefficient and singular – while arguments are posed promoting private ownership in favor of, for example, a cosmopolitan ‘common heritage’ for the encyclopedic museums or even for the enhancement of national patrimony, as is commonly observed in the ‘shouldn’t be going away’ argument reiterated by private museums that house antiquities in their country of origin. The *individualistic view* commonly relates to a social elite (affluent collectors, educated appreciators of aesthetics, etc.) who consider ancient art as another type of commodity and vote in favor of the open trade of antiquities under international law. Some of these points bear strong resemblances to the ‘cultural property internationalism’ standpoint to be reviewed below (von Bothmer 1990; Ortiz 1994; Chase et al. 1996: 31; Rose et al. 1996: 87; Griffin 1999; Shestack 1999: 97–98; Cuno 2009).

Individualistic arguments, like the above, are heavily criticized by archaeologists and other heritage specialists. Their writings focus upon clandestine excavations, looting of sites, and the theft of archaeological resources from ‘source countries’. Their points revolve around ethical, moral, and scientific arguments, especially highlighting the loss of any excavation context for the antiquities. The result is the production of multitudes of unprovenanced antiquities and the illicit compound of international art trade, which feeds back

into the latest collecting trend in rich countries. Thus, set against affluent collectors and acquisitive museum curators who accept any purported documentation for new acquisitions, they align with the need for national stewardship of ancient art and heritage, focused on research and protection, and lately (see below) on educational programs for the public and the adoption of ethical guidelines (Gill and Chippindale 1993; Vitelli 1996; Renfrew 2000; Brodie and Tubb 2002; Apostolides 2006).

36.3 ‘The Nation is the Steward of Cultural Property’

The issue of heritage protection, management, and appropriation is intimately connected with the formation of the European nation states in the 19th and 20th c. Antiquities were connected with the natural characteristics of the motherland that gave birth to the nation; they were carrying the roots, the essence and the pride of the imagined community and transformed into *national heritage*; they projected a retrospective and emotive unison of the nation state to the pre-modern past (Anderson 1991: 9–36, 178–185; Carman 2005: 76; Hamilakis 2007). Set outside the realm of private economics, antiquities were the core of the national narrative reiterating romantic nostalgia for the heroic past, ‘attesting our identity and affirming our worth’ (Lowenthal 1996: 122). These ‘invented traditions’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1–14, 263–308) were readily covered by newly introduced national laws in this period, as in Greece in 1899 and Turkey in 1906, leveling previous discussable ownership issues (e.g. as *partage*: relinquishing a portion of findings to the foreign excavators) and local practices, in a reductionist tactic favoring ethnic identity value (Cleere 1989: 1; Lekakis 2005, 2006).

Archaeology, on the other hand, being established in this period as a positivistic science, was used to provide authenticity and tangible evidence of historical time with analogies to readily acknowledged facts and protagonists, cementing national coherence and morale (Cleere 1989: 6–8; Silberman 1989; Trigger 1996: 618–620, 626). Antiquities thus came under national custodianship, limiting the opportunities of private ownership, and handing down subsidiary rights to public institutions, as national museums, in order to manage the ‘exceptional’ collective past, focusing on the aesthetically sound material and impressing citizenship rituals upon the public (Bennet 1995; Pieterse 2005: 163; Smith and Waterton 2009: 28–29). Linearly

categorized and aesthetically classified, antiquities steadily formed the innate, authentic image-value of the nation, ready to be consumed and sold to the masses through the national heritage industry.

Through such processes, ancient art and heritage came under national jurisdiction as ‘cultural property’, a term legitimized later in international charters and conventions. In the inter-war climate of the 1930s, the Athens Convention emphasized the overarching need to preserve the ‘archaeological property of mankind’, stewarded by the states’ ‘wardens of civilization’, and prioritized this over private ownership (§II, §VII). This concept was recast in the 1954 Hague Convention, where ‘cultural property’ was used interchangeably with cultural heritage as a generic term to declare the national appropriation/state ownership of heritage ‘irrespective of origin or ownership’ (§1); it was further solidified in the 1970 UNESCO Convention as ‘one of the basic elements of civilization and national culture’ (Preamble).

Even though charters and similar international documents hold only ethical onus among the signatories, and their application depends on ratifications in each country, the above examples affirm our point that all material and immaterial culture relating to the past, together with ancient art, was gradually enveloped by the state cultural property; it was considered to be attached to the birthland of the nation, which keeps for itself the role of the steward in favor of the public.

36.4 ‘Of Humankind’

Parallel to the national appropriation of ancient art and heritage, a complementary type of ‘ownership’ was developed in Europe. The post-World War II era found European nations tending their wounds and attempting to stabilize common aspirations and a shared future. Placing Europe at the center of the world, attempts were made to establish the narrative of a shared past by reterritorializing its identity and imagination (Johler 2002). Based on the collapsed collective of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in a spirit close to Enlightenment ideals and the aspirations of Diderot and Condorcet and other universalist philosophers (Eriksen 2001: 127), cultural heritage, already seen as ‘property of Mankind’ in the Athens Charter, was in the 1975 Declaration of Amsterdam pronounced a ‘joint possession of all the people of Europe’.

Attempting to leave behind the agony of war and promote shared values and intergovernmental dialogue, international cultural

organizations were established – such as UNESCO in 1945 and the ICCROM in 1959 – and the number of international normative documents aspiring at unison and cooperation, and providing guidance among the signatories, was multiplied (http://www.getty.edu/conservation/research_resources/charters.html). This, however, did not contradict the national appropriation of heritage and culture that we saw being formalized above. The international arena of cultural conventions and organizations was a common space for the nation states to discuss their ideas and promote effective protection patterns of national heritages, along with the refurbishment of their national legislation (Cleere 1989: 4, 11). In these, the enveloping, Western-centered concept of ‘humankind’ was cultivated, where cultural resources – essential for the well-being of ‘human species’ (Dingli 2006: 240) – were to be stewarded and protected as cultural property by the nations that were possessing them (Hague Convention 1954: A.3–A.5); this became a way of promoting ‘national exceptionalisms’ in a global homogeneous system, reaffirming their value and securing stereotypes (Laclau 1996: 65).

This idea of a globally-shared cum nationally-owned heritage, backed up by the processual turn of archaeology – from the 1960s onwards – which called for positivism, subjectivity, cataloguing, and a global perspective in research, was later affirmed in the 1970 UNESCO Convention, where the signatory nation states are prompted to support ‘the interchange of cultural property’ – analytically defined in the Convention – ‘among nations for scientific, cultural and educational purposes’, while noting that each should be attuned ‘to the moral obligations to respect its own cultural heritage and that of all nations’ (Preamble).

With the 1972 UNESCO Convention ‘for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage’, the call for international appreciation of heritage was solidified, requiring transnational criteria, collaboration, and a moral obligation to respect the common heritage for present and future generations (Preamble, A.6; Omeland 2006: 245). Materializing these proclamations, the Convention created a World Heritage List, including 890 properties in 148 state-parties (as of April 2009) of ‘outstanding universal’, natural, and cultural value.

One could argue that the national appropriation of ancient art and cultural heritage with a Pan-European reference point is still dominant in European countries. The rising number of applicants to the Europa Nostra Awards for ‘outstanding’ heritage conservation across Europe, established in 1978, is a mark, especially when it deals with heritage as ‘the genetic code of our identity’ (de Jong and van Jole 1999: 13; www.europanostra.org). What is more, responses to the online consultation for the 2007 ‘European Heritage Label’

intergovernmental initiative, aiming to 'strengthen the support of European citizens for a shared European identity and to foster a sense of belonging to a common cultural space', revealed that Europeans are in favor of a national determination of the 'European value' of a site, and of Greco-Roman civilization as the indicator of this shared identity (European Commission, Culture 2009: 7).

Even though European nation-states and the European Union itself seem to be sharing an effort to transfer their longing for a shared present to an imagined, European past (<http://ec.europa.eu/culture>; Omland 2006: 242), these grand theories of modernity seem nowadays to be somehow eroded. Globalization and postcolonial processes, ethical queries, and the move towards an analytical-synthetic way of thinking and acting, have caused the relocation of foci and made people look for parts of themselves, their country, or the world in general that have long been marginalized.

36.5 Deconstructing the National: Critique and New Developments

The rise of post-modernity – as the peak of modernity or an uncomfortable discontinuity – challenged the traditional, national centers of power. This occurred together with their Eurocentric hegemonic perceptions, nurtured by modernity over ancient art and cultural heritage, and set a benchmark of criticism situated in ethics and multivocality (Kondiles 1991; Hollowell 2006a: 83; Omland 2006: 251).

The cultural property fabrication in its international custodianship was among the first issues to be questioned, in light of the political and power connotations of archaeological praxis, the top-down management processes rooted in national agendas, the abstract rhetoric for the 'public interest', and profitable touristic exploitation (Tilley 1987; Diaz-Andreu and Chapman 1996; Preucel and Hodder 1996: 519–530; Meskell 2002; Carman 2005: 48; Breglia 2006: 1, 3; Galaty and Watkinson 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009: 23). The ownership query entered a new field, where the international-cultural organizations were not only criticized for their neoliberal politics and the 'imperial' consequences to disadvantaged countries (Hardt and Negri 2001), but also for their inadequacy in protecting heritage and promoting research, being rather in favor of pageants and other

stereotypes that promoted Western values and standards (Eriksen 2001: 128; Hollowell 2008: 139–156). Furthermore, the role of the state as a patrimonial custodian was questioned in terms of efficiency and democracy, together with issues of privatization, which seems increasingly to have become a part of the national agenda (Breglia 2006: 1–28; Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Plantzos 2008a). The past and its material representations steadily became more open to stakeholders than to its perceived custodians, and the call for democratic participation in its management became a social and public necessity.

36.6 ‘Peopling the Nations’ and the Social Value of the Past

The idea that the past could be much more multiple and dissonant than an eclectic, and official national, rhetoric, and that divergent interests could also have legitimate stakes in it, shifted the focus to the role of the public in the cultural heritage field, either as a global audience that consumes cultural products or as a local participant entity that should be involved. The development of cultural heritage studies powered by calls for accountability of practices to society, and the recognition of the rootedness of heritage and its production in the local, led to a slow and overdue ‘peopling of the nations’; this explicitly developed in the postcolonial regime of the Anglophone West and the Americas (Bhabha 1994; Featherstone and Lash 1995; Lekakis 2008). These processes were also informed by the acknowledgement of alternative perceptions of heritage, either exported from the West or regionally cultivated, opposing or stunningly similar to the Western paradigm (Robertson 1992: 146–163; Said 1993; Trigger 1996: 615; Plantzos 2008b: 264–266). Thus, apart from developments in Europe (see below), in terms of international documents and practices, previously colonized populations were among the first to assert this turn as an additional, emancipatory particle for their ‘coming to historical existence and nationhood’.

Indigenous and descendant communities, comprising approximately 6% of the world’s population, were granted the right to cultural development and disposition, placing cultural heritage at the center of their dialectics with the Western world (American Indian Religious Freedom Act 1978; Cleere 1989: 8; UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People 1994; Brown 2004: 51; Layton and

Wallace 2006: 53). In terms of their cultural sovereignty, native peoples were acknowledged by the West as 'traditional owners' (Layton and Wallace 2006: 49; Preucel and Hodder 1996: 606–608), and their relative rights were centered in two main fields: the right to legally petition for repatriation of affiliated human remains and cultural objects held by museums and other institutions (see e.g. the 1990 NAGRA), and the autonomous self-determination of tradition, customs, and heritage as their 'own' property (Brown 2004: 50; UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People 1994: A.3, A.12, A.19, A.26, A.29). Both provoked dramatic changes in policy in US and European museums, in which the repatriation of human remains and cultural objects is today a widespread phenomenon (Mihesuah 2000; Bray 2001; Fforde et al. 2004; Conaty 2008).

Parallel to these dialectics promoted to amend the injustices of colonization, a number of repatriation claims, coming from national governments striving to protect the integrity of their perceived heritage, targeted artifacts hitherto kept in encyclopedic museums and institutions allegedly established on behalf of humanity. Especially in the currently most renowned cases of the Elgin Marbles from Greece held in the British Museum (see Chapter 35), the Nefertiti Bust from Egypt at the Neues Museum in Berlin, the Benin Bronzes, the Rosetta Stone, and the Machu Picchu antiquities held at Yale University, one may observe the national perception of 'state property' striking back through post-modern schemata of calls for repatriation. Recently, the case of the Euphronios krater, a red-figure vase made in 6th c. Greece (see Chapter 30; [Figure 30.2](#)), exported to Etruria perhaps upon manufacture, then taken (illicitly) to the United States upon its discovery, finally to be successfully claimed by Italy as its own 'national treasure', offers a good illustration of the ways approaches to cultural heritage and patrimony may shift from cavalier antiquarianism to strict political and cultural correctness. By repudiating international discourses of 'world heritage', nation states attempt thus to regain cultural sovereignty against the great powers of the world (Kimmelman 2009a, 2009b).

Returning to the examination of the social turn in the management of heritage, cracks in the international documents in favor of socially driven, contextually sensitive, and politically informed guidelines first appeared in the 1990s. The 1990s version of the Burra Charter, from the culmination of processes on the postcolonial ground of indigenous Australia, was the first explicitly to associate monuments with anthropological, social, and spiritual values. The charter emphasized their role in the local life of communities (e.g. A.1, A.6–A.11) and the need for local participation in the management of cultural resources (A.12, A.26.3). Even though the documents continued to emphasize

the significance and the diversity of the abstract, globally-shared heritage (ICOMOS Charter 1990: Introduction, A.3, A.9; Nara Document 1994: Preamble; Stockholm Declaration 1998; International Cultural Tourism Charter 1999: Introduction), increasing awareness of the indigenous or local communities, their 'living tradition' and rights (ICOMOS Charter 1990: Introduction; Council of Europe 2005: Preamble), was introduced against the role of 'aggressive nationalism' in culture; or as it was bluntly put in the Nara Document preamble, 'Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it' (e.g. ICOMOS Charter 1990: A.3; International Cultural Tourism Charter 1999: Introduction; Charter of Kraków 2000: Preamble; Council of Europe 2000; UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003).

These attempts towards the recognition of the social value of heritage and the democratization of the call for preservation broadened the value spectrum, reevaluating positivistic aspirations (Thomas 2004) in favor of a more contextual approach: 'Who is doing what, for whom, and for what reason?' In this climate, various cultural organizations attempted to canonize ethical precepts and defined them in 'codes of ethics' (e.g. AIA Code of Ethics 1990; Society for American Archaeology 1994; Australia ICOMOS Code of Ethics 1999; Herscher 1999: 119; Zimmerman 2006). Although ownership rights over heritage were not radically handed over, as was the case with the indigenous and descendant communities, hybrid practices in the field, focusing on inclusion, reflexivity, and multivocality as their main cursors, constructed engaged schemata – such as public archaeology and community archaeology (Castañeda 2008; Lekakis 2008: 308–311) – promoting accessibility of information and sites, participation in processes of management of cultural heritage, and active consultation on relevant fields. Considering the latter, one should not fail to notice the importance of the local communities in the processes of nomination and maintenance of World Heritage Sites since 1995, or the role of citizens and NGOs in reporting potential World Heritage Sites that do not comply with UNESCO's directives (Ommand 2006: 248; <http://whc.unesco.org/en/158>) – a clearly democratic amendment towards more inclusive practices. However, apart from this top-down attempt to enhance the social value of ancient art and heritage, there have been numerous claims from local communities asserting their rights in a form of 'popular nationalism' (Preucel and Hodder 1996: 521), through active demonstrations against state appropriation or the globalization processes in favor of 'humankind' (e.g. Mouliou 2008:

Relative to these arguments, a more radical position has been formalized, denying the institution of property and exclusive ownership, and suggesting open access to cultural resources, as is nowadays applied to goods that transcend legal ownership: running water, atmospheric air, the open sea, and other environmental and social resources (Nicholas and Bannister 2004: 328; Dingli 2006: 230; Layton and Wallace 2006: 47). Building upon Grotius's theory of *the free sea* (*Mare Liberum*, published in 1609) that cannot be occupied and should therefore be used for the benefit of all (Dingli 2006: 221), and on various political theories of common ownership, leftist to anarchist (see e.g. communism, Proudhon's mutualism, Bakunin's collectivism, etc.), heritage is perceived as 'a collective store of cultural value' (Carman 2005: 74) and the idea of property is considered inappropriate to its public character, which should be shared by all (Nichols et al. 1999: 37; Carman 2005: 79; 110–116). This view, although practically fastidious, has benefited from advancements in technology and the Internet, and the dissemination of information and accessibility to a widening public at little cost.

Critiquing the socially-oriented positions above, several arguments have been posed focusing on their lack of applicability, the degradation of scientific discourses in order to be comprehensible to the public, the nominal participation of communities asphyxiated by the omnipresent nation-stewardship, and the generic codes of ethics (Hodder 1999: 161–167; Jameson 2007; Tarlow and Pluciennik 2007: 125). Furthermore, there is the risk of actually enforcing the 'national prototype' on indigenous communities for appropriation of 'their' heritage or using 'emancipatory practices' as yet another Western check-point of cultural legitimacy. However, the turn towards a social regime has opened up a constellation of values and continues to inspire a more justified and impact-informed management of the past.

36.7 'Cultural Property Internationalism'

Besides the social perspective, the national appropriation of heritage has been challenged from a different angle. While cultural-property internationalism is not considered an organized movement, the dialectics of this loosely-connected network of people come mainly from Western museums and institutions, who build upon the 'humankind' paradigm and the 'need' of people for a shared,

denationalized heritage, posed against the use of antiquities to confirm 'ancient legitimacy on modern governments' and 'retentionist cultural property laws'. Emphasis is put on the legal and economic aspects of ancient art and cultural heritage, whereas the contemporary 'conflict' is set between 'art-deprived' people and the nationalist claims of states (Cuno 2008: xxxii, 147; 2009).

According to this, antiquities should be liberated from the national grip and managed through international law, which will regulate – unlike the unenforceable international documents – a licit trade in cultural objects (Merryman 1994: 34–35; Cuno 2008: 6, 49). Museums, repositories of human wisdom in the Enlightenment museum prototype, are considered stewards enhancing the possibilities of preservation, knowledge, and access for the 'art-thirsty' public. Aspiring to disseminate ideas and not ideologies, this object-oriented group of thinkers seeks to exhibit the diversity of human creativity through the interpretation of 'cosmopolitan' antiquities, which mean a great deal even without their archaeological context (Cuno 2008: 123). Parts of these arguments can be recognized in various networks established between museums for collaboration and the exchange of antiquities (e.g. the Asia–Europe Museum Network), or in the 2003 'Declaration of the Importance and Values of Universal Museums', signed by 18 museums in Europe and North America that joined forces against the 'repatriation fervor' of indigenous communities and nation states.

Cultural property internationalism, as it came to be labeled (Merryman 2005), is thus expressed through a significant number of publications – albeit recycling arguments – attempting to envelop different opinions against national appropriation of cultural heritage (Cuno 2009). The genuine predecessor of a late capitalist society, it emphasizes the circulation of information and objects in the market economy, opting for an apolitical and ahistorical view of art-heritage. However, art museums do not exist in a vacuum. In their attempt to 'illuminate cultures' – as the motto of the British Museum goes – and safeguard global cultural capital, they apply colonial practices and political interventionism. On the one hand, these cosmopolitan ideas of circulation and access apply only to those who can travel, enter the museums, and read and understand the decontextualized interpretations of the curators; on the other, they exclude a number of disadvantaged people in terms of economics, education, and health. Finally, in these arguments the monetary aspect of art dealing, together with the agony to increase (private) ownership opportunities for museums and affluent collectors, is concealed (Carman 2005: 28), an issue especially prominent after the ratification of the 1970 UNESCO Convention by the USA and the UK. 1970 was set as the

latest date by which antiquities should be proven to be outside the country of origin, and the bilateral agreements of the USA with source countries – as with El Salvador in 1987, with Mexico in 2001, and with Italy and China in 2005 – concerning import restrictions on undocumented antiquities uphold that date as a watershed.

36.8 Conclusion: ‘Someone Always Owns the Past’

The fervor of the 1980s has subsided in the bibliographical and academic attempts to move away from the murky waters of the ownership question; other issues and effects arising from this, such as identity, memory, legal issues, and licit and illicit trade, are currently pursued instead. This brief examination of issues relating to cultural ownership in such a historical perspective has aspired to provide a general core of facts and ideas to be projected upon. By approaching the question of ‘who owns or *should* own ancient art and heritage’ through various paths and illuminating their backgrounds, we have attempted to deconstruct the issue with the arguments that compose it, and examine their credibility.

The past, and especially its material demarcations, are claimed through time by various communities, who attempt to connect themselves with it and manage it for their own advantage. As we have seen, nations have a priority for pragmatic reasons. Born in the modern environment that bred archaeological science, nations appropriate ancient art in singular and linear modes of continuity. Their sovereignty over their land has led to a holistic and legal ownership of the monuments found *intra muros* that fed the imagined construction of the nation. Thus, respecting each nation’s cultural heritage, intergovernmental organizations promote the notion of ‘humankind’ property; that is, heritage that belongs to everyone, a category especially applicable in aesthetically sound and monumental paradigms of classicist appraisal that form a collective identity for human species of Western conception. In this schema of modernity, archaeologists and heritage professionals have assumed the role of custodians, thus affirming their hegemonic position in the management process in favor of the public.

These national and international dialectics have been challenged by the post-modern critique emanating from schools of critical theory and the postcolonial context. Science has moved towards various democratizing schemata for local communities and has already begun

to provide more management opportunities to marginalized groups. Even though these are criticized as yet another 'tick in the Western hegemonic agenda of multiculturalism', they could be described as potentially useful, leading to a more reflexive management of ancient art and heritage.

Among these arguments, museums building upon the international notion of 'humankind' property cling to their acquired treasures, opposing widespread repatriation calls and struggling to find new ways of promoting a legitimate form of trade. Affluent individuals, on the other hand, continue collecting art through the questionable channels of art-dealing, loyal to the aesthetic appreciation of objects.

Ancient art, a quintessential form of heritage, and valuable from economic, political, and social perspectives, has always been claimed, lending power and prestige to whoever manages to establish relationships and ownership opportunities. In the current 'public' turn of the tide, it is a matter of social reflexivity and political choices whether the call for the democratization of heritage protection and dissemination should be promoted, generating equal chances of participation that could potentially pave the road towards open access to ancient art and heritage for all.

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FURTHER READING

The cultural ownership and property debate is a rather multifaceted and complex issue, compiled by a number of other issues that draw upon legal, political, and economic aspects. Thus, the interested reader has a number of questions to delve into, according to his/her case of interest.

Of many broader discussions that set the general scope, one could mention: Kondiles (1991), Jameson (2007), Johler (2002), Robertson (1992), Said (1993), Bhabha (1994), and Thomas (2004). Even though one cannot find standalone theoretical treatises for our topic, discussions of ‘ethics’ and philosophical perceptions of ownership, along with various cases, are a good place to begin: Scarre and Scarre (2006), Messenger (1999), Carman (2005), Vitelli (1996), Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006), Cuno (2009), and Gibbon (2005a).

For more pragmatic views, a read on the legal and economic connotations of ownership is recommended: international documents can be accessed through the Getty’s Web site (http://www.getty.edu/conservation/research_resources/charters.html), while the *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Davies (2007), and the Web sites of UNESCO (<http://whc.unesco.org>) and ICCROM (<http://www.iccrom.org>) highlight different aspects. For discussions on American case studies (e.g. the debated McClain and Schultz cases),

see Messenger (1999: part III) and Hutt et al. (2004).

Parallel thematics that compose the ownership issue are quite rich in bibliography. Various titles explore collecting, looting cases, and tantalizing details of the international art-trade: Renfrew (2000), Brodie et al. (2002), Gill and Chippindale (1993), Ortiz (1994), von Bothmer (1990), Vitelli (1996), and Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006). Repatriation is often cited in the news: see Bray (2001) and Fforde et al. (2004). Broader, parallel, and overlapping arguments that envelop and shape ownership issues can be found in cultural heritage, politics, and identity publications, such as Breglia (2006), Cleere (1989), Eriksen (2001), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Castañeda (2008), Preucel and Hodder (1996), Trigger (1996), and Zimmerman (2006).

CHAPTER 37

Greek Art at University, 19th–20th c.

Stephen L. Dyson

37.1 Introduction

The teaching of Greek art and archaeology has played an important role in European and American higher education since the 18th c. Its importance has highlighted the centrality of a Hellenic-focused ideology of classicism that had its foundations in the 18th c. and has continued to be important down to the present. While the place of Greek art and archaeology in the college and university has reflected certain common values shared by a Euro-American classicism, it has also developed in different ways in different countries, a reflection of national educational values and traditions.

37.2 Origins of Classical Archaeology

The roots of Greek archaeology in higher education were laid in the mid-late 18th c., when the core values of classicism turned from things Roman and embraced a strong identity with Hellenism in all of the arts. That revolution grew in large part out of the art-historical publications of Winckelmann (Leppman 1970; Potts 1994; see Chapter 35). He recreated an evolutionary history of ancient art with Classical Greece at the apex and later classical art representing periods of decline. The same values were also articulated in the more Greek-oriented, Neoclassical tastes in architecture promoted by the

archaeological travels, writings, and buildings of the Englishmen James Stuart (1713–1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804) (Watkin 1982; Soros 2006; see Chapter 34). Their illustrated publications provided to their English readership the first detailed, accurate images of what classical Greek architecture was really like. Their work helped inspire a new wave of Neoclassical architecture in both Europe and America (Watkin and Mellinghoff 1987; Cooper 1993; Baumstark 1999). This Hellenic-oriented classicism was reinforced in the early 19th c. by a strong Romantic identification with both Greece and the Greek Wars of Independence (Butler 1958). These various developments ensured that the emerging discipline of classical archaeology in both its research and teaching manifestations would strongly emphasize Hellenic culture.

37.3 Classical Studies in Germany

The teaching of classical texts had played an important role in education since the Renaissance. Originally it had been a largely literary pursuit undertaken by amateur savants and philologically oriented academics. The later 18th c. saw in the German universities, and especially at Göttingen and Halle, the emergence of a new approach to the study of classical antiquity. This emphasized not just the mastery of Greek and Latin texts, but also the study of all the remains of antiquity, including those artistic and archaeological. The great Homeric scholar Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), who studied at Göttingen and taught at Halle, pioneered this approach. This comprehensive mastery (*Totalitätsideal*) of the study of antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*), also sometimes described as ‘monumental philology’, provided for the entry of archaeology into the university classical curriculum. It was first fully articulated in the 1820s by Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868) in his work on Greek tragedy. To implement this new, more wide-ranging and rigorous approach to classical antiquity, German professors like Welcker created the teaching/research seminar. They also fostered the development of research libraries, museums, and cast collections, which were to form the basis of an increasing ‘scientific’ approach to classical archaeology.

Hellenic values in university teaching, especially in Germany, were further reinforced by an emphasis in educational programs on *Bildung*, or cultural development, as well as *Wissenschaft*. The values of Goethe were melded with those of the great scholars. The most important

educational expression of these combined values was the new Prussian University of Berlin, founded in the early 19th c. (Sweet 1980). It soon became the most exciting force in German higher education, attracting the best scholars and creating the most important research programs.

The 19th c. saw the further reinforcement of this emerging classical archaeology at many German universities. Berlin was the most important center, especially after unification made the city the capital of the new German state. However, it was by no means the only distinguished one. Munich, Leipzig, and many others attracted and supported great scholars, and created major libraries, museums, and cast collections. Ambitious students would often move through several graduate programs, working with selected mentors before they completed the long and complicated advanced degree requirements.

The German university departments became closely linked to the emerging world of foreign research institutions, such as the German Archaeological Institute, which established branches first in Rome and then in Athens (Rodenwaldt 1929; Jantzen 1986). They also played a major role in the excavations that began to be launched by the later 19th c. The first major excavation was started at Olympia in Greece in 1874 by Ernst Curtius (1814–1896), professor at Berlin and former tutor to the imperial family (Marchand 1996: 77–91). Olympia was innovative in that it was intended as a research and educational excavation, where scholars practiced and students learned archaeology. No finds left Greece. By the end of the century, most European countries and even the United States had started similar research-teaching excavations, most of them at sites with strong Hellenic associations. New generations of archaeologists were taught to place ancient Greek civilization at the center of their research and their teaching.

37.4 Architects, Artists, and the Study of Greek Archaeology

The organizers of these major excavations at sites like Olympia, Ephesos, and Miletos worked in close symbiosis with members of the architectural profession, who were still strongly Hellenic in their creative orientation. It was professional architects and architectural students who created the plans and reconstructions of the newly discovered buildings. At the same time, work on the excavations enhanced their knowledge of the realities of Greek architecture through direct contact with the latest archaeological discoveries.

The importance of Hellas was emphasized in the preparation of young architects. The teaching of architecture in Europe and America had long been based on an apprentice approach, in which students were placed in workshops and learned directly from masters. However, the foundation of the *Bauakademie* in Berlin during the late 18th c. introduced a more systematic, scientific approach to the teaching of architecture. The teaching program was strongly historical in orientation, and classical architecture and especially ancient Greek was stressed. Not surprisingly, major Neoclassical architects like Karl Friedrich von Schinkel (1781–1841) came out of this program (Snodin 1991). Johann Heinrich Friedrich Adler (1827–1908), longtime professor at the *Bauakademie*, was one of the founding directors of the Olympia excavations. Other great German classical archaeologists such as Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940) also graduated from this institution.

Other countries were slow to follow the Germans and architectural preparation in general remained workshop-based until the late 19th c. or beyond. In the United States, it was appropriately the engineering school, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which established the first architectural school in 1868. Harvard followed by the end of the 19th c. Such programs had a strong historicist, Neoclassical base, which identified with ancient Greece. Such values dominated the American profession well into the 20th c. (Yegul 1991).

The training of sculptors and painters had also long been based on the apprentice system. Academies had been created to enforce professional standards and control access to the craft. However, they also assumed an ideological, art-historical role, which was often centered on imbuing the importance of the classical tradition, especially through the study and sketching of casts. Here, again, a higher level of professionalism developed, especially in Germany, laying the foundations of the discipline of art history. In 1833, Franz Kugler was appointed Professor of Art History at the Academy of Art in Berlin, becoming the first academic art-historian (Watkin 1982: 8). In France, similar respect for the classical tradition was taught at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, an institution and a tradition that was to have a strong impact on America. Art history slowly but steadily became embedded in the art schools, and well into the 20th c. Greek art remained at the center of the curriculum. Its most important witness was the cast collection of classical statuary that became a central part of every ambitious art program.

The German-speaking universities long stood alone both in their research emphasis and in their systematic incorporation of Greek archaeology into the classical curriculum. During the 19th c., the British universities, led by Oxford and Cambridge, gradually

heightened standards for the teaching of Greek and Latin, but the curriculum was still dominated by philology (Turner 1981). The situation was still largely the same in both France and the United States.

37.5 Classical Archaeology in the United States

However, the later 19th c. saw increased interest in classical archaeology in higher education in several of those countries, and with that the expansion of the German model. The United States provides an interesting case study (Dyson 1998). The classical tradition was strong in America (Winterer 2002). From early in the 19th c., certain educated Americans had come to admire the German universities, and a number of young graduates had gone to study at German universities. They were initially drawn to historical and philosophical studies, seeking the Germany of Goethe and the Romantics as much as the Germany of scientific scholarship (Diehl 1978). By the 1870s, a number of American classicists had German degrees. While their studies had been predominantly philological, they also began to embrace the comprehensive values of *Totalalterumswissenschaft*. That included archaeology. Edward Everett (1794–1865), the first German-trained classicist to teach at Harvard, studied classical archaeology with the distinguished classicist Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker. He also travelled to Greece to study the ancient monuments. He was a lonely figure until after the Civil War. Then, in 1874, Johns Hopkins was founded as the first research university in the Americas with graduate PhD programs. Classics was naturally one of them. By the end of the 19th c., Hopkins's curriculum included advanced seminars in classical archaeology, and the university had developed the library and other instruments of serious scholarship. Graduates of the Johns Hopkins University carried the gospel of the German research education to other American universities.

The emphasis of these new programs was on Greece. The first American overseas school, the American School of Classical Studies, was founded in Athens in 1882, and the first tentative American archaeological excavations launched in Greece (Lord 1947). The support of the American School was based on formal membership by supporting colleges and universities. Students and faculty of those institutions became the core beneficiaries of the programs and

facilities of the American School and further reinforced the Hellenism of American classics.

The interest in Greek archaeology extended beyond the major research universities to the expanding network of colleges and universities throughout the United States. For many, the study of the classics, and especially ancient Greece, was at the heart of their curriculum. Emphasis was generally placed on the mastery of the classical languages. However, some offered courses in classical archaeology and created collections of casts, study photographs, and even small holdings of artifacts for the teaching of classical art. By the end of the 19th c., glass lantern slides and illustrated lectures became part of the curriculum.

Greek art lay at the core of traditional artistic values in 19th c. America. Young artists learned more from the study of casts of ancient art than they did from live models. That was especially true at institutions that educated women, or had co-ed classes. As academies were created for the more formal teaching of art, they created their own, Hellenic-oriented cast collections. The same thing happened in the art programs of the colleges and universities.

The study of art history in America received its most important stimulus with the 1874 appointment of Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908) to teach art history at Harvard (Turner 1999; Dowling 2007). Norton was a cultivated amateur who had no advanced education in art history and had never been to Greece. He conveyed in the classroom a very personal vision of the redeeming role of beauty and the most important periods of art history. It was Germanic *Bildung* that challenged the emphasis on *Wissenschaft*. Ancient Greece was central to his vision of beauty. He pioneered the introduction of art history into American higher education at one of its premier institutions. Through his education and inspiration of a generation of Harvard undergraduates, he encouraged some of America's brightest students to pursue careers in art history and archaeology, as well as to become collectors and patrons to the emerging world of American museums. While he was in many respects the last of the amateurs, he appreciated the importance of the new professionalism and played a key role in the foundation of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Archaeological Institute of America.

The increasingly complicated American world of undergraduate and graduate education had to make provision for an increasing number of women, who sought advanced education and were interested in classical art and archaeology. Both classics and art programs developed at undergraduate women's colleges like Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley, and were open to women at the major public universities. More limited were the opportunities for

women who wanted to pursue a graduate education. Ivy League universities like Princeton and Yale did not accept women into their graduate programs for a long time. The new research university at Johns Hopkins proved more receptive to female graduate students, as did some of the public universities. Most important for American women seeking an advanced education in classical archaeology was the foundation of Bryn Mawr College in 1885. Bryn Mawr not only offered a rigorous education in classics to women, but also introduced a doctoral-level graduate program in the subject. Greek archaeology soon emerged as one of Bryn Mawr's major strengths. In 1908, Bryn Mawr awarded its first PhD in classical archaeology.

37.6 Classical Archaeology in France and Italy

The German influence in classical archaeology was not limited to the American colleges and universities. The French, after their defeat in the Franco–Prussian War, turned systematically to the Germans for models of reform in higher education. French educators went to Germany to study the higher education system, and especially the seminars. The newly unified Italy had to create a new, secular university system to replace the clerical education that had dominated papal Rome. Obviously, topics like Roman topography had to play an important role in archaeology at those new universities (Barbanera 1998). However, when the University of Rome sought to create a model classical archaeology program, it too turned to the German (Austrian) world. It imported the distinguished Greek archaeologist Emanuel Lowry (1857–1938) from Vienna. He was provided with the mandate to create a ‘modern’ classical archaeology program that included seminars, a research library, and a large cast collection, which still remains largely intact. He helped ensure that Hellenic archaeology would remain an important part of university teaching in modern Italy.

Meanwhile, in Greece, both the French and the Italians, like the Americans and British, established institutional homes welcoming students and scholars active in classical archaeology (Korka et al. 2005). The French School at Athens, founded in 1846, conducted long-term excavations at Delphi and Delos, among other places. The Italian School of Archaeology at Athens was not founded until 1909, but went on to become a major archaeological presence on the island of Crete.

37.7 Classical Archaeology in Great Britain

British universities showed arguably the least interest in incorporating archaeology into the classical curriculum. Oxford and Cambridge maintained programs of classical studies that were still strongly philologically-based and undergraduate-oriented. Teaching, rather than research, was often emphasized. However, that slowly changed. While most dons were satisfied with viewing ancient Greece through the classical texts, others saw the need to incorporate new finds in classical archaeology, prehistoric archaeology, and anthropology in their teaching and research (Gardner 1902; Kurtz 2000: 225–286).

The result was a slow strengthening of the archaeology faculty. William Ridgeway assumed the Disney Professorship at Cambridge University in 1892 and turned it into an active teaching instrument for archaeology. Lewis Farnell was appointed University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at Oxford in 1903, as one of the very few Englishmen who had studied classical archaeology in Germany. Another important pioneer was John Myres, Professor of Ancient History at Oxford from 1910 to 1939, who did important research in Mediterranean prehistory. Although Cambridge had long had its Disney Professorship of Archaeology, the incumbent did not have to be a classical archaeologist, and often spent little time at the university. Charles Waldstein (1856–1927) began teaching classical archaeology at Cambridge in 1880. In 1887, just one year after the founding of the British School at Athens, the Greek archaeologist Percy Gardner (1846–1937) assumed the Lincoln and Merton Professorship of Archaeology at Oxford, where he was instrumental in creating an archaeological library and expanding the collection.

Gradually, sections on classical art and archaeology, often marginal, were incorporated into the examination program, and a special diploma in classical archaeology was created at Oxford and Cambridge (Stray 1998). As a result, a few teaching positions were created. Stanley Casson, formerly Assistant Director of the British School, became a Fellow of New College, Oxford in 1920 and was appointed to a lectureship in classical archaeology in 1922. Scholars like John Beazley (1885–1970), the great expert on Greek vase-painting, who became Lincoln Professor of Archaeology in 1925, began attracting a limited number of students (Kurtz 1985). However, up until World War II, art and archaeology remained somewhat marginal in the Oxbridge classical experience. Indeed, it was only in 1931 that A.B. Cook (1868–1952) was appointed the first Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. Cook, it should be

noted (like many of his generation), had little formal training in archaeology (Cook 1931).

Outside of Oxbridge, the University of London led the way in teaching archaeology. The Yates Professorship of Classical Archaeology was held by such scholars as Charles Newton and Ernest Arthur Gardner (Percy's brother), the latter an experienced field archaeologist and among the first directors of the British School (Kurtz 2000: 255–256). Other 'red-brick' universities included classical archaeology in their teaching and research programs, but the epicenters of classical archaeology remained at Oxford and Cambridge and, to a certain degree, London. The opening of excavations by the British School at Athens in Knossos in 1900 and in Sparta in 1904 would mark the beginning of continuous multiperiod exploration and research at both sites lasting up to the present day. Generations of students then, as now, were taught field methods as members of these 'school digs' (Waterhouse 1986: 90).

37.8 Classical Archaeology in the Interwar Period

The interwar period saw general continuity in the fostering of a classical archaeology based on the Hellenic experience in both European and American universities. In Germany, this was expressed in the elements of Hellenic idealism in the embrace of the so-called *Dritte Humanismus*, which fostered a renewed emphasis on classical *Bildung* and a revived interest in the writings and ideas of Winckelmann (Marchand 1996: 302–354). The Nazis made the ancient Hellenes into honorary Aryans and promoted Greek studies as a result. American classical archaeology remained heavily Hellenic-oriented. Only in Italy did the Fascists make Roman archaeology into a major force within the universities. However, even there, classical archaeology at Italian universities would show a strong Hellenic focus.

In the United States, the teaching of classical archaeology assumed a strong role in the emerging art-historical as well as classical programs. In 1882, Princeton University made its first appointment in art and archaeology. It was the start of an important archaeology tradition based in an art history rather than a classics program. The Princeton Art and Archaeology Department, bolstered by a strong faculty and ample financial resources, had by the outbreak of World War II emerged as the strongest graduate program in classical archaeology in the United States. It further enhanced its position by

maintaining close connections with the American School in Athens and the Agora excavations (Dyson 1998: 162–168).

Strong connections still remained with the architectural schools. William Dinsmoor, the leading American expert on Greek architecture, was the senior archaeologist at the important Columbia School of Architecture and in the School of Fine Arts. He ensured that the program retained a strong Hellenic emphasis and a close connection with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. No formal art or architectural study or practice was established at the American School. That was left to the American Academy in Rome. Still, it was an institution that taught classicism. Greek architecture was one of the pillars of the instructional program established there in the 1890s (Yegul 1991: 58).

The work of archaeologists like Heinrich Schliemann and Arthur Evans had stimulated an interest in Greek prehistory on the part of both European and American scholars (MacDonald and Thomas 1990). Minoan and Mycenaean studies in particular were introduced into German, French, and Italian universities. Carl Blegen of the University of Cincinnati, through his various researches and especially his excavations at Troy in the 1930s, laid the foundations of Mycenaean and Greek prehistoric studies in America. Greek prehistoric archaeology, in part because of its Homeric associations, became part of undergraduate and graduate curricula in a way that the study of Italian prehistoric archaeology did not.

One important academic byproduct of the Nazi consolidation of power was the forced migration to the United States of a number of German classical archaeologists (Eisler 1969). Outstanding names included Margarete Bieber (1879–1978), Otto Brendel (1901–1973), George Hanfmann (1911–1986), and Karl Lehmann (1894–1960). Many settled in New York, and especially at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts. They reinforced interest in a *Kunstgeschichte* approach that used more cultural history and theoretical discourse in the teaching of art and archaeology. They also offered an expanded vision of the study of classical archaeology which included more emphasis on the Hellenistic and the Roman periods.

37.9 Classical Archaeology after World War II

The events associated with World War II saw further ideological and institutional shifts in the international classical world. German and

Italian academic institutions and their professors were decimated and often discredited. Britain emerged victorious, but its universities, like all other aspects of British society, were strained for resources in the wake of the war. American colleges and universities, in contrast, saw one of their great periods of confidence and growth. Classics and classical archaeology were among the great beneficiaries.

World War II, the discredited Fascist associations with Rome, the triumph of American democracy, and the heroic resistance of the Greek nation to both Fascists and Nazis had once again affirmed an identity with ancient Hellenic values. American classicists teaching on the undergraduate level reinvented themselves, stressing the Great Books and Great Ideas, and the study of ancient civilization through works in translation rather than the old philological curriculum. Such courses stressed art appreciation and archaeological discovery as well as literary sources.

These reinvigorated undergraduate programs fed increasing numbers of students into the rapidly expanding world of graduate programs in classical art and archaeology and in art history. Ivy League institutions like Princeton, Columbia, and Harvard led the way, but state universities like Michigan, North Carolina, Berkeley, and Indiana also created important graduate departments. Major financial support became available first through the GI Bill and then through the various programs of the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Many of these graduate departments now launched major archaeological excavations. Even though Roman sites in Italy were now open to investigation for the first time since 1879, most of the new universities developed excavations that had some Hellenic associations. Princeton, one of the few to decide to dig in Italy, started in 1955 long-term excavations at the Sicilian colonial Greek city of Morgantina. The University of Pennsylvania steered a similar course when it chose to dig at Sybaris. The University of Chicago chose to work in the Corinthia, and Indiana University at Haleis. Karl Lehmann of New York University resumed excavations at Samothrace started just before World War II. University-based prehistoric excavations were also centered on Greece, with Indiana University working at Franchthi Cave and Cincinnati at Lerna and Kea. Others sought to investigate the roots and precursors of Greek civilization, with Harvard pursuing the Lydian at Sardis, and the University of Pennsylvania the Phrygian at Gordion.

Associations with the American School in Athens remained strong, and many of the graduate students attended the American School and participated in American School digs at Corinth and the Agora. The new generation of archaeologists, who looked at Hellas as the center

of ancient civilization and shared a common archaeological training and intellectual approach to the discipline, went out to teach a new generation of undergraduates their vision of classical archaeology. The newly minted classical archaeologists hired by undergraduate institutions tended to be housed in classics departments or, to a lesser degree, art history departments. The classics departments tended to be dominated by philologists and the new hires were made more on their competence in Greek and Latin than their innovative approach to archaeology. The same was true at the graduate level, although some semiautonomous classical art and archaeology programs did emerge.

The 1960s saw an intellectual revolution in anthropological archaeology known as the 'New Archaeology'. Its advocates stressed the need to move away from empirical data collecting, to incorporate scientific and social science theory into archaeology, and to create new models of field research. It was a development largely ignored by classical archaeologists in both their undergraduate and graduate teaching. However, certain Hellenic archaeologists with strong prehistoric interests did see the validity of those new approaches and tried to incorporate them into their research (Dyson 2006: 247–254). Archaeologists like Tom Jacobsen at Indiana University, William MacDonald at the University of Minnesota, and James Wiseman at Boston University created new graduate programs with strong classical archaeological components that also incorporated the intellectual developments in the wider field of archaeology. Each made important contributions to classical archaeology, but only the program at Boston University proved a long-term success.

The art-historical side of classical archaeology proved more open to theoretical innovations taking place in literary and visual studies. Trendy approaches like structuralism and gender studies were incorporated into the study of classical art, with Greek archaeologists, including experts in conservative subfields like vase-painting, leading the way. In part, this was the result of the influences of colleagues in Greek literary studies, where theoretical discourse flourished. It also reflected the fact that many art-historical archaeologists taught in art history departments, where theoretical thinking had long been more welcome.

As American colleges and universities entered the 21st c., Greek art and archaeology reacted in a variety of ways to a changing academic environment. The Greek archaeologists remain important within the graduate and undergraduate professions due to their number and their institutional and excavation connections. Classical archaeology programs, both undergraduate and graduate, remain relatively conservative and still relatively isolated from other branches of archaeology. The Hellenic-oriented art historians have proved more

open to theory and new developments in the broader art-historical world. In that, they reflect the openness of the Hellenic side of the discipline to intellectual innovation.

The dominance of America in the postwar classical archaeological narrative should not lead to a slighting of important developments in Europe. British universities gradually emerged from the crises produced by the war, although they never had the funds available to some American and continental universities.

What did happen was a gradual reorientation of teaching and research in classical archaeology within the universities. From the 1970s onward, archaeology emerged as a distinct discipline, and new interdisciplinary archaeology programs were created. Faculty and students in classical archaeology found themselves associated more with archaeologists working in diverse cultural areas and less with Greek and Roman philologists. Similar trends also developed in many continental universities. Institutes of archaeology were created and interdisciplinary research within archaeology was encouraged.

Greek archaeology remains central to the teaching of classical archaeology in the United States. Greek art remains a popular subject among undergraduates. The strength of the American School in Athens, the centrality of archaeology to its program of study and research, and its manifold connections with the American classical establishment have all ensured that Greek archaeologists outnumber Roman archaeologists in American colleges and universities. While economic pressures and national politics have led to a reduction in American archaeological activity in Greece, Hellenic art-historical archaeologists have developed interdisciplinary links that have invigorated Greek archaeology. The situation in Europe is more complex. Hellenic archaeology remains important. Since Greece is a member of the European Union, European archaeologists find it easier to pursue research there. Still, the growth of interdisciplinary archaeology programs at the universities and the increasing importance of recovery excavation in all countries has resulted in the widening of horizons beyond old Hellenic enthusiasms.

New directions in teaching and research in classical archaeology at colleges and universities, in both Europe and America, promise to provide new insights into Greek archaeology, focusing on the classical tradition in both its scholarly and popular manifestations and on a history of archaeology that is more interested in political and ideological uses of past monuments than in archaeological biography and institutional history. Given the importance of the physical remains of the Hellenic past to Western cultural consciousness since the age of Winckelmann, such new agendas promise to open new horizons for classical archaeology.

FURTHER READING

De Grummond (1996) provides entries on all aspects of the history of Greek art, including major pedagogical figures and institutions. Todd (2004) contains short biographies of most British classical archaeologists. Gran-Aymerich (2001) is useful for continental scholars. The history of classical archaeology at the universities is generally imbedded in general histories of classical archaeology. Dyson (2006) provides a general history of classical archaeology from the 18th c. to the present, with considerable emphasis on education. Dyson (1998) provides a more detailed picture for the United States. Gran-Aymerich (1998) is good on French archaeological institutions, including universities. Barbanera (1998) is similarly good for Italian universities.

A knowledge of the 'prehistory' of classical archaeology in the 18th and 19th c. is important for understanding the development of the profession inside and outside the university. Winckelmann remains the key figure, with good biographies by Leppman (1970) and Potts (1994). The roles of artists and travelers are captured in Stoneman (1987).

Greek archaeology has seen relatively few major pedagogical figures. One of the most important was the American Charles Eliot Norton (Turner 1999; Dowling 2007). The role of institutions such as the foreign schools in Athens is key. Institutional histories like Lord (1947; see also Meritt 1984) for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and Waterhouse (1986) for the British School at Athens abound. Marchand (1996) emphasizes the changing role of German archaeological institutions in the shifting national cultural and political environment. Studies of the major excavations and field projects that shaped graduate training in the United States, especially after World War II, include Camp (1986), Hanfmann (1972), and Rainey (1992).

CHAPTER 38

Surveying the Scholarship

Lucie Wall Stylianopoulos

38.1 First in the Humanities

For several centuries, Greek art and archaeology have held pride of place in the study of humanities and the pursuit of an education of quality. Often that position of utmost authority has been both a blessing and a curse, leading to the funding of spectacular adventures such as the excavation of Troy or to a dilettante's pursuit of antiquities. When embarking on any discussion of research in Greek art, the earliest attitudes towards antiquities must be acknowledged and the first researchers must be respected as the foundation on which modern scholarship is based. The study of Greek art and archaeology is object-based and carries the weight of centuries of tradition (Whitley 2001: 11). Nevertheless, one must understand the history of the discipline and still find new methods to further its viability. At the end of that road, a plethora of research tools exists for the scholar of Greek art and archaeology, accessible both online and in print. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight both the path to research in Greek art and archaeology and the best and brightest of the resources available to the scholar.

At the heart of scholarship on Greek art and archaeology has always been the debate between the art-historical model exemplified by the work of Sir John Beazley in his lists of painters and potters (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>) and the archaeological model of Edmond Pottier, the founder of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, who stressed the process and environment encasing the object (Rouet 2001: 109). Subsequent publications in the field of Greek art and archaeology in the 20th c. tended to follow one of these two directions, resulting quite early on in a division in the scholarship

of Greek art (Snodgrass 2007: 13–14).

In turn, libraries tended to follow this debate and grouped resources and publications in much the same manner. A good example of the confusion that confronts the scholar and the librarian when entering this debate is the various Oxford publications on the classical world. The articles on Greek art in the *Grove Dictionary of Art*, now a part of the subscription database Oxford Art Online, have been published separately as the *Grove Encyclopedia of Classical Art and Architecture*. More recently, a seven-volume set called *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* has followed, which includes art, archaeology, classics, and more. What is the librarian to do? Buy them both, of course: no small task in this economic climate of fewer monetary resources. What is the scholar to do? Use them both in this age of interdisciplinary studies. Thus, the 20th c. model of scholarship that gave us the division between archaeology and art history for the Greek period has given way to the 21st c. model of collaborative study and the need for resources that tackle both Greek art and archaeology.

Current research in the study of Greek art and archaeology involves a curious hybrid of rare materials, ‘webliographies’, venerable excavation reports, online journals, and popular literature, to give but a few examples. The print publication of extensive bibliographies is becoming a thing of the past, and the use of key texts alongside inventive digital technology is imperative. The proliferation of online resources in classical archaeology and in Greek art is encouraging and outstrips the digital efforts of most disciplines in the humanities. Serious scholarship in the field and in the allied fields of classics and ancient history increasingly appears in full-text format on scholarly Web sites. Greek art and archaeology have truly gone online.

Google Scholar offers up-to-date citations for scholarly works, but often the search mechanism is difficult to control. Google Scholar does have one advantage, however, in that it allows the scholar of Greek art and archaeology to follow the bibliographic trail and trace research throughout an online network in much the same way that traditional research was once conducted by browsing the shelf. Following the bibliographic trail of scholarship in the field is still the most effective method of research in scholarly pursuit, whether online or in print.

38.2 Opening the Flood Gates: Content Portals

The starting point for research into Greek art and archaeology has changed. Many new Web portals have made research navigation much more flexible than browsing through physical shelves and much less expensive than extensive travels to great libraries. Content portals offer the ease of collaborative effort by scholars and librarians to provide traditional and digital references in convenient online sites, many of them free to all levels of scholars. The content of traditional print resources and extensive collections is now more readily available to students on the Web, increasing the quality of research done at an earlier stage of one's career. These content portals also increase the scholarship available for interdisciplinary research in Greek art and archaeology by combining the collections of many distinguished libraries and research centers in one convenient place.

Many of these content portals spring from a great archival or research tradition of the past. To give a few prominent examples, Oxford's Classical Art Research Centre is the modern successor to the Beazley Archive; the Perseus Digital Library (based at Tufts University, Boston) builds on the earlier catalogues of American and European excavators, such as the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*; and the Zenon portal combines the indexing expertise of all the German Archaeological Institutes of the Mediterranean basin and the Near East. The Web portals bring the expertise of these great libraries and research institutes to the student of Greek art and archaeology.

The Classical Art Research Centre, the portal for the Beazley Archive (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>), has emerged as the premier stop for students interested in research into classical art and archaeology. Formerly known primarily for its plethora of information on Greek vases, the site has developed into a more sophisticated warehouse of all the greatest hits of Greek art, including image collections held at Oxford, general bibliographies suitable for undergraduate studies, and the myriad of information found in the pottery database.

The Perseus Digital Library (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper>) follows next, with an ambitious attempt to combine several digital portals into one home. Perseus was originally a classical archaeology and classics site and is still important for its Greek and Roman Materials Collections. The most popular of its offerings must include the translations of Greek and Latin texts in the Greek and Roman Materials as well as images of Greek and Roman art offered freely in the Art and Archeology Browser. Several important digital texts, such as the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, are embedded in the articles and the bibliography entries and are on good authority. Despite frustrations with the interface, a wealth of textual and visual information can be found within the Perseus collections.

A third Web portal, Zenon DAI (<http://opac.dainst.org>), has another mission entirely. Zenon DAI provides an aggregated site for all the vast catalogues of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and its departments in Athens, Istanbul, Madrid, Rome, Cairo, Damascus, and elsewhere. The Zenon portal, then, is a successor to Dyabola and the indexing of important publications in Greco-Roman archaeology by the German archaeological schools, which dates back to 1956. Zenon provides the same thorough and detailed indexing of books, journals, and other important publications, and points the scholar to a source for obtaining the work. Unlike Dyabola, the Zenon portal is free and takes the student beyond general resources into deep research in the many areas of Greco-Roman art and archaeology.

Added to these are the new online portals that seek to combine resources from many different origins. These sites suggest that the future of studies in Greek art and archaeology will include extensive collaborative efforts between venerable institutions. The Classical Art Research Centre is itself now part of a larger initiative called Classical Art Research Online Services, or CLAROS (<http://www.clarosnet.org/index.htm>), which aims to consolidate all the most important digital assets in classical art under one umbrella. Other recent digital collaborations have resulted in several useful sites, including AWOL: The Ancient World Online (<http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com>), a portal created by the British School at Athens and L'École Française d'Athènes in an effort to share information from archaeological work.

Most online citation databases subscribed to by academic and research libraries do not cover the scope of ancient art, but three databases can be recommended for the study of Greek art and archaeology: Art Index, Dyabola, and The Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals. Art Index indexes articles from journals covering a wide range of media in all time periods and geographical areas, including the ancient Greek world. It is particularly useful for publications in art history going back to 1929. Dyabola, now an online subscription database, first began life as the catalogue for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome and indexes publications in archaeology published since 1956. Finally, The Avery Index, based at Columbia University, can be helpful when searching for archaeological sites, ancient buildings, monuments, architectural sculpture, and wall-painting.

The classics database, L'Année philologique on the Internet, does index certain archaeology journals as well, but it is a subscription database not available to all scholars outside large academic institutions. Online tools related to Greek archaeology such as Diotima: Materials for Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World (<http://www.stoa.org/diotima>) and TOCS-IN: Tables of

Contents of Interest to Classicists (<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/amphoras/tocs.html>) can be useful to the scholar as they index journals and books free of charge, but such Web sites can become dated quickly.

38.3 Still in the Books Stacks

Even if the Web portals and Google Scholar offer a starting point, the nascent scholar of Greek art and archaeology must understand that those resources only open a door to research in the Greek arts. The exploration of textual sources and a thorough investigation of the bibliographic trail are vital to deep research in this field. Those textual resources take a good scholar into the fields of classics and archaeology as well as into art-historical scholarship. Indeed, many authoritative reference works still hold pride of place in the study of Greek art and archaeology and offer the only source, particularly for iconographical research. The third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* is available both online and in print and is still the invaluable quick-reference tool it has always been. It provides brief authoritative articles on the most important persons, themes, and places of classical antiquity, as well as a short but useful bibliography. A companion to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* can be found in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece*, published in 2006. Whereas the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* concentrates on personages, the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece* identifies subjects with authoritative articles and further readings that expand the chronological period beyond the classical.

The *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*) and its daughter publication *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (*ThesCRA*), however, have a much more ambitious intention and are arguably the most important works on the reference shelf. Happily, *LIMC* is also one of the partner institutions on the CLAROS digital initiative, and parts of this definitive work are available online. The earlier work, *LIMC*, first published in 1981, is concerned with documenting representations of classical mythology in ancient Greco-Roman art. The work was originally published in eighteen volumes, including a text part and an image part for each, as well as supplemental volumes. Each article is accompanied by a catalogue and photographs, as well as an extensive bibliography and commentary. Entries are in any of four languages – German, French, English, and Italian – and represent the standard authority for the iconography of personages in Greek art.

ThesCRA continues the framework of *LIMC* and even references the photographs used in the earlier volumes. The purpose of *ThesCRA* is to carry the authoritative voice of *LIMC* into new subject areas and to document the iconography and textual sources of religion and cult in classical antiquity. Subject entries include such topics as the iconography of sacrifice, dance, marriage, and death, to note a few, and include works in all media found in Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art. *ThesCRA* focuses more narrowly on the historical period, but it also broadens the scope of articles to tie iconography, text, and archaeology most closely together.

The final standard reference work indispensable for the study of Greek art must be the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA), the vast corpus of Greek vases in museum and private collections first published in France in 1922. Each volume of the CVA is part of a series for its country of origin and includes photographs, publication histories, descriptions, and commentaries on individual examples of figure-decorated pottery produced in Athens and elsewhere. Use of the CVA can be daunting for the novice, since the fascicules follow several different classification schemes and at first glance appear to have no governing structure. For help with this problem, we are grateful for the *Summary Guide to Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, first published by Tom Carpenter in 1984 and later updated by Thomas Mannack in a 2nd edition (Carpenter and Mannack 2000).

The original schema of the CVA was to classify fascicules by their country, but subsequently the immense publication effort has led to classification also by museum. Thus, citations of CVA fascicules differ, with citation by museum fascicule being the preferred modern method. Carpenter and Mannack's *Guide* conveniently cross-indexes the geographical schema with an index by city and museum, thus pulling together the variant classifications. The student of Greek vase-painting must remember, however, that the print CVA is not easily browsable, so a quick trip to Oxford's Classical Art Research Centre (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>) is most helpful. On this site, both the Beazley Archive and CVA can be searched together, providing the most comprehensive search mechanism for all types of Greek pottery.

The 20th c. produced a rich list of scholarly notables, exemplified by Sir John Boardman, Gisela Richter, Manolis Andronikos, John Camp, and many, many others to the present (Medwid 2000: 16). A bibliographic work by William Coulson and Patricia Freiart, *Greek and Roman Art, Architecture, and Archaeology* (1987), offers an annotated bibliography of the stellar lights of Greek art and archaeology and transitions well to the extensive Oxford bibliographies offered by the Classical Art Research Centre (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/tools>).

The history of collecting and the reception of Greek art is also fundamental to research in the field and is quite a popular approach to the subject presently. Similar in scope and breadth are the publications of important collections of antiquities in the great catalogues that first emerged in the 18th c., such as D'Hancarville's *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton à Naples* and the subsequent English volume of Sir William Hamilton's collection (see [Figures 33.3](#) and [34.2](#)). Following these early sumptuous volumes were Beazley's lists and Pottier's *Catalogue des Vases antiques du Louvre*, works that set the path for the study of vase-painting and iconography in the 20th c. The recent popularity of 'reception studies' in scholarship indicates a continued interest in the great collections and the development of the art-historical approach to classical art (Kurtz 2004: 31).

Guidebooks and handbooks for archaeological sites vary in their authoritative information, but can be quite useful in the field. Oxford's *Greece: An Archaeological Guide* (2001) is an invaluable resource for travel, with its brief but informative entries on each of the most important sites. The *Blue Guide* to Greece, Italy, Turkey, and other Mediterranean countries provide a wealth of information as well for both seasoned and beginning scholars. Guidebooks for the cities of Turkey and other regions in the Middle East provide details not always available even in recent publications. A few of the guidebooks to specific sites are a must read for Greek art, as well as for Greek archaeology. *The Archaeology of Athens* (2001) by John Camp can be considered both a guide and the authoritative source on the Athens Agora and its surrounding region. *Athens, the City Beneath the City* (Parlama and Stampolidis 2001) chronicles the finds made as a result of the excavations for the Athens Metro and is essential to any researcher wishing to update their understanding of the ancient city.

38.4 Excavation Reports and the National Schools

Current research is, nevertheless, not all about free Web portals and fine monographs. Deep research into Greek art and archaeology inevitably returns the scholar to the origin of the work at some point in the process. Detailed reports of excavations and discoveries made in the field are some of the most important research tools available. Knowledge of several languages, while not entirely essential, is nevertheless preferred for the type of 'deep research' involved in the

study of archaeological sites.

Greece is naturally the focus for many scholars of Greek art and archaeology, although the ancient 'Greek world' encompasses roughly the Mediterranean region, as has been made clear in the *Companion*. Many national ministries in 'the classical lands' (Davis 2007: 53) have begun to offer glimpses of the sites being excavated in their countries through government-sponsored Web portals. Sites like those of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (http://odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html) and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism (<http://www.kulturturizm.gov.tr/EN>) have made searching for the 'Big Dig' much easier. These sites also offer access to excavations and museum collections that are authorized for educational use. One of the best new sites, that for the Parthenon frieze (<http://www.parthenonfrieze.gr>) under the auspices of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, brings together in digital form pieces of the frieze from the Acropolis Museum, the British Museum, and the Louvre, and creates a new study site for antiquity.

Students of Greek art and archaeology of all levels, while mesmerized by the new Web portals offering images of well-known sites, must also become thoroughly acquainted with the use of excavation reports and museum publications. The Greek Archaeological Service regularly reports on all the ongoing excavations in Greece via the annual *Archaiologikon Deltion* and the *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias*. The *Archaiologikon Deltion* contains the reports of record for excavations and discoveries presented by each of the Ephorates of prehistoric to classical archaeology and each of the Byzantine Ephorates in Greece. The *Deltion* is, therefore, published several years after the compilation of all the reports to the Ephoreia. *Praktika*, on the other hand, is a journal published by the Archaeological Society that contains longer articles on specific ongoing excavation sites, often replete with drawings and good photographs, and written by excavation directors. Both resources are essential for any serious scholarship on archaeological sites in Greece. Other resources in Greek include *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, to be dealt with further on in this chapter, and *Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon* (*Athens Annals of Archaeology*), which publishes articles on all aspects of Greek archaeology.

The Greek archaeological reports are then synthesized and reported in the publications of several foreign schools in Athens. The most comprehensive of these compilations is the annual *Archaeological Reports* published jointly by the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Council of the British School at Athens. *Archaeological Reports* has the advantage of drawing together reports on archaeological fieldwork from all over the Greek world in

one publication. Entries, nevertheless, are very brief and meant to announce the highlights of discoveries reported in far more detail in the national excavation reports. In addition, this journal reports recent acquisitions for many of the most important museums with collections of Greek art.

Archaeological fieldwork is reported in an official publication for most of the countries of the Mediterranean region. In Italy, the *Bollettino d'Arte (Ministero per I Beni e Le Attivita Culturali)* publishes annual reports of work done on sites throughout the country. The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) throughout the Mediterranean region compile annual reports on their excavations, as well as other noteworthy excavations in the area, through their publication *Archäologischer Anzeiger*. The indexing of the DAI offices in many regions of the Mediterranean can be most helpful in finding archaeological material in other areas as well, such as the Near East, Egypt, Libya, the Black Sea, Syria, Cyprus, and Spain, since they maintain schools in Amman, Cairo, Damascus, and Madrid, and a central office in Berlin. The rich resources of all these offices are found in the aforementioned online catalogue, Zenon (<http://opac.dainst.org>).

The national archaeological schools in the Mediterranean and Middle East also publish reports of their sponsored excavations in their journal publications, including *Anatolian Studies* (British Institute at Ankara), the *Journal of the British School at Athens*, *Hesperia* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens), *Bulletin correspondance hellénique* (L'École française d'Athènes), *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, and *Istanbuler Mittellungen* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Istanbul), to name but a few. An extensive description of all the foreign archaeological schools in Greece and their historical roots can be found in E. Korka, *Foreign Archaeological Schools in Greece: 160 Years*, published by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture in 2005. A convenient list of the schools and their Web sites can even be found on Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Foreign_Archaeological_Institutes_in_Greece).

Other scholarly resources published periodically include museum publications of collections, of which the volumes of the CVA are some of the finest examples, and journals published by academic institutions, learned societies, and private groups. The *American Journal of Archaeology* (Archaeological Institute of America) is one of the best-known publications by a private society, and its bibliographic standards are used by many scholars of Greek archaeology. Notable museum and society publications that are essential reading for any scholar of Greek art and archaeology include the *Metropolitan Museum*

of Art Journal, the J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, Etruscan Studies (Etruscan Foundation), Antike Kunst (Association of Friends of Classical Art, Basel), Sicilia Archeologica (Azienda provinciale turismo, Roma), Hephaistos: New Approaches to Classical Archaeology and Related Fields (Archäologische Institut der Universität Hamburg), and Babesch: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology. Journals of classics, like the Journal of Hellenic Studies (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies), are often relevant to work in Greek art and archaeology as well.

38.5 Travelers and Popular Writers

One of the tenets that built the study of Greek archaeology was the earlier theory that the achievements of Greek culture were the foundation of western European culture. Thus, largely from the 18th c. onwards, travelers and archaeologists alike have frequented the countries ringing the Mediterranean with the hope of rediscovering the places recounted in the *Iliad* or of seeing great ruins. Travel diaries and the memoirs of early ‘tourists’ to the countries once part of the Ottoman Empire can often bring fresh insights into the history and preservation of archaeological sites or the provenance of art works. Indeed, the travel accounts of members of the Society of the Dilettanti and the journals of great archaeologists such as Sir Arthur Evans can be found in original editions in the rare book collections of many research libraries. Compilations such as Tomkinson’s *Travellers’ Greece: Memories of an Enchanted Land* (2002) or biographies found in Medwid, *The Makers of Archaeology* (2000), offer a quick reference to the most important travel writers and a selected bibliography of the main works. Scholars and students alike can then turn to well-worn copies of travel accounts. For a good example, see that of Colonel William Martin Leake in one of his works, *Travels in the Morea* (1830); its greatest value is its recording of even the most offhand remark about a site or a painstaking description of the remains to be seen at the time (27). These works contain a wealth of onsite information and first-hand knowledge of the important excavations and discoveries of the modern era. Some such travel books were sumptuously illustrated, the most famous of these being *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated* by James Stuart, F.R.S. and F.S.A. and Nicholas Revett (1762). The careful drawings of Stuart and Revett (cf. [Figure 34.5](#)) continue to serve as resources for advanced scholars working on the Greek sites of

Athens and Asia Minor.

Newspapers play a vital role in staying current with archaeological discoveries in Greece and the Mediterranean region. Newspapers such as *Kathimerini* and *To Vima* in Greece and magazines like *Il Giornale dell'Arte* in Italy report finds that are made in rescue operations, as well as museum activities. The magazine *Archaeologike Ephemeris* (Archaeological Society of Athens) provides an archive of discoveries reported in Greece annually and is a perfect example of the importance of ephemeral publications in scholarly research.

38.6 The Search for the Perfect Picture

Many of the titles recounted above were once the only way to do systematic research on objects of Greek art or to investigate the remains of an archaeological site using photographs and drawings. Lavish works such as the Hamilton catalogues were created to showcase '*objets d'art*' and to increase their value for sale. In doing so, however, the first image collections of Greek art were created, and the legacy can be found in museum catalogues, exhibition catalogues, sales catalogues, and online image collections.

Preliminary research for images of Greek art can now be accomplished remotely using tools such as the image banks of the Perseus Digital Library (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifactBrowser>) or the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>). Large-scale image aggregators and vendors like ARTstor have also improved their collections in ancient art and architecture to the point that they should be searched for images to be used in research. Museums are just beginning to put their collections on the Web now, as evidenced by the British Museum (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx). Publication rights still reside with the owner of an object, although ARTstor now has agreements with several major museums, most notably the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to allow scholarly publication of some of their images.

Photographs of archaeological sites are far more plentiful in this online age, but publication rights are still controlled by national ministries as part of cultural patrimony. Cultural Web sites, as noted above, provide many new images for research, and the increasing popularity of archaeology, with the advent of spectacular museums like the new Bernard Tschumi building for the Acropolis Museum in

Athens (<http://www.theacropolismuseum.gr>), should only serve to bring more and better-quality images of Greek art and archaeology to the Web.

38.7 The Path Not Yet Taken

We are far down the paths set by the great scholars of the time of Beazley and Pottier; and far along in the dialogue of archaeology and art history in Greek civilization. The resources available to the scholar of Greek art and archaeology are astounding, and the accessibility to both site and object is remarkable. This is a rapidly changing field and one that has embraced online scholarly communication at a pace beyond most humanities disciplines. At the same time, as might be expected, this is a discipline that values the old as well as the new, the print as well as the electronic.

A change in the research of Greek art and archaeology appears to be the closing of the gap between archaeological research and art-historical research. Indeed, one purpose of the *Companion to Greek Art* is to bring a rapprochement to the traditional debate between art history and archaeology in the study of Greek art. It is telling that so many new approaches to the study of Greek art – reception studies being a good example – are based on the combined resources of art and archaeology. Research materials and library resources must follow the scholar's curriculum, as evidenced now by the best online research portals and collaborative ventures, which highlight that what is interdisciplinary in Greek art and archaeology, will surely emerge at the forefront. The researcher in Greek art will reap a rich harvest of both ancient and modern resources in a global scholarly environment that is quickly accessible. It is a bright future with little to fear.

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Plate 1 Chian chalice. Lion. c. 575–550 BC (Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum 14305. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Image not available in this digital edition.

Plate 2 Athenian black-figure amphora signed by Exekias. Achilles and Ajax playing dice. c. 530 BC (Rome, Museums of the Vatican 16757 (344). Gregorian Museum of Etruscan Art. © Universal Images Group/SuperStock).



Plate 3 Athenian white-ground calyx-krater. Hermes entrusts the infant Dionysos to a silen and nymphs. c. 440–435 BC (Rome, Museums of the Vatican 16586 (559). Gregorian Museum of Etruscan Art. Photo Scala, Florence).



Plate 4 Pair of bronze statues of soldiers (The Riace Warriors). (a): c. 450 BC; (b): c. 430 BC (Reggio di Calabria, National Museum. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



Plate 5 Marble relief from the east frieze of the Parthenon (slab V). The frieze is usually thought to show the procession of the Panathenaic festival, the commemoration of the birthday of the goddess Athena. 447–432 BC (London, British Museum. 1816,0610.19. © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Plate 6 Athenian Acropolis, the Parthenon. 447–432 BC (© SuperStock).



Plate 7 Epidauros, the theater. 4th c. BC ([TakB/Shutterstock.com](#)).



Plate 8 Wall-painting depicting Hades abducting Persephone. Persephone Tomb, Vergina. c. 350–340 BC (Vergina, Macedonia, Greece. The Bridgeman Art Library).



Plate 9 Wall-painting depicting a female kithara player with younger companion. From the Villa of P. Publius Synistor, Boscoreale. c. 50–40 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1903. Acc.n. 03.14.5. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence).



Plate 10 Mosaic signed by Gnosis, 'House of the Rape of Helen' at Pella. 'The Deer Hunt'. c. 325–300 BC (© World History Archive/Alamy).

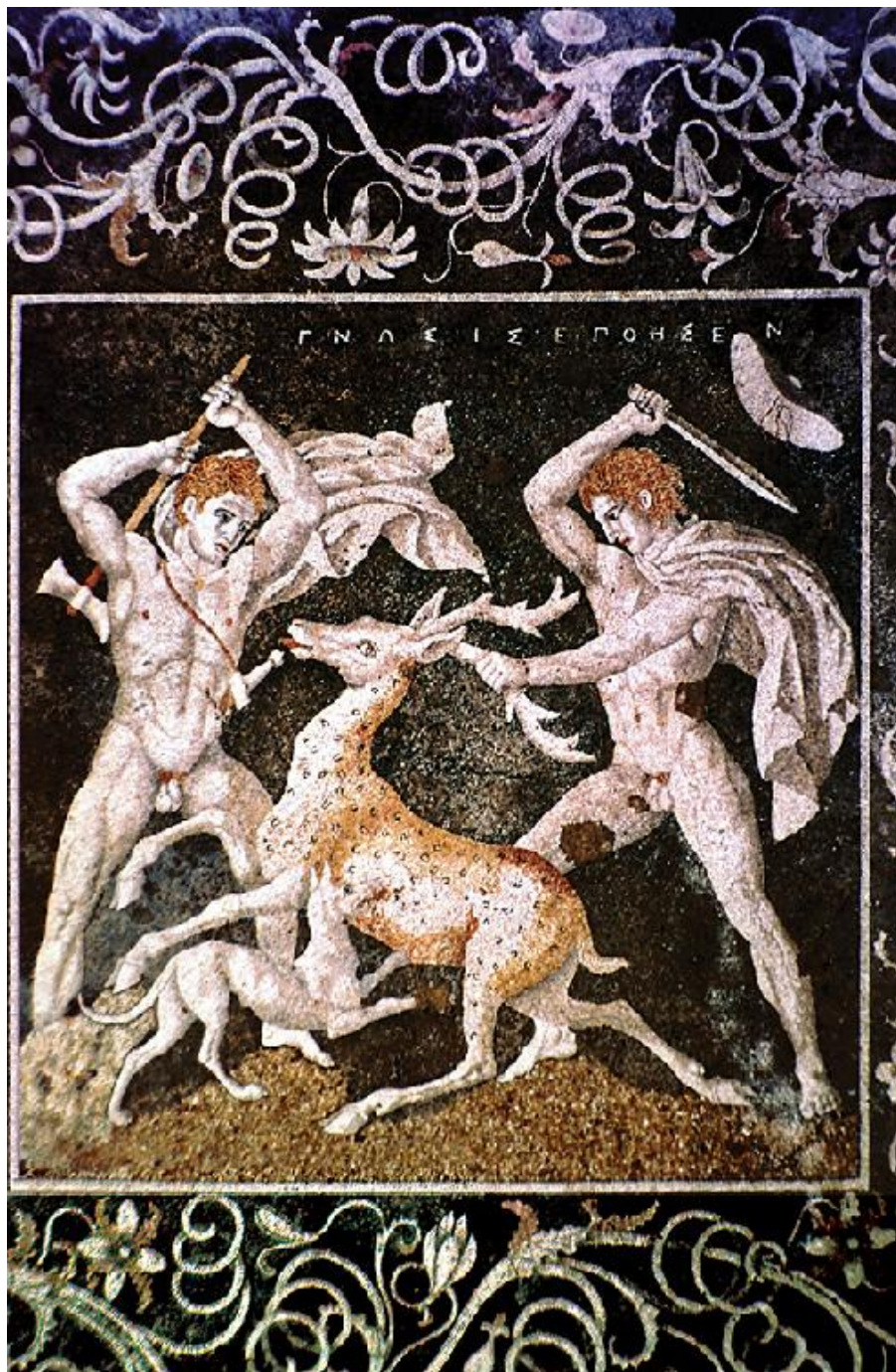


Plate 11 Bronze krater from Derveni (northern Greece). Dionysos and Ariadne. c. 330–320 BC (Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum B1. © DeAgostini/SuperStock).



Plate 12 Sardonyx plate ('Tazza Farnese') engraved in the cameo technique. Isis and other Egyptian divinities in an allegory of fertility. Late 2nd–early 1st c. BC (Naples, National Archaeological Museum. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali).



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